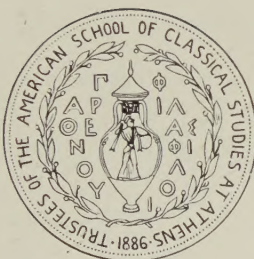


# HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1937

*Printed by Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Vienna*  
*Manufactured in Austria*



## TABLE OF CONTENTS


	Page
BISBEE, HAROLD L.: Samikon . . . . .	525
BRONEER, OSCAR: A Calyx-Krater by Exekias . . . . .	469
DAVIDSON, G. R.: The Avar Invasion of Corinth, with a Supplementary Note by Tibor Horváth . . . . .	227
EDWARDS, KATHARINE M.: Report on the Coins found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930-1935 . . . . .	241
HANSEN, HAZEL D.: The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937 . . . . .	539
PEASE, M. Z.: A Well of the Late Fifth Century at Corinth . . . . .	257
WEINBERG, SAUL S.: Remains from Prehistoric Corinth . . . . .	487

### EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

CROSBY, MARGARET: Greek Inscriptions . . . . .	442
ELDERKIN, G. W.: Two Curse Inscriptions . . . . .	382
SCHWEIGERT, EUGENE: Inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum . . . . .	317
SHEAR, T. LESLIE: The Campaign of 1936 . . . . .	333
THOMPSON, DOROTHY BURR: The Garden of Hephaistos . . . . .	396
THOMPSON, HOMER A.: Buildings on the West Side of the Agora . . . . .	1
VANDERPOOL, EUGENE: The Kneeling Boy . . . . .	426

## PLATES

I Stoa of Zeus. Actual State
II Stoa of Zeus. Restored Plan
III Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos. Actual State
IV Sections through Sanctuary of Apollo
V Temples of Apollo Patroos, Zeus and Athena. Restored Plans
VI Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex. Actual State
VII Sections through Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex
VIII New Bouleuterion, Propylon, Hellenistic Metroon. Restored Plan
IX Restored Plan of the Buildings in the Agora, May 1937
X The Kneeling Boy



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2024

[https://archive.org/details/hesperia\\_1937\\_6](https://archive.org/details/hesperia_1937_6)



# BUILDINGS ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE AGORA

## PLATES I-VIII

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The region to the north of the Areopagus and to the east of Kolonos Agoraios had many natural advantages to recommend it as the site for the central public place of the community (Fig. 1). It was the most open and level area of any extent beneath the immediate shelter of the Acropolis. Along its southern edge a series of springs bubbled out from the foot of the Areopagus, so abundant as to have formed the principal source of drinking water in the city throughout antiquity. A gentle slope toward the north guaranteed adequate natural drainage, desirable for private habitation and essential for the construction of large public buildings. The region lay, moreover, on the direct route between the Acropolis and the Dipylon, the principal gate of the city, and so was conveniently situated alike for residents and visitors.

Actual habitation in the area can now be shown to extend at least well back into the second millennium B.C. Scattered fragments of household pottery of typical Middle Helladic types, Gray Minyan and Matt-painted wares, have appeared above bedrock along the north foot of the Areopagus, along the east slope and foot of Kolonos and even at the north foot of Kolonos. A simple shaft burial not later than this period was made near the mid point of the east foot of the latter hill<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 64, Section C-C). Practically no household pottery of Late Helladic times has been found in the area so that there is no direct evidence for habitation in this period. Graves of the time, however, have come to light: two in the middle of the area that was to be the market square,<sup>3</sup> traces of another on the east slope of Kolonos (p. 167 below).

The following period, the eleventh through the eighth centuries, is abundantly represented by deposits of household pottery found close above bedrock and in contemporary wells, sufficient in bulk and in distribution to indicate that much if not all of the area of the later square was then inhabited. The dead of this age were buried on the slopes of the adjacent hills, the Areopagus and Kolonos.

<sup>1</sup> This paper owes much to my colleagues: to John Travlos all its plans and architectural drawings (save the colored restorations done by Piet de Jong for Figs. 23 and 26) and infinite help in the working out of the architectural restorations; to Lucy Talcott the study of all the fifth-century pottery used as chronological evidence, particularly that discussed on pp. 47 ff., and to my wife innumerable suggestive ideas.

<sup>2</sup> *I' speria*, V, 1936, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 318 ff.; V, pp. 21 f.

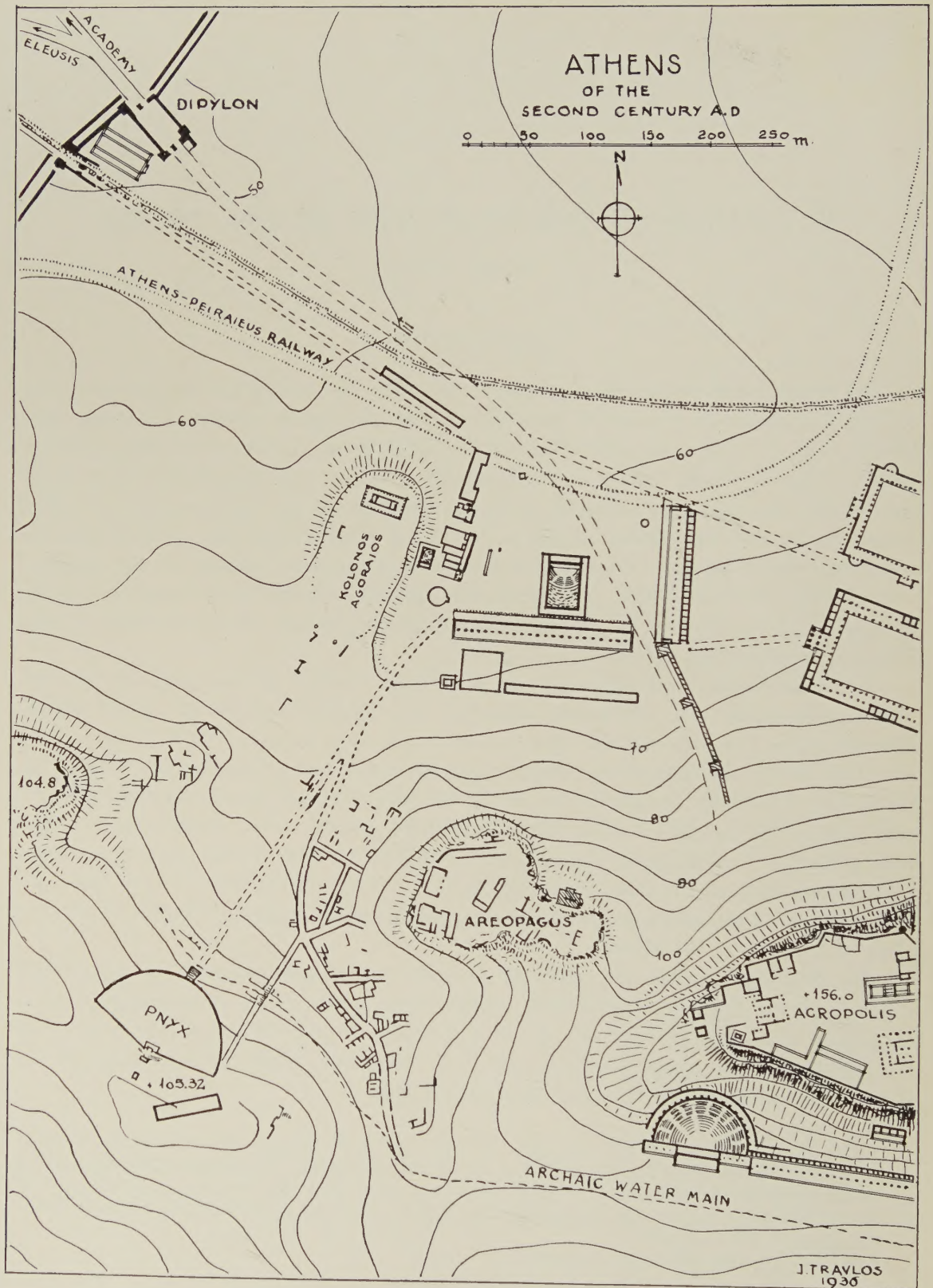


Fig. 1. The Agora and its Environs in the Second Century A.D.  
A length of the "Valerian Wall" and the Beulé Gate have been added



The latest regular burials thus far found within the area are graves that have appeared to the south of the later Tholos. They run down into the early part of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> That habitation continued and indeed became more intense through this century is sufficiently shown not only by the cessation of burial but also by growing masses of pottery found, again, in wells and scattered among the lower layers of earth accumulation. To about the middle of the century may be dated a mass of votive objects found at the foot of the Areopagus, our earliest evidence for a regular place of worship in the region.<sup>2</sup> And in the course of the present study we shall find reason to trace back the beginnings of the Council House, situated at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios, to about the same time (p. 124 below).

But as yet the actual buildings in the area, whether public, private or sacred, must have been extremely slight and it is not until well along in the following century that the site and the buildings around it began to assume a monumental character. One of the primary needs of the area was the proper organization of the water supply. This was provided for on a magnificent scale by the square fountain house set close in by the north foot of the Areopagus.<sup>3</sup> To its basin was led in stone channels the combined yield of several of the springs that break out to the east and southeast of the building. The site for the fountain house was well chosen at the southern edge of the comparatively level area and the building seems to have fixed for all time the line of the southern limit of the market square.

The next most obvious want to be met was adequate drainage, a channel which would provide not only for the waste from the new fountain house but also for the wash from the slopes of the adjacent hills and for the large volume of water from the south of the Areopagus which found its natural outlet through the Agora region. The need was met by the great stone drain, found early in the current excavations, which made its way north in an almost straight line following in general the bottom of the valley.<sup>4</sup> This original channel has been exposed toward the south only to a point opposite the Tholos. But that it was designed to take the waste from the fountain house and that it did originally carry through to that building is sufficiently shown by the fact that its line, projected southward, strikes the fountain house near its northwest corner precisely at the point where a large stone drain leaves that building. Subsequently a branch was carried in a southeastern direction from a point opposite the Tholos so as to intercept the drainage along the south side of the area, and (probably somewhat later still) a corresponding arm was carried from the same point along the bottom of the hollow which leads around the west end of the Areopagus. These channels continued always to be the main veins for the drainage of the region. The main north-south line fixed the orientation of the public and sacred buildings that were subsequently to spring up along the west side of the square as also of the innumerable monuments that eventually formed a continuous row on either side of it.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 1935, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1933, pp. 103 ff.

A glance at the plans (Figs. 72 and Pl. VI) will show the striking difference in orientation between the pre-drain and post-drain buildings on the west side.

The laying of the earliest part of the Great Drain was accompanied by another step essential for the preparation of the area as a public square. This was the levelling of the adjoining terrain. As was necessary for a channel of such proportions, a gradient was established as uniform as possible throughout its course and this involved the filling of extensive areas. Exploration thus far has illustrated this procedure most clearly in the region to the east of the later Metroon and Tholos. Here the pre-existing ground level to either side of the drain was raised as much as two meters by a filling of earth and broken bedrock demonstrably brought in during the construction of the drain (Fig. 64). In the northern part of our area a lesser filling was required; the region between Tholos and fountain house remains to be explored.

From the same springs that fed the fountain house water was carried to the lower town in terracotta pipes, one running east past the south end of the later Stoa of Attalos,<sup>1</sup> another diagonally across the square toward the northwest and the Dipylon (Fig. 72). This second pipe line we shall meet again in the following pages. Its relation to the Great Drain shows that it is younger than the drain; the fabric and shape of its sections prove it to be not later than the late sixth century.

The style of the polygonal masonry employed in the original line of the Great Drain, combined with the evidence of pottery gathered from several exploratory trenches cut across its line, indicates that the drain is to be dated toward the end of the third or the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century. The same date may therefore be accepted with assurance for the fountain house and the levelling of the square. It is clear, then, that Athens owed to the Peisistratids not only the fountain house, which we may now call the Enneakrounos, but also the inception of a program for the organization of her chief public square on a monumental scale.

A word about the road system of the region. The most direct route from the Dipylon to the entrance of the Acropolis must always have passed diagonally through the area of the market square. Its course has now been established with certainty between a point 125 m. to the southeast of the Stoa of Attalos and the modern railway cutting which appears to skirt the northern edge of the square. Between the railway cutting and the Dipylon a section of it was exposed long ago by Dörpfeld<sup>2</sup> so that its line in this area can be fixed within a very few meters. This thoroughfare would seem to have formed a triple fork immediately on entering the square. One branch continued in a direction slightly south of east and left the square at its northeast corner. The line of this road is confirmed by the orientation of a large building the foundations of which were overlaid by the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>3</sup> From the fork a second branch led south and followed closely the line of the Great Drain

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 334 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, pl. XXXVII.

<sup>3</sup> For the plan see *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 413, fig. 10.



along the west side of the square, out through its southwest corner and so on around the west end of the Areopagus toward the Pnyx. At the fork, in the angle between the south branch and the main road, the younger Peisistratos dedicated an altar to the Twelve Gods, which from its prominent position at the crossroads came to be something of the *miliarium aureum* of Attica.<sup>1</sup>

The excavation in the spring of 1936 of a small area to the north of the railway and due north of the Hephaisteion laid bare a section of another ancient street that entered the square at its northwest corner (Fig. 126). On its north side the street is bordered by a long narrow colonnade dating from about the turn of the era and on the south by a contemporary building of uncertain plan. It will be recalled that the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces with the large altar of Aphrodite Hegemone was exposed in the railway cutting just to the south of the line of this street at a point due north of the east end of the Hephaisteion.<sup>2</sup> One may conjecture that the street led up from the Sacred Gate in a line parallel to that of the main road from the Dipylon.

We are particularly interested at the moment in the thoroughfare that ran south along the west side of the square. Numerous exploratory trenches have shown how it gradually rose with the accumulation of rubbish from neighboring habitations and with the deposition of gravel by the winter torrents. The lowest hard packed road metal is to be dated, from the pottery found in it, as early as the eighth century B.C. and it is clear that from this time onward the roadway carried continuous and heavy traffic. Naturally enough, for the road served a series of buildings to the west of it that included among them the principal administrative centres and several of the more important sanctuaries of the city. These together formed the west side of the market square, their fronts turned toward the east and the morning light, their backs sheltered by the hill behind from the hot afternoon sun. In the following pages we shall look into the history of the separate buildings, dividing them into the three groups or complexes into which they naturally fall.

## STOA OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS

PLATES I AND II, FIGURE 34

### POSITION

Our individual studies may commence appropriately with the first large public building seen in the market square by the visitor who entered from the Dipylon, and one of the first to appear in the current excavations. This is the Stoa that lay close in by the northeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios and presented to the square a short central colonnade flanked on the north and south by a pedimented façade (Fig. 2). The building will be shown to date from the late fifth century B.C. We shall find that in early Roman times a two-roomed structure was set symmetrically behind it so as to be approached through the back wall

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 355 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, Munich, 1931, p. 363.



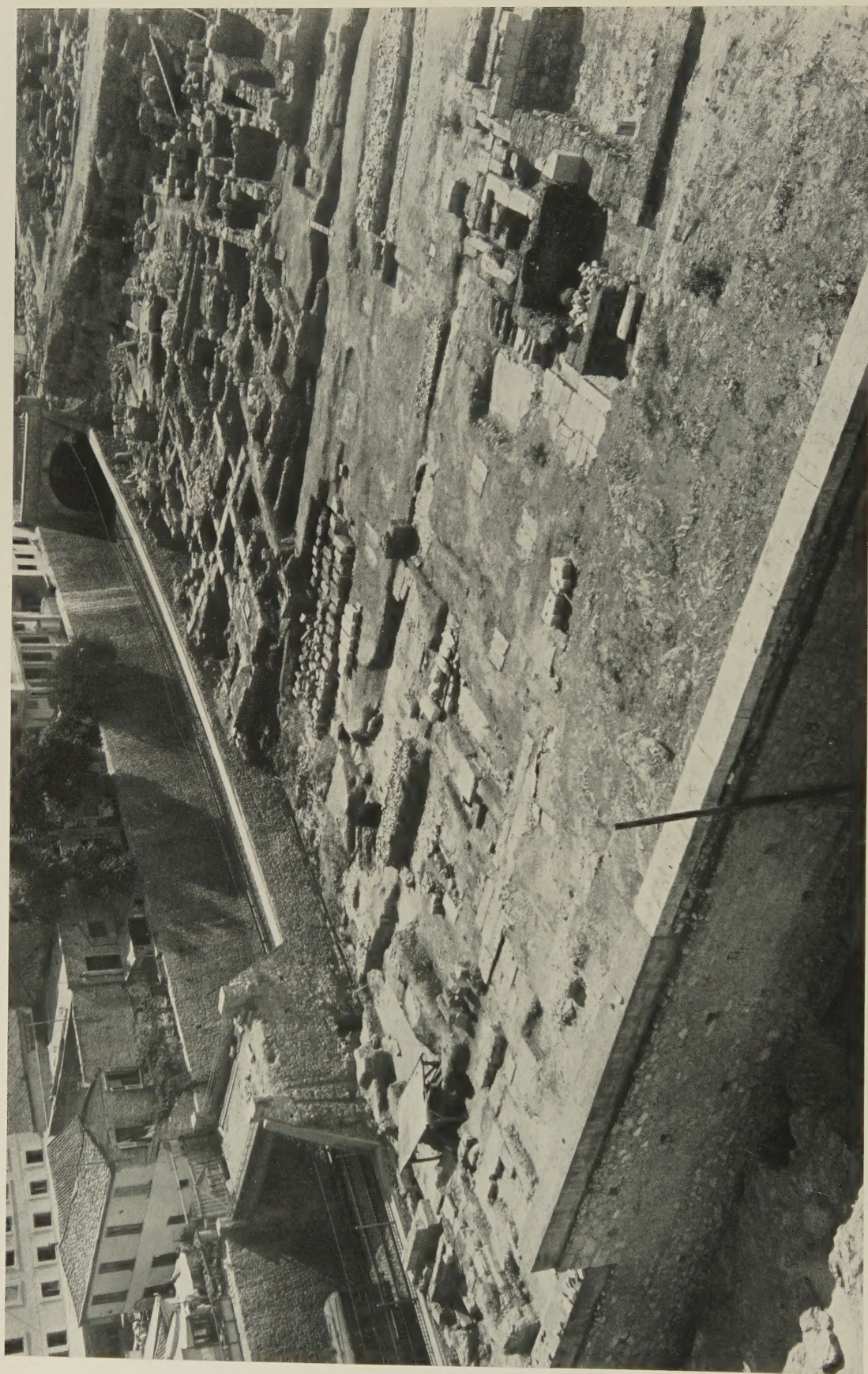


Fig. 2. Stoa of Zeus as seen from East Pediment of Hephaisteion, August, 1936



of the Stoa. This addition we shall call the Stoa Annex. The area between the projecting wings of the Stoa was eventually occupied by monuments. In the limited area of undisturbed earlier levels overlaid by the Stoa have appeared traces of a small sanctuary that was disturbed in the early fifth century, after which the area was largely occupied by industrial establishments of various sorts. These flourished until the construction of the Stoa.

#### DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The first discovery of the building dates back to the spring of 1891 when the greater part of the north wing of the Stoa was exposed in the cut made for the Athens-Peiraeus electric railway. Measured sketches made at that time show the details of a short section of the back wall near its north end and of the northwest interior pier.<sup>1</sup> These drawings are the basis of all that appears on our plan within the lines of the railway cutting. That the building ends beneath the railway was proved by the discovery, at the same time, of the sculptured base signed by Bryaxis. This was found *in situ* just to the north of an ancient foundation wall which now appears to have been the north wall of the Stoa.<sup>2</sup> The heavy wear on all sides of the base shows clearly that it stood in the middle of the ancient thoroughfare of which the northwestern continuation has been exposed in the excavations of the past year (p. 5). The southwest corner of the building appeared just forty years later, June 18, 1931. The excavations of that season exposed practically all the back part of the main building that is preserved to the south of the tracks. In the following season the Stoa Annex and the adjoining hill-side were cleared. The eastern limit of the south wing was excavated in the spring of 1933, as also much of the line of the east colonnade and of the monument bases in front. The south part of the north wing still lay hidden beneath a mass of earth which had been left for practical reasons along the railway retaining wall. The removal of this earth in 1936, together with the exploration of the ancient road to the northwest showed clearly the extent of the building and made intelligible the otherwise cryptic indications on the sketches of 1891.

A study of the building as it appeared after the excavations of 1932 has been made by Richard Stillwell and published in an earlier number of this Journal.<sup>3</sup> The reader is

<sup>1</sup> They are filed in the German Archaeological Institute under *Zeichnung Inv. Nr.* 880 b, c, e, g and 887. We are grateful to the officers of the Institute for the free use of them. These records were apparently used by Dörpfeld for the construction of the large plan in *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, pl. XXXVII, and the same details appear on Judeich's plan, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Delt.*, 1891, pp. 34 ff. (Kavvadias), 55 ff. (Lolling); *B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, pp. 369 ff. (Homolle); XVI, 1892, pp. 550 ff. (Couve); *Eph. Arch.*, 1893, cols. 39 ff. (Kavvadias). The indications on the sketches preserved in the Institute permit the base to be located with a margin of error of a few centimeters. A diagonal passed through the square of the base lay almost exactly on a north-south line. The inscribed face of the pedestal looked toward the northwest, *i.e.* the line of the ancient road. It will be recalled that a horseman and a tripod in low relief adorn each of the remaining three sides.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 110–129, pls. IV, V. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 107 ff., 451 ff.; IV, 1935, pp. 313 f., 354 f.; V, 1936, pp. 2 ff.

referred to it, particularly for details regarding the foundations of Stoa and Annex, the retaining wall that runs behind the Stoa, and the cisterns that were broken into by the Stoa Annex.

#### PRE-STOA REMAINS

##### SANCTUARY

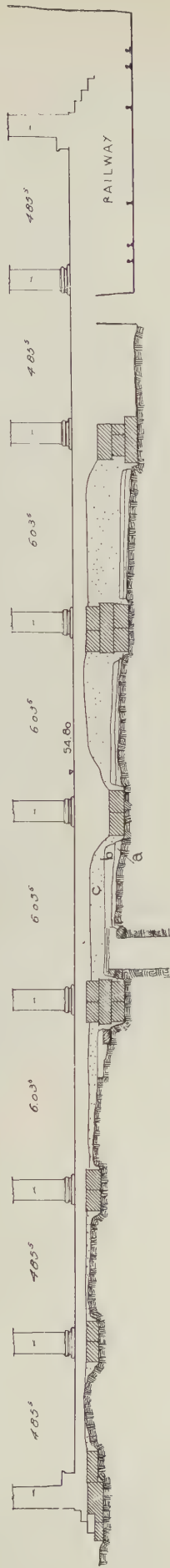
The architect of the Stoa was faced with a problem that constantly recurred along the west side of the Agora: how to adjust his building to a terrain that sloped steeply from west to east and likewise from south to north. He overcame the difficulty by setting the south end of the Stoa deep down into the soft bedrock, at the same time using the material which he found there to fill in the area to the north. Hence the entire area of the south wing of the Stoa is denuded of earlier remains, whereas in the north part of the building ancient filling is preserved to a maximum depth of *ca.* 1.50 m. (Fig. 3, Section A-A). The Annex, the site of which was almost entirely hewn from the rock, overlies earlier remains only along its north side.

A few sherds of advanced Geometric, Protocorinthian and Proto-Attic styles found scattered over bedrock suggest that the area was inhabited at least from the eighth century onward. But the earliest recognizable structure must date from a later time. The central feature of this earlier establishment is a rectangular bedding of poros (*ca.*  $1.78 \times 2.00$  m.) that was cut through and largely destroyed by an interior pier of the Stoa, the third from the south (Fig. 4). The surviving part consists of a single course of slabs of soft yellow poros of random size, *ca.* 0.24 m. thick, set down for the most part to their full depth in the soft bedrock. As the plan makes clear, the base differs slightly in orientation from the Stoa but agrees closely with dressed beddings for foundations to the south and west. Of these outer beddings, the southwest corner remains; the south side is preserved to a length of 7.00 m. beyond which it is broken away by the Stoa foundations; the west side (5.30 m. long) is entire and shows a short return toward the east. No trace has been found of an eastward continuation of this north side nor is it likely that the north side was ever as long even as the preserved part of the south side, for its course would have been cut by the terracotta water pipe that ran diagonally through the area and that was probably in use at the same time as the structure in question (cf. p. 4). We may restore on the lightly cut beddings low retaining walls designed to protect the rectangular base from the higher earth to south and west. It is not certain whether the masses of Acropolis limestone and fragments of early poros column drums that lie on the beddings toward the southwest angle belong to the original walls or to some later, though pre-Stoa structure. Just outside the northwest corner of the area is a block of soft yellow poros set carefully on bedrock, in the top of which is a circular sinking to receive a monument.<sup>1</sup>

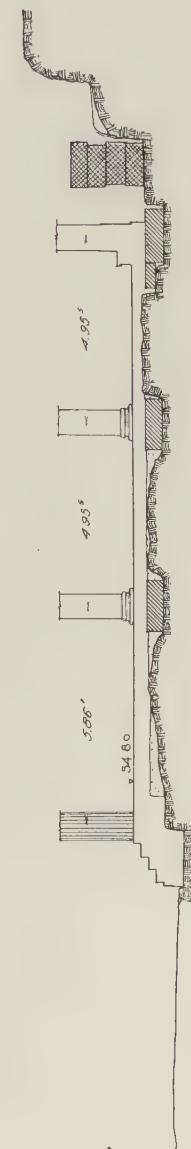
The remains, slight though they now are, suggest something more than a private habitation. The carefully prepared stele bedding would seem rather to have been intended for

<sup>1</sup> The block measures 0.64 m. square, 0.50 m. deep; the sinking in its top 0.355 m. in diameter, 0.06 m. deep. Lead still clings to the inside of the cutting.

# SECTION A-A



# SECTION B-B



# SECTION C-C

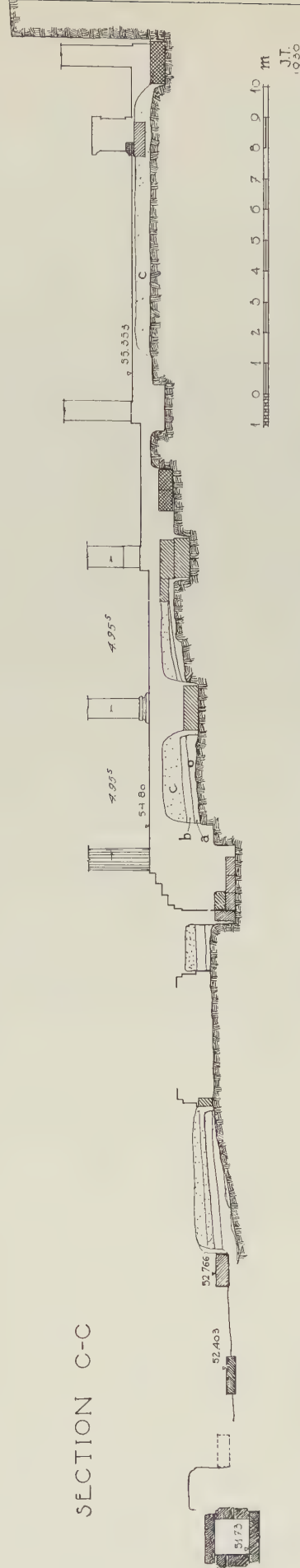


Fig. 3. Sections through Stoa of Zeus (cf. Pl. I)



a dedication, public or sacred. The large rectangular base may appropriately have held a statue, conceivably the statue of a divinity that dominated this tiny sanctuary.

For the date of the rectangular bedding and its retaining walls no exact evidence exists. Their ruined tops in any case were overlaid by a layer so early as to indicate clearly that the Persians had been responsible for their destruction.



Fig. 4. Pre-Stoa Sanctuary from West  
*a* = Poros Base; *b* = Stele Bedding; *c* = Well; *d* = Stoa Pier, third from South

If we accept the identification of the area as a sanctuary, we find an excellent candidate for the associated altar in an early structure that lies *ca.* 25 m. to the east of the rectangular base, deep beneath the level of the classical floor (Figs. 5, 126). Of it there remains only the southwest corner. Its original north-south length is given by a cutting in bedrock as *ca.* 3.65 m. A width of 1.22 m. is preserved but later disturbance has made indeterminable the original dimension. The surviving part consists of a single course of blocks, 0.28 m. thick, of irregular size and outline. The material is Kará limestone save for one small piece of Acropolis limestone. The blocks rest in part on bedrock, in part on the gravel



which here overlies the rock. The outer 0.32 m. along the south side, a strip slightly narrower along the west, was dressed smooth as a step. At its inner edge one may trace the line of a bedding especially worked for orthostates 0.30–0.40 m. thick and on its surface the pry holes for adjusting those blocks. Working chips of Pentelic marble found in the footing trench indicate that the superstructure was of that material. The arrangement may most simply be restored as an archaic altar, comparable in size and construction, for



Fig. 5. Archaic Altar and Section through filling to East of Stoa, from the East

instance, to that of Apollo Zoster at Vouliagmeni or of Nemesis at Rhamnous. On this hypothesis, a thin film of ash and charcoal overlying the contemporary ground level to the west finds a ready explanation.

Everything points to an early date for the construction. Its ground level to the west, which left but 0.03 m. of the lowest course exposed, rests almost directly on the virgin bedrock and this alone suggests that the monument is among the earliest remains in this region. Its low level indicates that it antedates the Great Drain which was built, as we have seen, in the third or last quarter of the sixth century (Fig. 3, Section C–C). A handful of potsherds removed from beneath the ground level of the structure along its west side

provides a *terminus post quem*. They extend from the late Geometric period into the early sixth century B.C. The use of Pentelic rather than island marble suggests that we should keep the date as low as is consistent with the other evidence, perhaps in the third quarter of the sixth century. We cannot say whether the monument suffered at the hands of the Persians. In any case, the first layer to accumulate above its original ground level included pottery of the period of destruction (see below) and a fragment of the large round water pipe for whose untimely end the Persians were undoubtedly responsible (see p. 4). But whether or not it suffered in 480 B.C., the altar very probably continued in use until its place was taken and its foundations overlaid by a more pretentious monument to which we must now turn (Fig. 126).

The new monument on its lowest foundations measured 13.25 m. from north to south, 7.20 m. from east to west. It was supported on a single row of blocks on all four sides and by a central north-south row. Of these blocks, six in the first course remain in position along the west side, one of the first and one of the second course at the northeast corner, while blocks of the second course set on edge were left clinging to the south side of the pit by the removal of the blocks of the underlying course. The surviving bit of the old foundation was utilized in the central bedding and was supplemented toward the south by two new blocks which have survived. The remaining blocks are all of soft white poros, well worked and well set. Indeed, the care with which they were prepared would appear extravagant for blocks so deep beneath the ground level. But they are clearly re-used, as shown best by the fact that the top outer edges of the blocks now in the bottom course of the west side are drafted in the style of a euthynteria, though they were separated by at least one course from the euthynteria of the present structure. Of the superstructure nothing has been identified with certainty.

The enlargement of the altar must postdate the construction of a neighboring monument to the south, which, from its material (conglomerate, Hymettian marble) and its workmanship may be placed in the fourth century. Scattered sherds gathered from various significant points around the new foundations are as late as of the third and second centuries B.C. Nothing would suggest for the reconstruction a date lower than the second century.

The destruction of the early sanctuary was thoroughgoing. To the north of its site the ground level was actually cut down, as is shown best by the condition of the large water pipe. Through most of this area the pipe was reduced to small sherds. Where any of it has remained in position, it is only the lower half and above this the new ground level formed. The first layer to gather at this level consisted largely of ashes and charcoal and crumbled mud brick, coming, presumably, from the destruction of adjoining earlier structures. In places the ashes lay 0.10 m. deep. This destruction layer was found over the entire area explored beneath the Stoa between the second and fifth piers from the south and its eastward continuation was revealed by an east-west exploratory trench cut between the Stoa and the Great Drain.

Imbedded in the layer were many pieces of the broken water pipe and not a few small scraps of black-figured pottery. Deep beneath the ashes lay the fragments of the red-

figured and the white-ground kylikes already published by Miss Talcott, the one done under the influence of the Brygos Painter, the other probably to be associated with the workshop of Euphronios.<sup>1</sup> Other objects coming from the same accumulation are illustrated in Fig. 6. Since some of these have actually suffered from fire and since all that did not share the same fate must have arrived shortly after the disaster, they are of interest for fixing the date of the event.

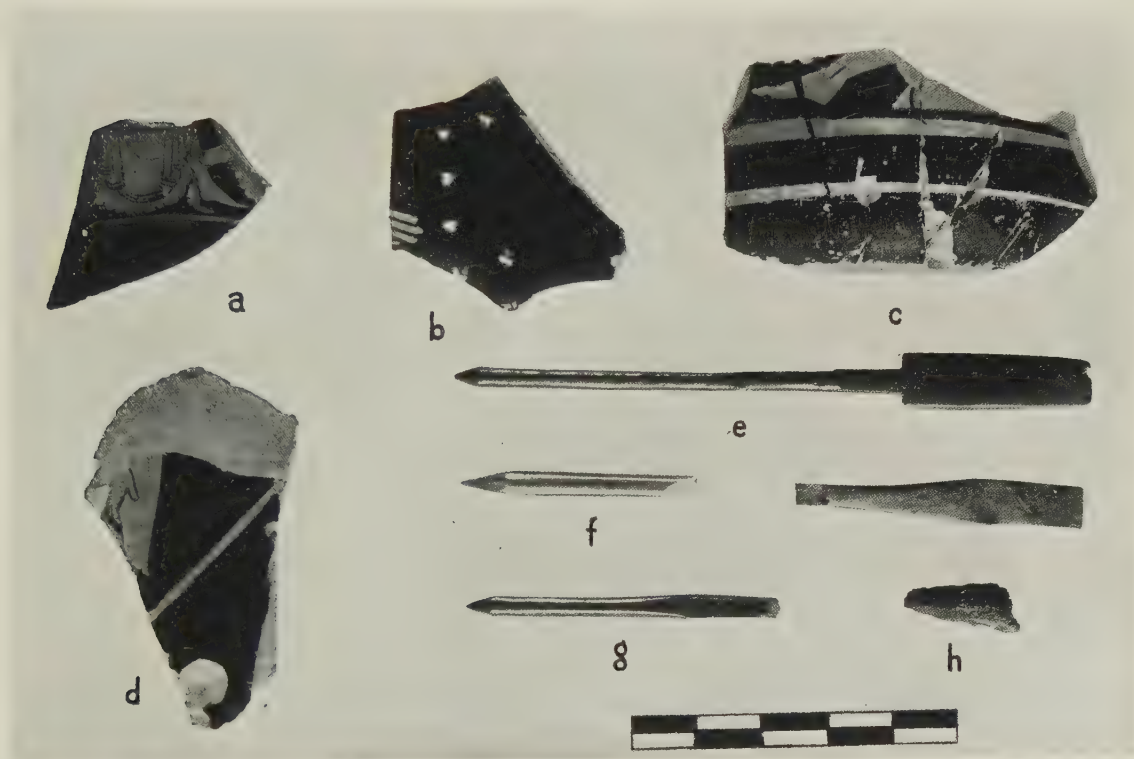


Fig. 6. Objects from *Perserschutt* beneath Stoa

- a. P 5749. Fragment from the floor of a kylix. On the inside, plain black glaze, on the outside, running women. Fine relief lines throughout. Alike in quality and in style the figures recall the two running girls on the Antaios krater signed by Euphronios (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, fig. 392). Our fragment should be of about the same date.
- b. P 2231. Fragment from the wall of a squat lekythos (?). At the left, the extended finger tips of a left hand. In the field, ΑΙΚΜΕ[ΟΝ] ΚΑΛΟ[Σ]. This καλός name occurs also on a lekythos by the Brygos Painter in the British Museum. (See Dickson, *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, pp. 202 ff.; Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 182, no. 93; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 230.
- c. P 2230. Fragment from the lower wall of a flat-bottomed drinking-cup. Above the upper of the reserved bands, the extended foot and bent knee of a crouching warrior (?). No relief lines. The

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 217 ff. Cf. H. Diepolder, *Der Penthesilea-Maler*, pp. 8 f., pl. 12.



shape (Beazley's Oinochoe, Shape VIII A) points to the early fifth century and the style of the drawing agrees. See Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, pp. 3 and 47; *Greek Vases in Poland*, pp. 15 and 59; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, II, pl. 62, nos. 3 and 6; Richter-Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 186.

- d. P 5748. Fragment from the medallion of a kylix. Youth putting on greave. Careful relief contours; brown inner drawing in the greave. This bit recalls the many scenes of warlike preparation which enjoyed such a vogue between 490 and 480 B.C.
- e g. BI 61-63. Bone styli, one complete and two fragmentary. Blackened as though by fire. Similar writing implements appear in the school scenes by Euphronios and Douris. Other specimens have been found in the Agora in contexts of the early fifth century.
- h. B 126. Bronze arrow tip. Socketed; three flanges. Many arrow heads of similar type have been found on the north slope of the Acropolis in contexts which suggest that they were used by or against the Persians. See Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 342, fig. 13, nos. a-d; IV, 1935, pp. 113 ff., fig. 4.

Since the combined evidence of these various objects points clearly to a date late in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that our area suffered in the devastation wrought by the Persians in 480-479 B.C.

#### WORKSHOPS

Beneath the Stoa, between its second and fifth piers from the south, some 0.50 m. of accumulation gathered above this first post-destruction layer before the whole area was sealed over by the Stoa filling proper (Fig. 7). This half meter of deposit as dug divided itself into some five layers, each with a well defined, tramped surface. All these lesser layers were of much the same consistency: made up largely of ashes and charcoal intermingled with some earth and surfaced each with a firm packed layer of red clay, one to three centimeters in thickness. Imbedded in these layers were many scraps of iron and amorphous masses of slag apparently from the working of iron. Elsewhere in the same deposit lay scattered lumps of fine clay of various colors: red, yellow and brown and fragments of crude brick fused on the surface. The area would seem to have formed the back yard of neighboring shops both of iron workers and of potters who threw out masses of rubbish from time to time and as often, in order to make the area presentable again, spread and tramped clean clay over its surface. This very characteristic deposit is confined within the limits of the Stoa. The area to the east of the front line of that building would seem even at this time to have been a public thoroughfare, or rather, the edge of the public square, for, though its level rose simultaneously layer by layer, those layers consist of extremely hard packed gravel, obviously road metal.

The activities implied by the presence of the workshops required water. A cistern was built just on the line on which the colonnade of the Stoa was to fall (Pl. I). Its floor was made of rectangular poros slabs of irregular size, set so deeply that their surface lay 1.00 m. below the surface of the bedrock to the east as it then was. This floor measures  $1.40 \times 1.77$  m. and these constitute the inside dimensions of the cistern, for its walls were set independently on the bedrock so that their inner faces rose flush with the edge of the floor. The walls were 0.30-0.42 m. thick, built in a polygonal style of Acropolis and Kará limestone. Walls and floor were coated with waterproof stucco. The builders of the Stoa broke away the upper walls and laid the lowest blocks of their foundations in the floor of the old cistern.



The east wall of the cistern, the best preserved, now stands to a height of only 0.50 m. Another contemporary cistern or water basin of similar construction but slightly larger was demolished and overlaid by the south foundations of the Stoa. This basin has already been described by Stillwell.<sup>1</sup>

In an attempt to improve their water supply the residents dug a well whose mouth opens just at the northeast corner of the third pier from the south of the Stoa (Fig. 4). The well was sunk after the first three layers of post-Persian refuse had



Fig. 7. East-west Section in Mid Part of Stoa, looking South  
*a* = Pre-Persian; *b* = Post-Persian = Pre-Stoa; *c* = Stoa Filling

gathered. In its lower part it is a round shaft *ca.* 1.00 m. in diameter cut through the soft bedrock. Above bedrock, it was curbed with re-used blocks of limestone and yellow poros. The total depth of the well, measured from the present top of its curbing, is 4.00 m. The venture proved a failure. When cleared in 1935, even in late winter when

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 114 f. The erroneous impression that the cistern continued in use after the construction of the Stoa arose from the fact that the destruction debris which overlay the floor of the Stoa also filled the basin. This situation is to be explained rather by the fact that the builders of the Stoa levelled off the lower part of the cistern with blocks, which were removed at the same time as the adjoining foundations of the Stoa.

water is most abundant, it yielded only a trickle. That it was used but little if at all is indicated by the absence of water jars at the bottom, for these are invariably found in ancient wells that continued in use for long. The shaft was soon abandoned and filled level with its top. The two uppermost layers of pre-Stoa deposit gathered over its top and its curbing was subsequently disturbed by the construction of a foundation wall of crude brick, belonging to a later house or shop. The ancient filling of the well yielded many fragments of black volcanic stone of various sizes up to 0.30 m. in length but with



Fig. 8. Pre-Stoa Pit in Line of Front Colonnade,  
from East

a uniform thickness of 0.09 m. These, undoubtedly, had been employed for the construction of kilns or hearths in the neighboring works.<sup>1</sup> From the well, too, came perhaps a bushel of iron slag in masses the size of a man's head, similar to the smaller fragments found in the earth filling around the mouth of the well.<sup>2</sup>

Close by the southwest corner of the first cistern are the remains of a pit of horseshoe shape measuring  $1.70 \times 1.30$  m. (Fig. 8). Its north, straight wall was the most substantial, resting on a course of (undoubtedly re-used) blocks of poros and of Acropolis limestone. In the upper part of the same wall was incorporated a battered fragment of a poros column drum similar to the pieces imbedded in the foundations to the south of the rectangular base. The curved wall was built up of field stones set in clay. The floor was formed of flat terracotta tiles laid on the bedrock. The west

wall still stands to a height of 1.10 m., and this probably indicates closely the contemporary ground level. The lower part of the pit, so far as it had not been demolished by the builders of the Stoa, contained much fine ash and charcoal and its walls showed traces of burning. This pit is undoubtedly to be associated with the metal-working establishment, though its precise purpose is not apparent. Its date is approximately that

<sup>1</sup> The brick-like blocks may be distinguished in a heap beside one of the Stoa piers in Fig. 4. Similar stone was used for the same purpose in the metal-working establishments of Laurion.

<sup>2</sup> It is hoped that at some later time a special study may be made of this material and of other evidence of metal-working found in the Agora.



of the well, for, like the well, the pit was sunk down through at least the two lower layers of post-Persian accumulation but was overlaid by the upper two or three.

The fragmentary pottery from the successive layers of accumulation around well and pit grows progressively later toward the top and suggests that those layers gathered during the second and the early third quarters of the fifth century. The pottery from the corresponding layers exposed in the trench to the east of the Stoa agrees. The more



Fig. 9. Pre-Stoa House beneath North End of Stoa, from Northwest

abundant evidence provided by the filling of the well affords another welcome fixed point in the chronology. The filling was uniform from top to bottom and had evidently been thrown in at one and the same time. The mass of pottery which it yielded has already been the subject of a special study by Miss Talcott, who has established for its dating a lower limit around 460 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Such a date agrees admirably with the position which the stratigraphical evidence has assigned to the well in the post-Persian history of the area.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 333 ff.



Farther to the north are preserved more substantial remains of another pre-Stoa building (Fig. 9). Its southeast corner was broken away by the foundations for the west wall of the Stoa at a point just opposite the fifth pier from the south. The building shows an orientation quite different from that of the later Stoa but close to that of the rectangular base and its retaining walls to the south. The east wall is preserved to a length of 6.50 m., beyond which distance it has been broken away by a late pit. The south wall may be traced for a length of 3.00 m. and it too has suffered from later construction. The beginning of an east-west cross wall remains, suggesting a south room with a breadth of 2.40 m. The inside floor of tramped dirt lies 2.00 m. below the floor level of the Stoa. The outside ground level toward the east was some 0.20 m. higher. Here too, as was the case farther south, the ground level had gradually risen with the deposition of successive layers of debris covered over from time to time by a film of red clay. This material, when well tramped, provided an excellent floor: smooth, hard and impervious.

The walls of the house consisted of a stone socle supporting an upper part of crude brick.<sup>1</sup> The socle is built of blocks of Acropolis limestone and of soft yellow poros in random sizes. Two blocks ordinarily constitute the thickness of the wall. The jointing in general is polygonal and the fitting neatly but not exactly done. For the outer face of the east wall larger blocks were chosen and the horizontal line was more emphasized in the jointing. The walls of the south room were covered with a fine coat of brown clay *ca.* 0.02 m. thick, which apparently received neither lime plaster nor color.

Along the foot of the east wall of the second room from the south, as far as it is preserved, a bench had been built: 0.80 m. wide, preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.60 m. This bench consisted of a solid mass of crude brick provided with a stone socle along its face to a height of 0.20 m. The bench would seem to have returned along the south wall of the same room, in a width of only 0.60 m. and without the stone socle.<sup>2</sup>

The building may best be regarded as the home or workshop of some of the artisans of whose activities we have already noted evidence. The brick bench will have served them as a worktable. In the little undisturbed part that has been examined of the accumulation above bedrock to the east of the building nothing later than late black-figured pottery was found. We may suppose that the building was erected soon after the passing of the Persians. It was demolished by the builders of the Stoa. A great mass of its fallen brick overlay the contemporary ground level to the east. In the surviving corner

<sup>1</sup> In the north part of the east wall the socle rose to a height of 0.70 m., in the east wall of the south room to 0.40 m. and in the cross wall 0.18 m. above the inside floor. The walls have a uniform thickness of 0.42 m.

<sup>2</sup> The bricks measure  $0.40 \times 0.22 \times 0.10$  m. and are separated both horizontally and vertically by layers of clay 0.01 to 0.02 m. thick. The bricks themselves are of gravelly brown earth containing pebbles up to the size of a child's hand, while the clay used for mortar is firm and more viscous, a deep brown in color. Toward the north end of the east wall a slit 0.20 m. wide, 0.48 m. high was left, running down to floor level. This opening was apparently closed by the bench so that the latter may be regarded as a later addition to the room. Since the ground level is higher outside than the floor inside, the aperture could scarcely have been intended for drainage, nor is there any trace of a water pipe.

of the south room we found that the Stoa workmen had thrown up on the floor broken bedrock from the new foundation trench and had later tumbled down more of the crude brick. Some of the broken pottery found among and beneath these fallen bricks is as late as any included in the filling brought in for the Stoa.

An exploratory pit dug behind the retaining wall to the west of the Stoa near its south end exposed the one surviving corner of another little industrial establishment (Figs. 10



Fig. 10. Exploratory Pit behind Retaining Wall of Stoa

Note Cornice Blocks of Stoa and clay-working Basin

and 11). The earlier ground level in this area, as already noted, lay well above the floor level of the new Stoa and hence nothing of the old establishment survives to the east of the retaining wall. The early occupants had cut back the slope of Kolonos so that the west boundary of their lot was marked by a vertical scarp *ca.* 2.00 m. high. The old floor was surfaced with stone flags, small pebbles and in part with firm packed brown clay. The southwest corner of this floor was shut off by means of a low east-west wall of rough blocks of Acropolis limestone. Behind the wall, a terracotta basin (0.53 m. in diameter, 0.42 m. in depth) with heavy rim was set down to its full depth in the floor. This pit was found half

full of viscous clay, buff to cinnamon brown in color and containing not a little grit. The clay is identical in color and texture with the "red earth of Chalandri" still used by the Attic potters in their works near the northwest foot of Hymettos and there can be no question that this clay-working pit formed part of an ancient potter's shop.

A little broken pottery from beneath the floor of the establishment, fine black glaze, early red-figure, suggests that the shop was established here some time in the first half of the fifth century B.C. It was obviously put out of commission by the builders of the Stoa. The Stoa workmen, in cutting away the eastern part of the shop floor, had shovelled much

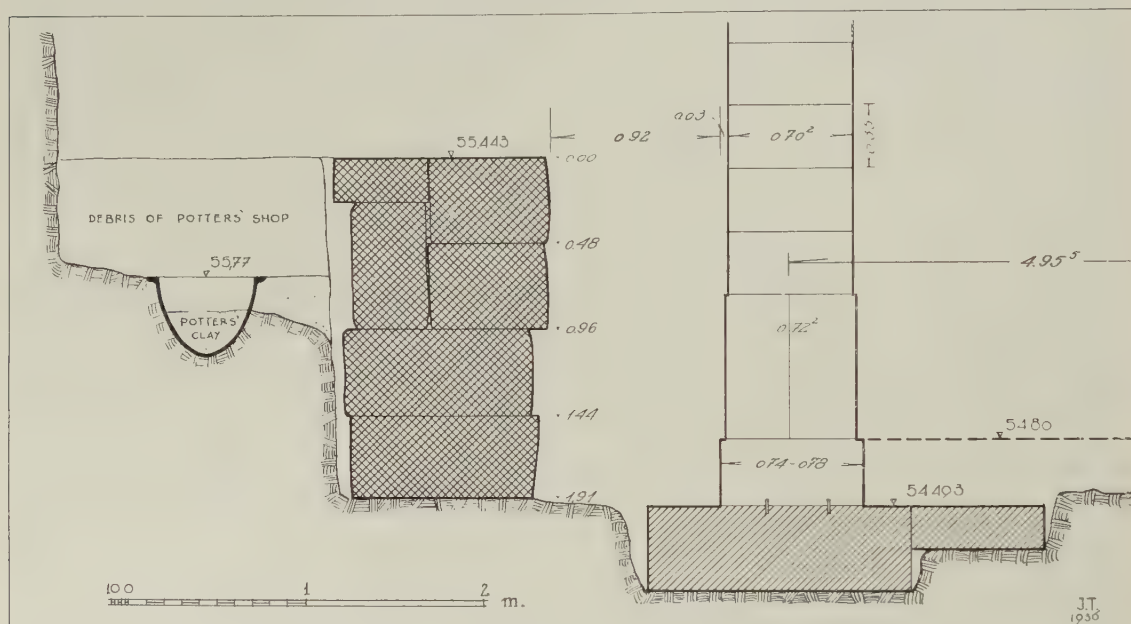


Fig. 11. Section through Potter's Shop, Retaining Wall and Back Wall of Stoa

of the rubbish which they found there over the remaining west part of the old floor. Here we found it: basketsful of broken pottery, both fine and coarse, masses of fine purple and bright yellow earth, fragments of crude brick with fused surfaces, doubtless from the kiln, a broken bowl containing red milto.<sup>1</sup> Mingled with this refuse were many working chips of Pentelic marble and of Aeginetan poros certainly from the construction of the Stoa. At a later date the floor of the shop and the rubbish now overlying it were cut still farther back to permit of the laying of the retaining wall behind the Stoa.

If one may judge from modern practice, the potters did not abandon their shop until the week before work began on the Stoa. Since the pottery found in the surviving corner of their ruined establishment forms a homogeneous mass and undoubtedly includes the last

<sup>1</sup> The milto may have been left by the potters; it may also have been used by the masons in finishing the blocks of the Stoa.



wasters left in and about the shop, it should be decisive for fixing the date of the destruction of the shop and likewise of the commencement of work on the Stoa. A representative group, including the obviously latest pieces, is described below (p. 47).

#### THE STOA

##### FOUNDATIONS

The foundations of the south wall of the Stoa and of its back wall to the south of the railway cutting have already been described in detail by Stillwell.<sup>1</sup> It will be recalled that over much of the length of the back wall the foundations are preserved up to and including the course which carried the toichobate, and that along the south side there remain in position five marble blocks of a step. We may note further from the sketches of 1891 that the rear foundation was exposed by the railway builders within the area of their cut still preserved to a height of at least five courses, as it was also in the northernmost part of the excavated area. The coursing continued uniform and it was observed at the time that the two uppermost surviving courses in the railway cut (as to the south) were finished in such a way as to suggest that they were to be visible. At the time when the sketch was made, the northeast corner of the building was concealed beneath the narrow-gauge working railway. The sketcher merely observed, "die Mauer dehnte sich über die Bahnlinie aus," and he apparently was never able to complete his drawing. On the sketches, the northwestern interior pier is carefully indicated so that it could be placed with precision on our plan.

The foundations of the front of the building, as exposed by subsequent excavation, have been found to be in a sadly pillaged state. A few blocks remain in the mid part of the front, at one point to a height of two courses, and enough fragmentary blocks have survived *in situ* to define the angles of the projecting wings. These foundations, like all the others in the building, were carried down to the carefully dressed bedrock. In the mid part and in the north wing, the cuttings are broad enough to receive two rows of blocks laid both as headers. Around the south wing, where the bedrock rises and the foundations were correspondingly more shallow, their width was reduced to one row of headers and one of stretchers. The surviving parts of the front foundations are of the same soft white poros that is found throughout the building in places that were not to be exposed.

In the first preliminary report it was suggested that only one additional step was to be restored above the surviving marble step along the south side of the building.<sup>2</sup> From the plan, however, it will be observed that the next course above the surviving step consisted of a single row of stones, shown by their two rows of dowel cuttings to have been *ca.* 1.15 m. wide. Such a width is unnecessarily great to have been intended only for a wall of the thickness indicated by the surviving wall blocks (0.702 m.), but it would comfortably accommodate both the toichobate for a wall of that thickness together with another step of

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1933, p. 119.

the same width as that below (*i. e.* 0.35 m.). It is only by the insertion of this second step, moreover, that the interaxial spacing of the south wall and first interior column is made equal to that of the first and second interior columns, a correspondence highly desirable for the working out of the interior arrangement.

From the plan again, it is clear that the cutting for the front foundations of the building is wider than that for its south side.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the middle front colonnade and of the north wing, the greater width is readily explained by the increasing depth of masonry demanded by the falling ground level. But even along the front and the north side of the south wing, where no greater depth of foundation was necessary, the trench at its narrowest is 0.40 m. wider than that on the south side. The difference is just equal to the width of another step of 0.35 m. together with the usual projection of a poros euthynteria beyond an overlying marble course. The insertion of a fourth step along the front will permit, moreover, of a more symmetrical placing of the steps and stylobate in relation to the foundation trench, the position of the stylobate being fixed by the demands of the frieze. A widening of the trench for the south foundation toward the southeast corner of the building suggests that this lowest step was returned only a short distance along the south side. The ancient ground level indicated by the better preserved façade of the Temple of Apollo to the south and especially by the altar base in front of the small Temple of Zeus and Athena (Fig. 41) would have concealed the two lower steps of the Stoa at its southeast corner. The slope of the ground level is such, however, that at the mid point of the Stoa front not only all four steps but also the euthynteria to its full depth must have been visible. We have been unable to measure directly the ancient ground level around the north end of the Stoa. From the levels of the ancient street that led up from the Sacred Gate, however, we may conclude that it was so low as certainly to have required the return of all four steps across the entire north end of the building.

Both white and blue (presumably Hymettian) marbles were used in the steps of the Stoa. It was observed in the first report that of the step blocks preserved *in situ* along the south side of the building, the first four from the southwest corner are of blue marble, the fifth of white. Since then small fragments of step blocks both white and blue have been found in the pillaged foundation trenches along the front of the building and working chips of both marbles appear together in the Stoa filling behind the line of the front foundations and in the filling that was used to raise the ground level to the east immediately after construction. We may conjecture that the dark stone was used in the lowest, *i. e.* the first step along the front of the building. In the northern part of the front, where the poros euthynteria must have been visible, the blue step would have maintained a horizontal base line for the white marble above.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The apparent width of the south foundation is to be reduced by the width of the bench bedding; see below p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The lowest step along the front was presumably the first marble work to be done in the building. It seems not unlikely that at least some of the four blocks of blue marble which remain in the south foundation were discards from the first step on the front and were utilized in that inconspicuous place. The

The floor level inside the building demanded by the restoration of two additional steps along the south side must have lain at *ca.* 54.86 m., *i. e.* 0.228 m. above the highest preserved point in the floor area (toward the southwest corner) and *ca.* 0.40 m. above the generally preserved level. It would seem unlikely that, had the Stoa floor been exclusively of packed earth, so great a depth of it should have disappeared. We may with some probability restore a flagging of stone, perhaps marble slabs. This would account for the careful way in which the old water basin toward the south end of the building was filled with blocks and for the manner in which a natural depression in the bedrock at the northeast corner of the south wing was likewise made good with masonry. The convenient size of the paving slabs will adequately explain their complete disappearance.<sup>1</sup>

Just inside the foundations for the west and south walls of the building runs a continuous line of blocks, thinner than those of the main foundations and more irregular in size (Fig. 11). They are in fact probably discards from the main construction. This bedding would serve admirably to carry a bench of massive construction, the whole of each section, that is, cut from a single block.

#### SUPERSTRUCTURE

Before discussing the plan of the building, we may note the new material from the superstructure that has come to light since the first report. It is now clear that, shortly after its destruction in late Roman times, the building was almost completely dismantled to its lowest foundations. The wall blocks and others of convenient size were carried off entire; larger members were broken up on the spot and removed piecemeal. There remained on the site, therefore, only a few pieces, whose irregular shape made them unsuitable for re-use, and chips from the dismemberment. This material has been found, in loose earth accumulation of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., above the floor of the Stoa and along the line of its east front. It has seemed not unreasonable to hope that some better preserved pieces might eventually be found in the "Valerian Wall" to the construction of which many of the blocks of the old buildings of the square were undoubtedly devoted. Thus far, however, only a single stone from the Stoa, a battered piece of cornice, has come to light in the line of the wall at a point about 90 m. to the south of the Stoa of Attalos.

#### WALLS

Of the upper walls we may recognize blocks in three slabs which were re-used in the toichobate for the middle wall of the Annex and two others which likewise served a second

hypothesis is strengthened by the motley appearance of the faces of the blocks (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 116, fig. 5) and by the occurrence in a couple of them of blemishes which could not have been economically worked out. From the fifth block on, this course was probably all of white marble.

<sup>1</sup> Stillwell had supposed that the floor of the Stoa was of packed earth (*l.c.*, p. 119).



use as beddings for the piers which flanked the entrance to the north room of the Annex. Their material (Aeginetan poros) and workmanship suggest that they were removed from the back wall of the Stoa when doorways were cut through to the Annex. They measure  $1.023 \times 0.702 \times 0.351$  m. One face is smooth dressed, the other lightly stippled. Each was secured to its neighbor by a single  $\vdash$  clamp in either end. In one of the end joint

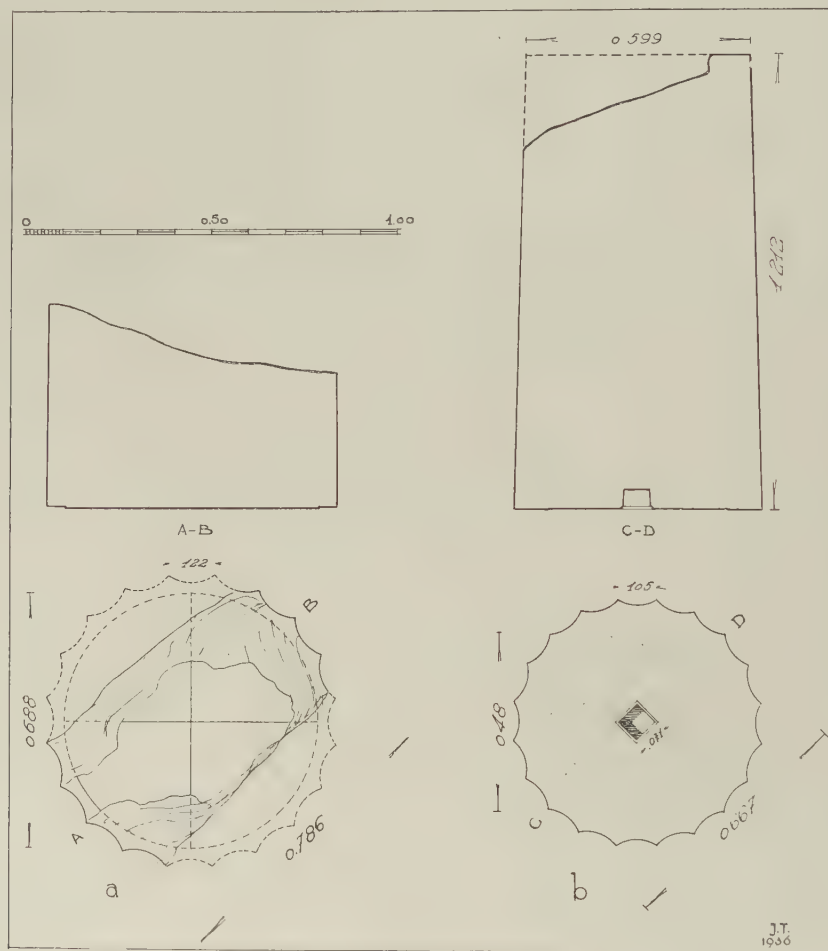


Fig. 12. (A 225, 150) Base and Top Drums of Doric Columns of Stoa

surfaces is a shallow V-shaped channel which was probably intended to receive poured lead for the waterproofing of the wall.<sup>1</sup>

The scratched setting line for the back edge of the toichobate may be traced along much of the length of the building in the top of the highest foundation course. From this

<sup>1</sup> For a similar technique in the Hephaisteion, see *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, col. 719.

line and from the two rows of cuttings for the dowels which held the blocks of the toichobate, one may fix its width between 0.74 and 0.78 m. It was probably irregular in width. Its height across the ends of the building was that of the stylobate, presumably *ca.* 0.206 m., along the back, *ca.* 0.367 m. The break in the coursing in the preserved part occurs just north of the southwest corner of the building. Of the orthostates no block has been found. One might suspect, however, that they were of Hymettian marble.<sup>1</sup>

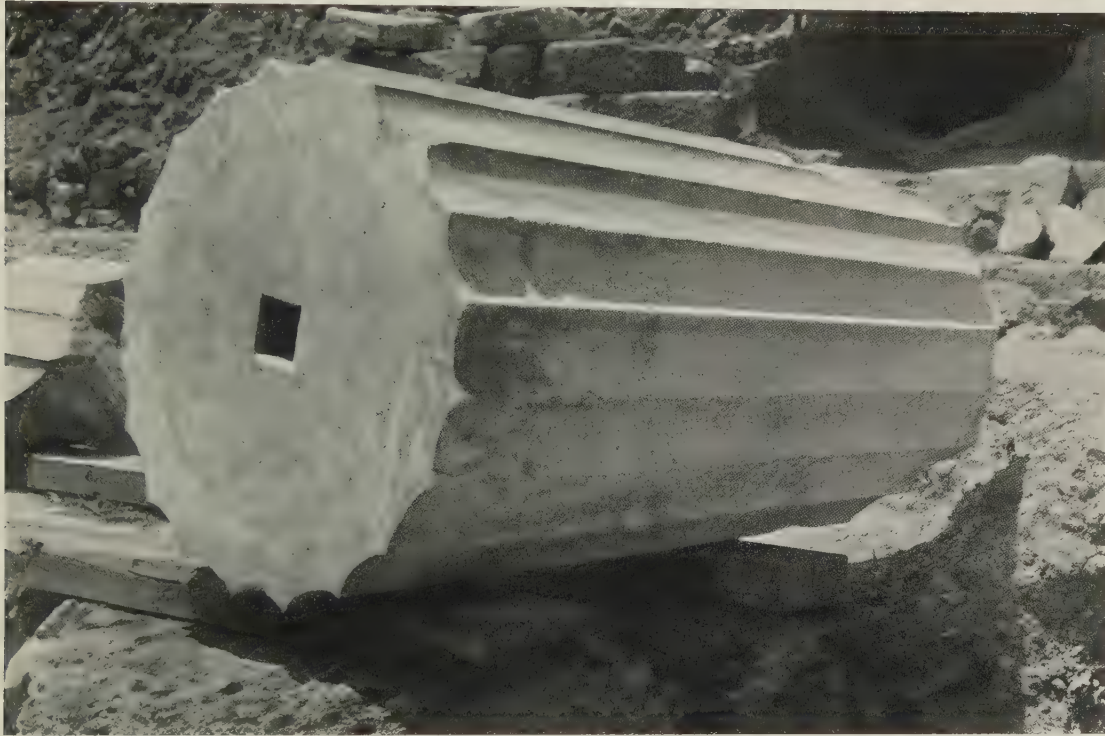


Fig. 13. (A 150) Top Drum from Doric Column of Stoa

#### COLUMNS

A fragmentary base drum of Pentelic marble from one of the outer Doric columns was found in the angle between the south wing and the middle front (Fig. 12). It shows a lower diameter of 0.786 m. and is preserved to a height of only 0.63 m. Within the relieving surface, the resting surface is finished with a toothed chisel and crossed by two lightly incised lines. A top drum, found in front of the south wing, is illustrated in Figs. 12 and 13. It is preserved to its original height of 1.212 m. and indicates an upper diameter of 0.599 m.

<sup>1</sup> Working chips of Hymettian marble found in the ancient filling along the inner edge of the bedding for the bench may come either from the orthostates or from the bench. It is quite possible that a string course of Pentelic marble separated the orthostates from the regular courses above, as in the Pompeion.

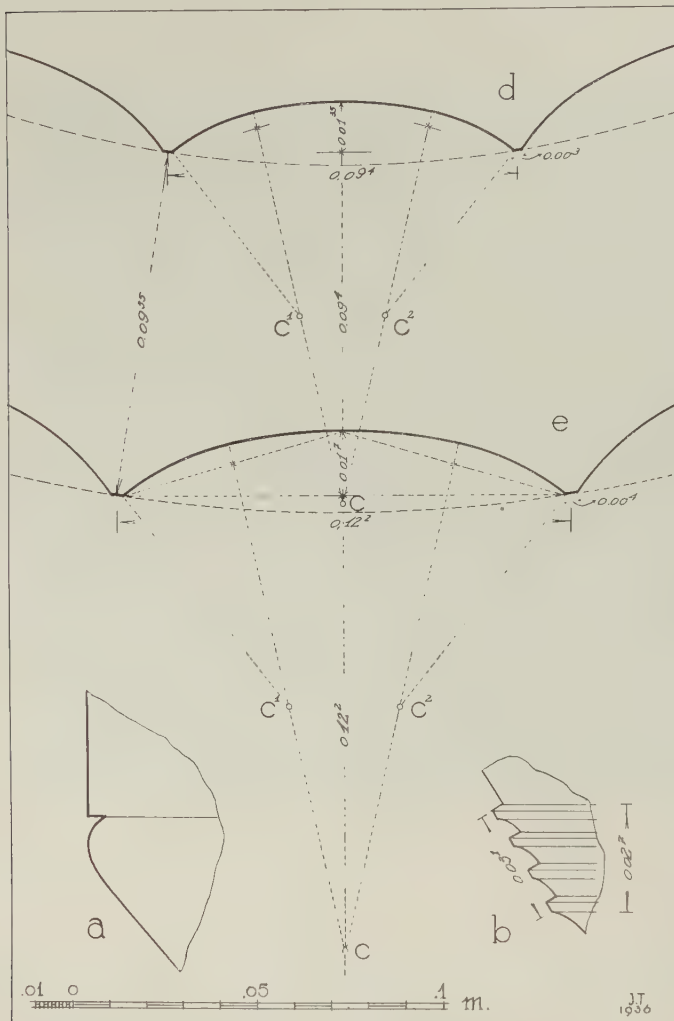


A lower resting surface, *ca.* 0.10 m. wide, is smooth polished, the inner surface is finished with a toothed chisel. The cutting for the empolion is square and true, its edges carefully bevelled. The entire top surface, which received the capital, so far as preserved is finished with the toothed chisel.<sup>1</sup> No entasis can be detected on either of the preserved drums,

though it doubtless was present in the column. The twenty-four flutes were separated by fillets 0.004 m. wide at the bottom, 0.003 m. at the top. The curve of the flute is a false ellipse made up of arcs described from three different centres. The scheme for the design of the flute is illustrated in Fig. 14. It appears to have been uniformly applied from bottom to top.

Of the Doric capitals only a few scraps have been found, the profiles of which are shown in Fig. 14 and incorporated in the restoration, Fig. 22. The height neither of echinus nor of abacus is preserved. The tops of the flutes and the three annulets above are finished with the utmost precision.

The Ionic columns of the interior order have fared even worse. Numerous but very small fragments of Pentelic marble from the apophyge indicate for the shaft a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.686 m.<sup>2</sup> Not a few small pieces of the drums were found and since all those fragments, which by the quality of their



workmanship may be certainly assigned to the Stoa, show a smooth surface finished with the toothed chisel, we may suppose that the interior columns were unfluted to their full height.<sup>1</sup> Several more small scraps of the Ionic capitals, combined with those discussed in the earlier report, permit of the partial restoration indicated in Fig. 15. It will be recalled that the egg-and-dart was not carved but was incised and painted, an economical method satisfactory enough on interior capitals which were protected from the weather and not so

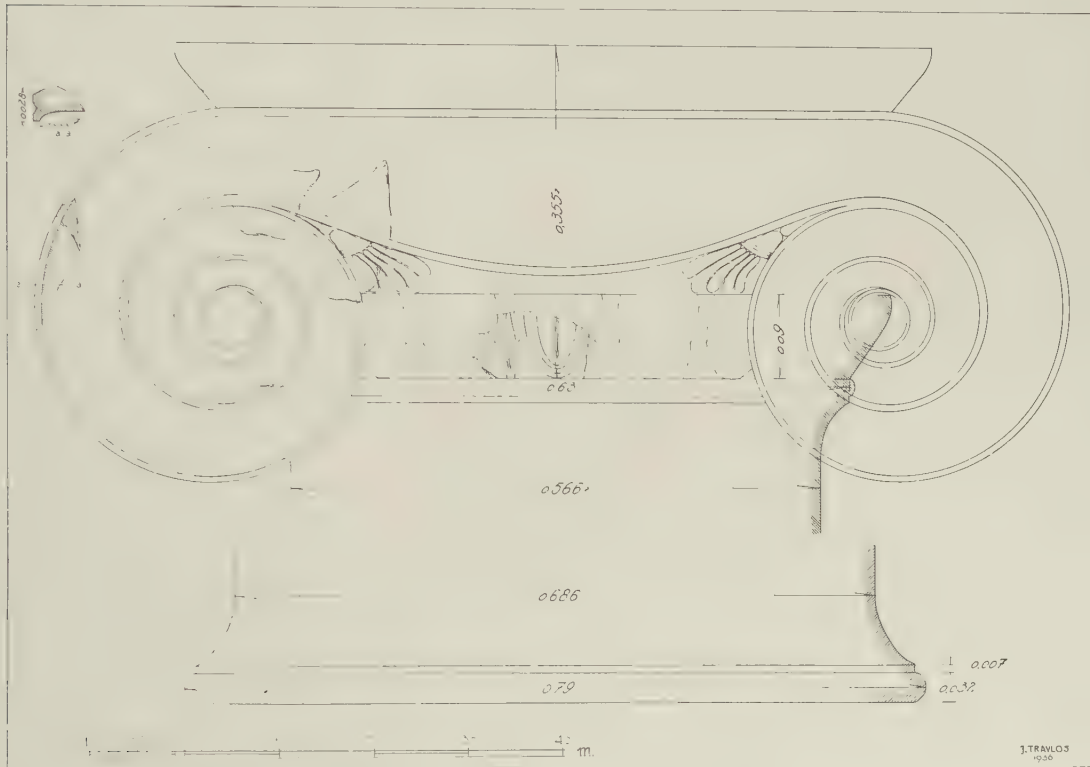


Fig. 15. (A 420) Ionic Column of Stoa, Restored

strongly lighted as exterior members. From the fragments of the capitals we may calculate the upper diameter of the column as *ca.* 0.566 m.

A small piece of an anta capital preserves the profile shown in Fig. 16, *a*. From another scrap, less severely weathered, Piet de Jong has been able to recover the tongue-and-dart pattern illustrated in Fig. 23. Only the stain of the color remains and the extremely shallow incised guide lines. In Fig. 16, *b* is shown the profile of a fragment from the top of a frieze (?) backer, which has lost most of the projection of its hawk's beak.

<sup>1</sup> Stillwell had conjectured that these columns were fluted in their upper parts on the basis of a small fragment from the top of an upper drum (*l.c.*, p. 123). But the inferior quality of the workmanship on this piece, when compared with the many fragments since found, is against its attribution to the Stoa.



Very slight paint stains and incisions show that it too was decorated with a tongue pattern similar to that of the anta capital.

#### ARCHITRAVE

We must still lament the lack of any part of the architrave larger than the piece of Pentelic marble illustrated in Fig. 17. Taenia and regula were painted red. In Fig. 22

we have restored the height of the architrave as equal to that of the frieze, a common contemporary proportion.

#### FRIEZE

It has already been observed that the triglyphs were cut from the soft, brown granular poros of Aegina, which is so friable that many small fragments chipped off in the dismantling of the building and were left on the spot. None of the pieces suffices, however, to give the full height of the member. One of the larger fragments is il-

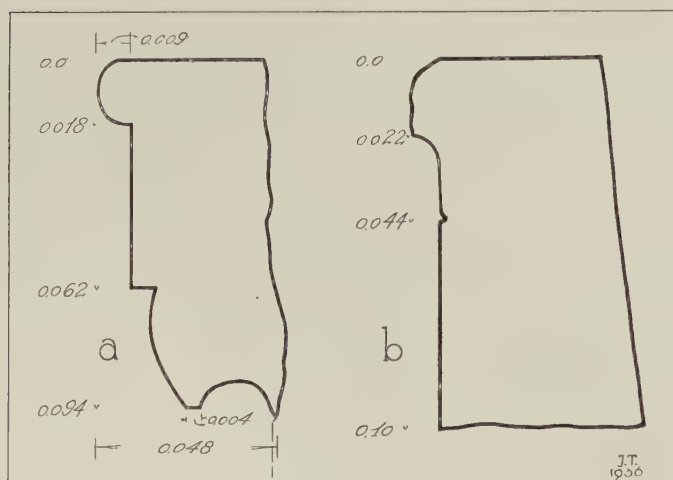


Fig. 16. *a* (A 371) Anta Capital, *b* (A 372) Antithema Crown of Stoa

lustrated in Fig. 18, *a-c*, in partially restored front and side elevations and as seen from below. It will be observed that the head band is crowned with a delicate half round.<sup>1</sup> The whole was painted blue.

From the treatment of the triglyphs, it is obvious that the metopes were separate slabs inset. A small fragment from the upper left hand corner of such a metope, of Pentelic marble, was found near the southeast corner of the Stoa and is illustrated in Fig. 18, *d*. Its workmanship is typical of the Stoa and its dimensions comply with the demands of the cuttings in the triglyphs. So far as preserved, its face is plain and retains no trace of paint.<sup>2</sup> In our restoration, Fig. 22, we have made the height of the frieze slightly greater than the width of the metope.

#### CORNICE

Reference has already been made in the earlier report to the cornice (*l. c.*, pp. 119 ff.). The block from the interior angle between the middle front of the building and its south wing

<sup>1</sup> Not indicated on the restoration proposed in the earlier report (*l. c.*, p. 121, fig. 9).

<sup>2</sup> This piece corresponds much more closely in workmanship to that of the Stoa than does a fragment mentioned by Stillwell, *l. c.*, p. 121.

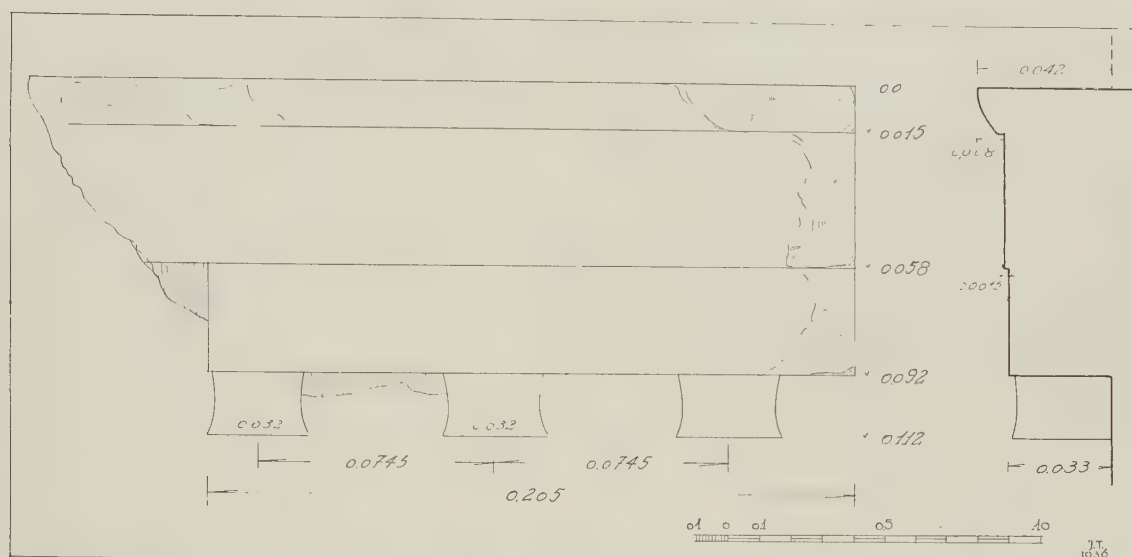


Fig. 17. (A 42) Fragment of Architrave of Stoa

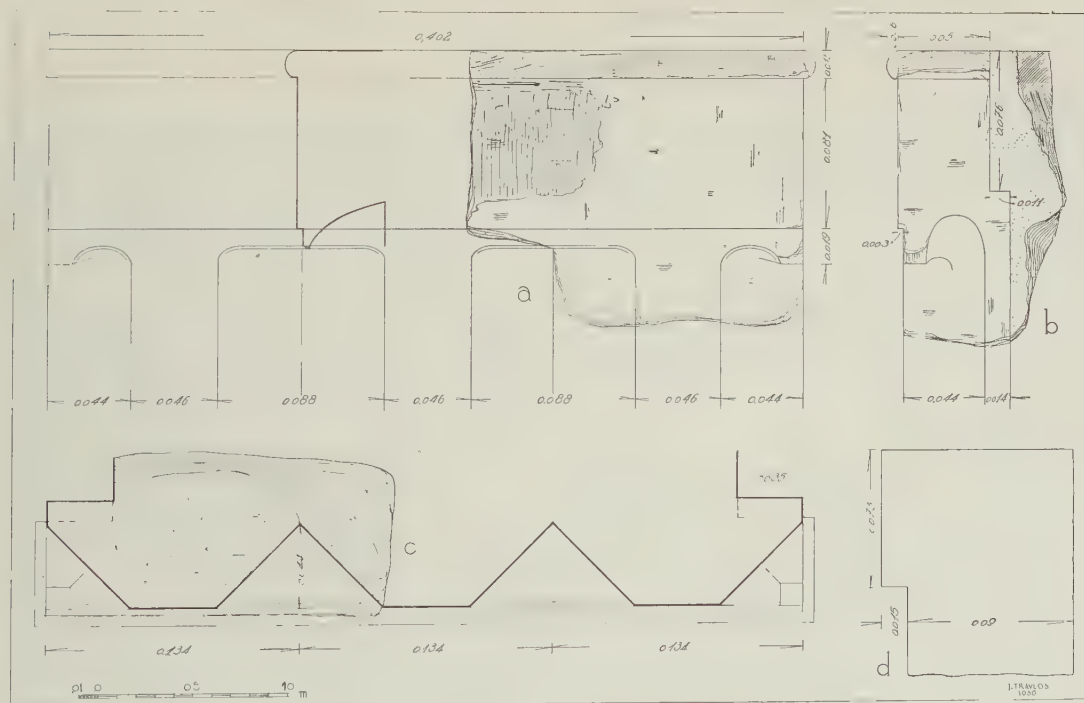


Fig. 18. (A 608) Triglyph and (A 672) Metope of Stoa



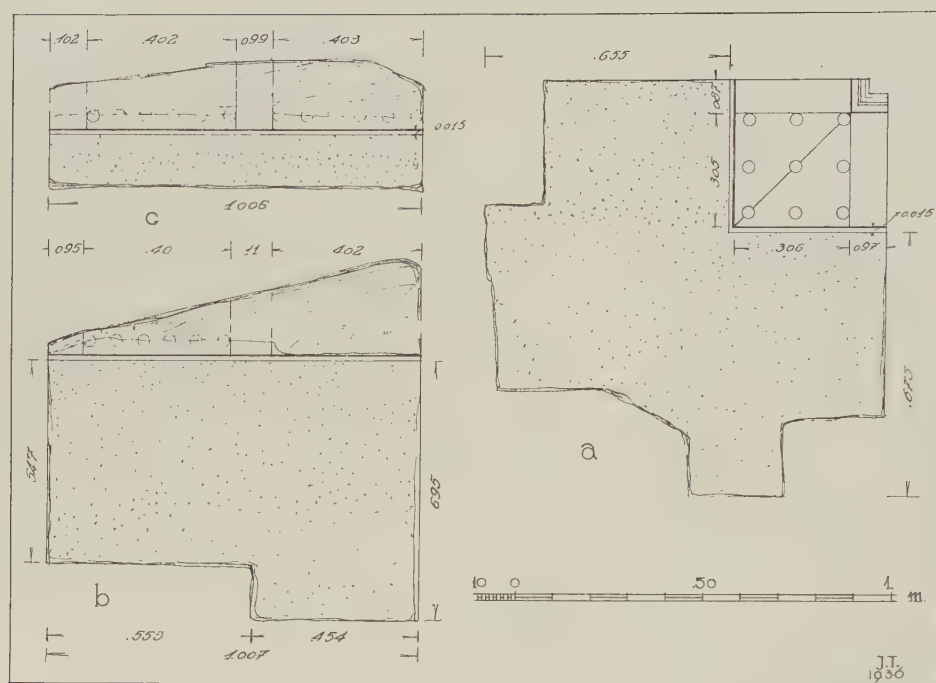


Fig. 19. (A 49, 44, 45) Undersides of Cornice Blocks of Stoa



Fig. 20. (A 49) Angle Cornice Block from Stoa

is now illustrated in Figs. 19, *a*, 20 and 26. From Fig. 19 it will be clear how the width of the mutule had to be reduced to permit the corner to be turned without contraction. On the basis of this block and of other fragments the profile of the horizontal cornice may now be restored complete (Fig. 22). The Lesbian leaf on the bed moulding and the tongue pattern on the beak are sufficiently illustrated in Fig. 26. The anthemia which decorate the viae show slight variations at the heart; the two variants found on the corner block have been worked out by Piet de Jong in Fig. 26.

In addition to the corner block, three other less complete but large fragments have been found, all lying within a limited area close by the corner block on the floor of the building near the angle between its south wing and middle front. All of these pieces come from the lateral horizontal cornice. The most significant dimensions preserved by them are the widths of mutules and viae which show the slight variations illustrated in Fig. 19. Of the raking cornice only very small scraps have been found, one of which preserves the profile of the beak (Fig. 21, *e*), another of the drip (Fig. 21, *f*). It will be observed in Fig. 21, where a fragment (*c*) of the horizontal geison has been included for comparison, that the moulding of the raking member is slightly higher than that of the horizontal. The two are decorated with a similar incised and painted tongue pattern.

A small fragment from a front horizontal cornice illustrated in Fig. 21, *d* must come from near one corner of a pediment (actually from the south side of the south wing), for the top of the block has been cut down at the pedimental angle as deep as the top of its crowning hawk's beak. It is clear, therefore, that the horizontal and raking geisa were not cut from the same block at the corner, as they are, for instance, in the Hephaisteion, the Erechtheion, at Aegina and Bassae. The top of the horizontal geison was carried level to the corner and the start of the raking geison together with the sima and the bedding for the akroterion were cut from another single block. This solution is found also on the Propylaia and at Sounion.<sup>1</sup>

## PLAN

As a basis for the restoration of the plan we have fixed the normal width of the triglyph at 0.402 m. and of the metope at 0.604 m., taking the mean of the slightly variant dimensions shown by the surviving cornice blocks (Fig. 19) and the fragmentary triglyphs. Six times their combined width ( $6 \times 1.006$  m. equals 6.036 m.) corresponds precisely with the mean interaxial spacing of the five interior piers. The reduced spacing of the outermost interior piers permits of a hexastyle front for the façade of each wing with a normal intercolumniation of  $2 \times 1.006$  m. = 2.012 m. We have restored a prostyle arrangement, using as evidence the fact that the bedding for the bench at the foot of the south wall stops toward the east one intercolumniation short of the front of the wing. The solid wall, presumably, likewise ended at this point in an anta. The inner side of the wing is satis-

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 152; *Arch. Delt.*, I, 1915, p. 21.





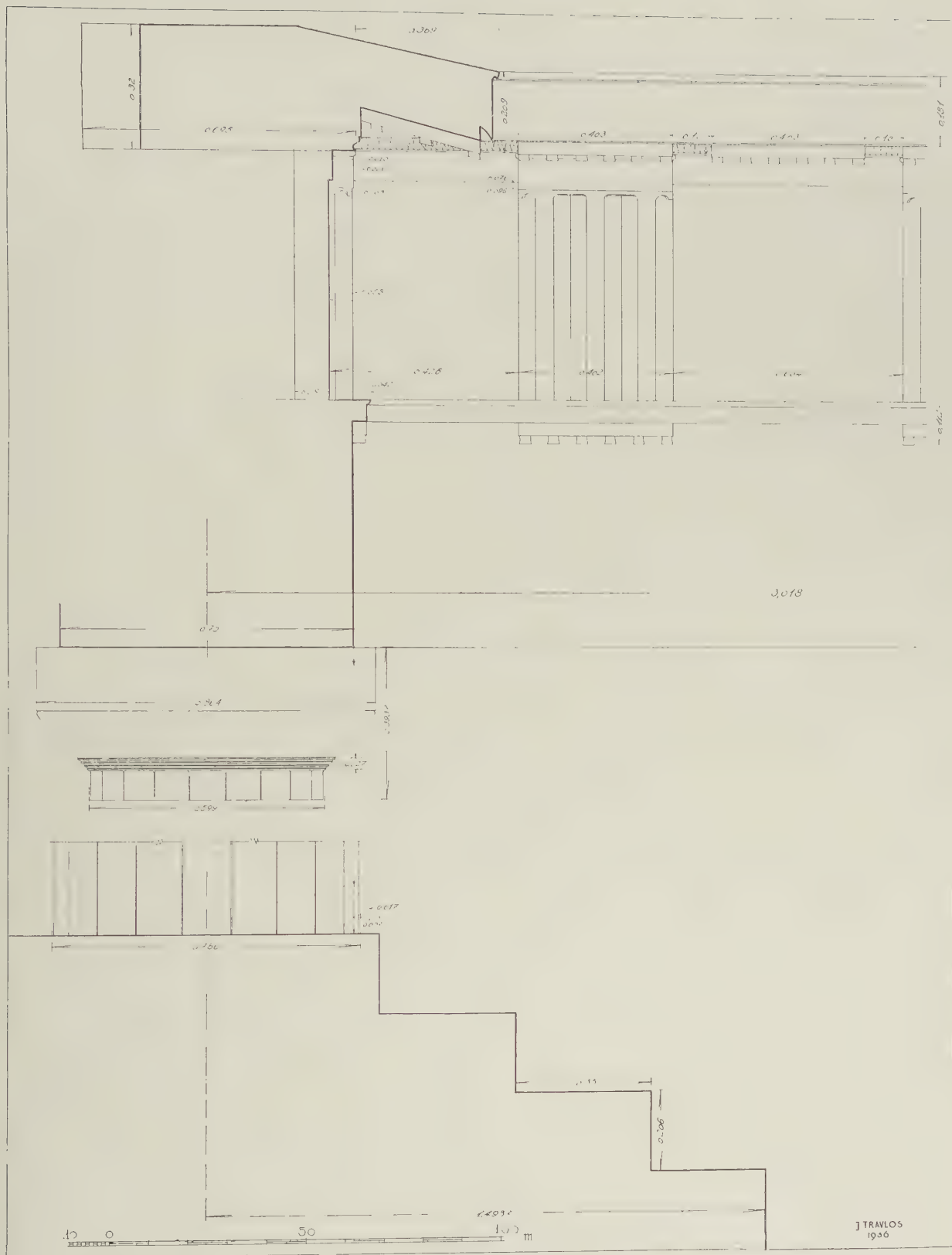


Fig. 22. Doric Order of the Stoa



factorily filled with the two normal intercolumniations of 2.012 m. and a contracted intercolumniation at the outer corner measuring 1.837 m.

The normal two-metope spacing that is demanded by the wing façades would seem much too compact for the mid part of the front, which was obviously intended to be as open and accessible as possible. We have, therefore, thought best to restore this part of the front colonnade with the system commonly found in later stoas, *i.e.* with two exterior to one interior intercolumniation and with a three-metope arrangement in the frieze. In the absence of architrave blocks we can point to no actual proof of the correctness of this restoration, but we would suggest that the extremely light Aeginetan poros was chosen for the frieze in order to reduce the weight on exterior architraves of abnormal length. Actually, this stone, with a specific gravity of *ca.* 1.81, is only two-thirds as heavy as Pentelic marble (sp. gr. 2.75), so that, even after making allowance for the thin metope slabs of marble, we may reckon that the scheme which we have suggested represented a very considerable reduction in weight as against a frieze of solid marble.<sup>1</sup> Some such explanation is necessary for the use at this period of an inferior stone which was not only to be exposed (though painted) but which also required not a little delicate cutting. Economy alone is not sufficient justification.

In restoring the depth of the building, we have assumed that the triglyph frieze returned with normal dimensions across its end, both above the intercolumniation and the solid wall. An approximate calculation at once fixes the requisite number of metopes at sixteen and of triglyphs at seventeen. The length of the frieze across the end of the building was therefore  $(16 \times 0.604 \text{ m.}) + (17 \times 0.402 \text{ m.}) = 16.498 \text{ m.}$  To this we may add the width of three steps  $(3 \times 0.35 \text{ m.} = 1.05 \text{ m.})$ ; the interval between the periphery of the column and the edge of the stylobate (*ca.* 0.05 m.), the interval between the periphery of the base of the column and the line of the face of the frieze (*ca.* 0.017 m.; Fig. 22), and the outward projection of orthostate and toichobate in the back wall (*ca.* 0.01 m. + 0.02 m. = 0.03 m.), making a total of *ca.* 17.645 m. Now the measured distance between the setting line for the outer face of the toichobate of the rear wall and the outer effective edge of a preserved block of the lowest course of the foundation in front of the south wing is 17.75 m. This leaves only 0.105 m. for the projection of the euthynteria and lowest course along the front of the wing, a possible margin but small in comparison with that found elsewhere in the building. It will be observed that the margin is even less at the southeast corner of the north wing where one block of the lowest course remains in position (Pl. II).

Several explanations are possible. The dimensions of the triglyphs or metopes may have been slightly reduced across the ends of the building. Some of the steps across the front may have been narrower than the 0.35 m. of the preserved step at the south end. It is possible, too, that in the northern end of the building, by error, the colonnades were set slightly closer to the back wall. Thus on the restored plan, where the interior columns have been

<sup>1</sup> One might conjecture that the frieze blocks were set as cantilevers balanced above the columns as over the middle intercolumniations of the main façades of the Propylaia (Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 146). But this the low tensile strength of the Aeginetan poros would scarcely permit.

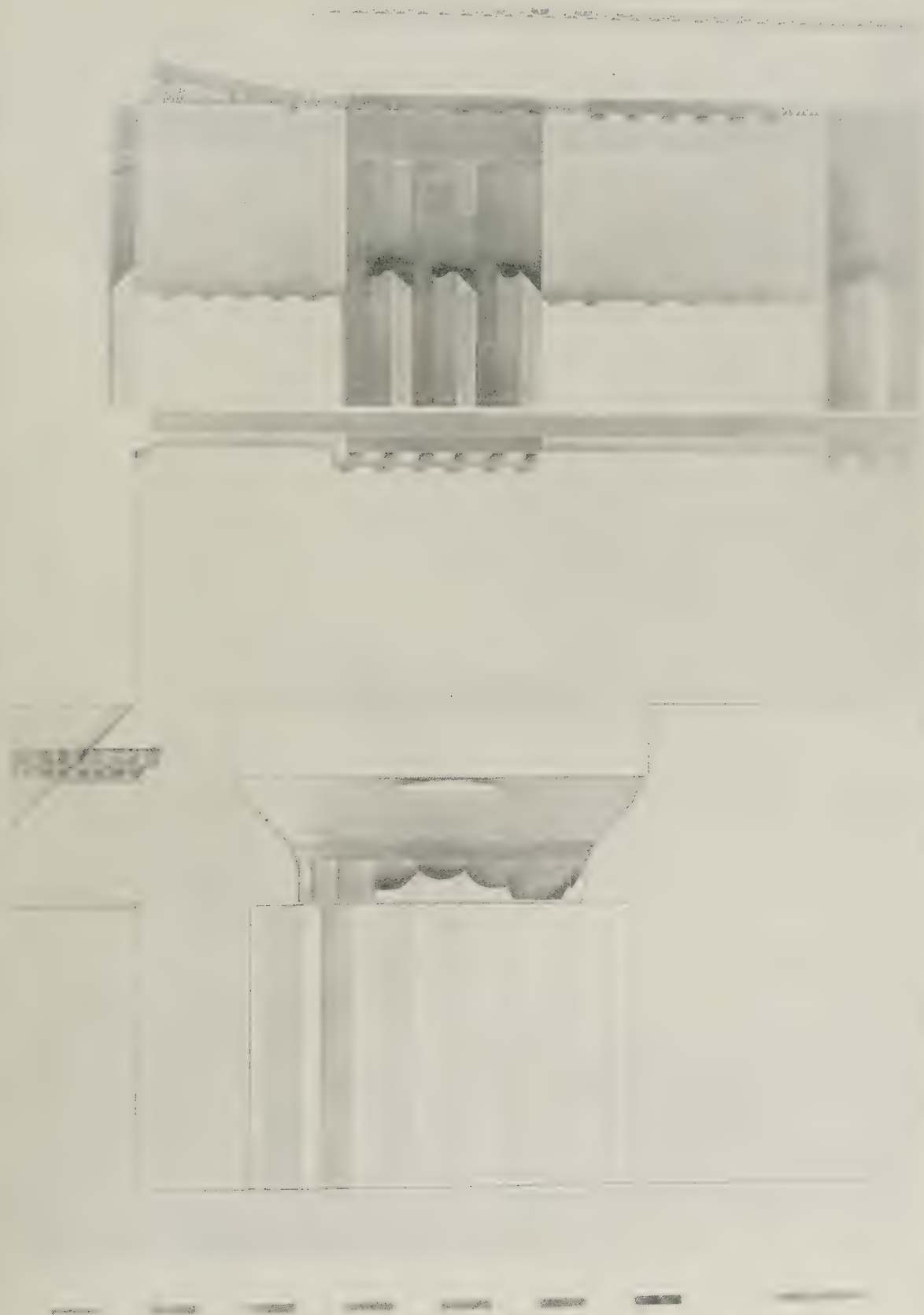


Fig. 23. Doric Order of Stoa with Colored Ornament Restored

Note the omission of the Half-round from the Anta Capital and the free rendering of the Column Capital, the Drip of the Cornice, the Guttæ.  
For these details see Figs. 17, 18, 21, 22



placed in a line perfectly parallel to the straight setting line for the back wall of the building, they fall toward the east edge of the piers. For lack, however, of more specific evidence, and merely for the purposes of demonstration, we have adhered in our restored plan to a perfectly regular and symmetrical solution.

It will be observed that the width of the wings differs so little from the depth of the mid part of the building (0.138 m.) as to have occasioned no perceptible difference in the pitch of the roof above the different parts.

#### ROOF AND CEILING

The pitch of the roof, as closely as one can measure it from the cornice blocks, was *ca.*  $12^{\circ}$  to the horizontal, *i. e.* *ca.* 1 in 4.7. Such an angle would give a pediment 1.20 m.

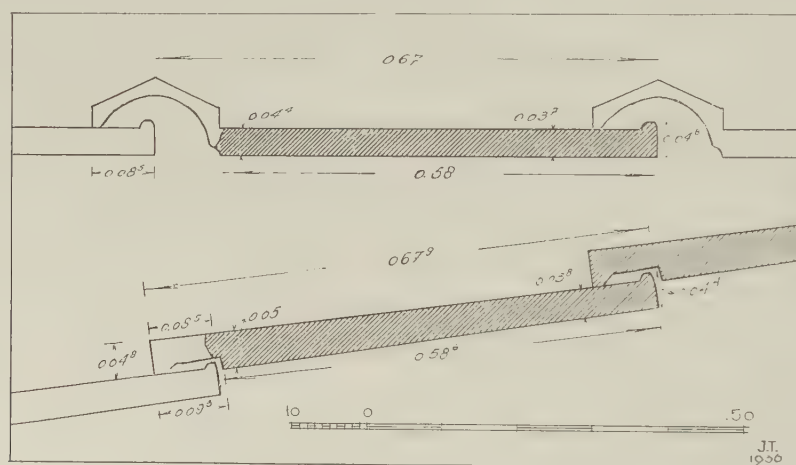


Fig. 24. (A 498, 499) Restored Scheme of Roof Tiles of Stoa

high exclusive of the sima. The cuttings in the backs of the preserved cornice blocks are so rough and irregular as to suggest that they were intended not to receive the ends of the rafters but rather to facilitate the setting of the rafters at a lower level, how low we cannot say. A simple calculation will show that a horizontal ceiling is out of the question. If we restore the Doric columns with a height of five and a half lower diameters (a maximum height in view of their marked diminution), we have a column height of 4.323 m., to which must be added the combined height of architrave and frieze, *ca.* 1.28 m., making *ca.* 5.603 m. in all. The interior columns may be given a minimum height of nine lower diameters (the Ionic columns of the Propylaia are over ten lower diameters in height), which will result in a column height of 6.174 m. to be increased by the height of a wooden architrave of at least 0.50 m., to 6.674 m. It is obvious, therefore, that horizontal beams, even if laid on top of the Doric frieze, could not have made proper contact with the interior supports. We must then suppose that the ceiling was inclined. It was presumably of wood, coffered

between the rafters. That such a solution was not repugnant to the fifth century is shown by its use in a closely contemporary building, the Temple of the Athenians on Delos.<sup>1</sup> The same practice was commonly followed in the great Hellenistic stoas, as that of Antigonos on Delos,<sup>2</sup> those around the Agora of Magnesia,<sup>3</sup> and the Sacred Stoa of Priene.<sup>4</sup>

The building was roofed with terracotta tiles of which a very few fragments remain. Several pieces of tegulae and imbrex tiles found behind the top of the retaining wall toward the south end of the building permit the restoration illustrated in Fig. 24. It will be observed that the width of the tegula, 0.67 m., is one-third of the normal intercolumniation of 2.012 m.<sup>5</sup>

#### AKROTERIA

The sculptural decoration of the Stoa was probably confined to the akroteria that crowned the façades of its projecting wings. Fragments of two of the figures from the south wing were found in a context of late Roman times along the east front of that wing. These have been published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 374 ff. Both are of Pentelic marble. The better preserved statue represents a winged Nike flying to the left and it undoubtedly rose above the southeast corner of the building. The few surviving fragments of the companion piece suggest that it was a figure of the same type which would have adorned the north angle of the façade.<sup>6</sup> More recently small fragments of a left foot and ankle have been found in accumulations of the late Roman period above the southeast angle of the north wing (S 795). Identity of material, scale and style show that the pieces come from one of the corresponding figures of the north wing.

In the mass of sculptural fragments found in front of the south wing at least three members are duplicated: head, right shoulder and right wrist. Since, however, there is no demonstrable instance of triplication, we have no certain remains of a third akroterion in marble from that wing.

Actually the central akroterion would seem to have been a group in terracotta of which several small fragments have been found in the accumulation of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. that filled the plundered foundation trenches in the west side of the Stoa Annex (Fig. 25).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. Courby, *Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> F. Courby, *Délos*, *Le Portique d'Antigone*, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Magnesia*, p. 122, fig. 120.

<sup>4</sup> M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, fig. 63. Cf. F. Courby, *Le Portique d'Antigone*, p. 35, n. 3 (Poulsen).

<sup>5</sup> The tiles are made of light yellow, apparently Attic clay, containing many particles of dark grit; the exposed surfaces were given a thin slip of fine clay, bright yellow in color.

<sup>6</sup> A fragment from the right shoulder of the less well preserved figure shows that her right upper arm was level while her left was presumably raised to correspond with the pose of the other statue.

<sup>7</sup> The clay is greenish yellow in color and contains many small grains of black grit, so that it closely resembles the fabric of Corinthian roof tiles. The flesh parts were covered with a layer of very fine clay *ca.* 1 mm. thick and were polished, whereas the drapery was merely slipped, a differentiation which resulted in a realistic contrast of surfaces. The wall varies in thickness from 0.015 m. to 0.03 m. and is roughly shaped by hand on the inside. There is nothing to suggest the use of moulds.



Fig. 25. (T 1261) Fragments of Terracotta Akroterion from Stoa

- a. Part of the right hip of a nude figure, seated and facing right, that was supported from beneath by the left hand of another figure. Traces of the hand show that it effectively gripped the thigh just over the tip of the femur. The nudity and the musculature of the figure that was carried leave no doubt that it was male. Surface weathered. Max. dim. 0.125 m.
- b. Part of the right breast of a draped woman, compressed by something held close against it. The contact is indicated by the working of the preserved piece in its lower left part. Surface much weathered. W. 0.105 m.
- c. Fragment from a draped figure in swift motion. The round projection may represent the point of the right hip. The drapery has been swept back around the projecting part. From either side start out heavy masses of the garment. At one end of the fragment are two drilled holes, 0.007 m.



in diameter, set at a slight angle to the outer face. They presumably held metal pins and suggest that the figure was repaired in antiquity. The original outer surface is fresh and unweathered and was obviously sheltered by something above. H. 0.15 m.

- d. Fragment of drapery from the back of the figure at the point where it escaped below the girdle. Surface slightly weathered. H. 0.055 m.

The scheme of the group is indicated by the preserved fragments: a draped female figure in swift motion carries in front of her a nude youth whom she supports beneath the thighs with her left arm while with her right she holds his upper body close to her bosom. The scale and the weathered state of the pieces prove that they come from the akroterion of a large building. The thinness of the engobe excludes a date in the archaic period. The delicate and reserved modelling (the pressure of the hand on the flesh is barely indicated) will scarcely permit of a date later than the fifth century. Actually, the scale indicated by the fragments (rather under life size) approximates that of the marble Nike and the quality of the drapery on the terracotta, both front and back, can be paralleled on the marble. It would be raising a gratuitous difficulty to dissociate the terracotta group from the building in which it was found, since the building is of appropriate date and still wants for the apices of its pediments just such groups as this.

We must admit that no fragment of terracotta was found, or recognized, in front of the south wing which has now been completely excavated. But it is worth observing that in front of the mid part of the façade, in the same late Roman layer that yielded the marble Nikai, there came to light a bronze rod 0.975 m. long, 0.01 m. in diameter at one end, tapering to 0.008 m. at the other (B 123). Either end had been roughly trimmed with a stroke of the chisel. The piece had obviously known an earlier use, when, to judge from its nodulated appearance, it had been intended to represent a reed. Such a piece would have served admirably as a strong but inconspicuous support which may well have been introduced at the time of repair suggested by the drilled holes in fragment *c*. It would be difficult, indeed, to suggest an alternative use for the piece in view of the context in which it was found.

## STYLE AND DATE

### a. *Proportions and Architectural Ornament*

The proportions of the architectural members of the Stoa so far as they are preserved, the disposition and the profiles of its mouldings and the quality of its workmanship find their best parallels in Attic buildings of the second half of the fifth century and especially in the marble buildings of Athens itself.

The diminution of the Doric columns (close to one quarter of their lower diameter) is rather less marked than that of the Parthenon but is equal to that of the Hephaisteion and is more pronounced than that of the Propylaia, Sounion, Rhamnous, the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, and the fourth century examples. The profile of the flutes is comparable with that of the best period. Their accentuated cusps give a more striking

chiaroscuro than appears in the columns of the Propylaia, the flutes of which were laid out from a single centre. In the uniformity of their depth from top to bottom they resemble those of the Propylaia and Hephaisteion.<sup>1</sup> The extremely gentle bulge suggested by the surviving bit of the echinus of the Doric capital is rather closer to that of the Parthenon than of the Propylaia, while the way in which the upper curve of the echinus is carried out to the line of the face of the abacus is typologically more archaic than anything to be found even in the Hephaisteion. The anta capital resembles that of the Hephaisteion in its vertical upper fascia, those of the Parthenon and Propylaia being inclined. The half-round which crowns the cap of the Stoa is also closer to the ovolo of the Hephaisteion than to the cyma reversa of Parthenon and Propylaia. The Ionic capitals of the Stoa, though executed in a simpler and more economical way than those of the Propylaia, would appear to have resembled them very closely in the profile of the echinus, the position of the eyes and the scheme of the filling ornament used in the angles of the volutes.

The frieze, which at this period, as noted above, may be taken as equal to or slightly greater than the width of the metope, would seem in the Stoa to be relatively high, and in proportion to the lower diameter finds again a close parallel in the Hephaisteion, exceeding in this proportion the friezes of the other Attic buildings of the late fifth century and, naturally, those of the fourth. The relative length of the guttae of the regulae, as also of the mutules, and the gentle concavity of their profiles make them comparable with those of the Parthenon and Propylaia rather than with anything of the fourth century.

The triglyph slightly exceeds in width one-half of the lower diameter, a proportion found also in the Hephaisteion, Parthenon and Propylaia. The undercutting of the head of the channels shows the same delicate inner curve as that of the Parthenon, the bevelled outer edge recurs in the Propylaia and the crowning half-round is paralleled on both Parthenon and Propylaia (Southwest Wing), but, to my knowledge, in no later building.

The relative height of the Stoa cornice, rather more than one quarter of the lower diameter, is thoroughly typical of the second half of the fifth century and exceeds that usual in the fourth century. At Tegea and Stratos, for instance, the proportion is less than one-fifth.

Our cornice would appear to represent an experimental stage in the elimination of the old-fashioned simple fascia beneath the mutule block, a design that still prevailed in the time of the Parthenon. The solution here adopted involved the cutting of a cymatium below the vertical fascia. A comparable method was followed in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, where, however, the moulding was cut on a separate member inserted between frieze and cornice.<sup>2</sup> In the horizontal cornice of the Propylaia, on the other hand, the moulding is cut on the cornice block directly beneath the mutule, and is separated from the frieze only by the narrow inclined fillet which belongs properly to the moulding itself.

<sup>1</sup> In the Parthenon the relative depth of the flute is increased in the top drum while in Sounion and Aegina it is reduced toward the top.

<sup>2</sup> F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 122 ff.

But on the raking cornice of the southwest wing of the same building a vertical fascia appears beneath the cymatium and its offset.<sup>1</sup> This solution became regular in the fourth century both for the horizontal and raking cornice and persisted throughout the Hellenistic period.<sup>2</sup>

The hawk's beak crowning moulding of the cornice, as also that of the antithema (Fig. 16, *b*), closely resemble those of the Parthenon and Propylaia in their profiles and in the narrow fillet at the lower extremity of the beak. The cyma reversa used for the bed mould of the cornice is almost identical in profile with those of the Parthenon which excited the admiration of Penrose.<sup>3</sup> The Stoa moulding shows the projecting fillet at the bottom which is characteristic of the Periclean buildings and which seems not to occur later than the fifth century. The cyma reversa of the Stoa, moreover, shows the same excess of vertical height over horizontal projection that is found in the Parthenon and Propylaia, a proportion that is reversed in the following century.<sup>4</sup>

An additional criterion for the date of the building is provided by the decoration on the viae of the cornice blocks (Fig. 26). From the obvious difficulty of executing this delicate design in the narrow channel one might suppose that it was done on the ground before the block was placed. Once in position, there was no fear of damage to the painting. Proof that this was the procedure followed has already been pointed out by Stillwell (*l.c.*, p. 120), who observed that one side of the ornament in one of the viae in the corner geison had been trimmed away, a condition which he rightly explained by supposing that after the block had been finished and the design applied, the one leg was found too long for its place and was accordingly cut back. Since there is no trace of re-incising or repainting, we must regard the preserved ornament as an integral and contemporary element of the Stoa.

The distinctive form of the palmette permits it to be placed with some precision in a line of development. In the third quarter of the fifth century, a tendency developed to break up the compact unity of the palmette, to emphasize the central leaf and to make the lateral groups of leaves distinct from the central leaf and from one another. The most radical innovation devised for the attainment of this effect was the flame palmette, with its lateral leaves turned in toward the middle. It may reasonably be presumed that the earliest examples of the new style of palmette retained something of the well rounded out-

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 179, fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The scheme employed in the Stoa recurs in the horizontal geisa of the Monument of Nikias (Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 463, fig. 3). It will be observed, however, that on the later building the guttae are shorter in comparison with the depth of the mutule and the slight offset at the lower edge of the cymatium is lacking. The choice of this design for its cornice may be included among the archaic mannerisms evident in the choregic monument: in its anta capital, based on that of the smaller order of the Propylaia or of the Stoa (?) (Dinsmoor, *l.c.*, p. 461); in its poros triglyphs; in the Acropolis limestone of its euthynteria; in its  $\vdash$  clamps.

<sup>3</sup> *Principles*<sup>2</sup>, p. 53, pl. XX, fig. 27, *a*.

<sup>4</sup> I must here acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Lucy T. Shoe for her illuminating comments on the mouldings of the Stoa, as of our other buildings.



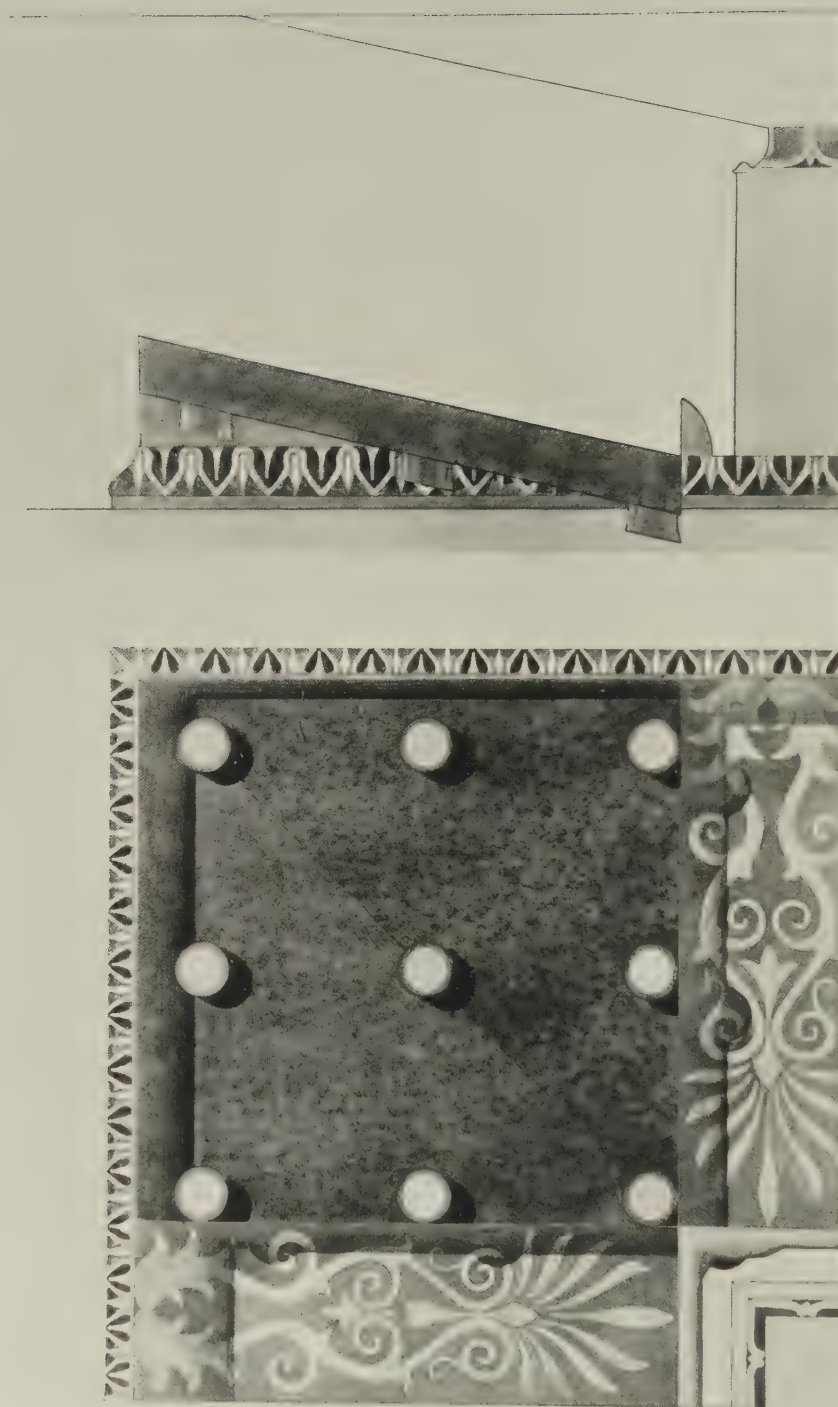


Fig. 26. (A 49) Angle Cornice Block of Stoa, Section and Underside  
 For the Drip, here incorrectly restored, see Fig. 21, *b*

line of the older type and that their leaves showed but a gentle inward curve. Good instances of the sort are to be found on the Cat Stele from Salamis,<sup>1</sup> on the inner palmette of Agamemnon's grave stele on the younger version of the Orestes Melian relief<sup>2</sup> and on the corner akroteria of the Satrap's sarcophagus,<sup>3</sup> all of which have been dated from their sculptural style to *ca.* 430 B.C. or the years immediately following. The next step is well illustrated by the sima of the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, dated from its architectural style and from epigraphic evidence to the years 425–417 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Here the inward curvature of the lateral petals is still gentle. The division of the halves, however, is marked, not by the elongation of the central petal but by its omission. The same stage of development is shown by the small filling palmettes in the lintel of the north door of the Erechtheion<sup>5</sup> and by the ornament on the sima of the Second Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion.<sup>6</sup> Both buildings may be placed around 420 B.C.<sup>7</sup> For the succeeding two decades we lack well dated documents but the rapid development that must have occurred in these years is illustrated by the ornamental crowning member of the tomb of those who fell near Corinth in 394 B.C.<sup>8</sup> The halves of the palmette are now violently pulled apart and the intervening space is occupied, in this particular instance, by four subordinate petals, elsewhere by a flower or a formal rosette or a lesser palmette. The further development of the motive does not immediately concern us.

It should now be clear that our palmette, typologically speaking, may be placed among the very earliest of its kind. Its petals are more gently incurved than those of the flame palmettes on the anta capitals and ceiling coffers of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, II, no. 1032, pl. CCIV; H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen*, pl. 5, b, p. 17; P. Jacobsthal, *Die Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, p. 146, n. 274; H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, no. 94.

<sup>3</sup> O. Hamdy Bey-T. Réinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, pl. XIX, 4; Möbius, *op. cit.*, pl. I, c.

<sup>4</sup> The sima is best illustrated in Möbius, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, a. For the dating see F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 204 f., 220 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The surviving lintel, as is well known, must be a restoration, probably of early Roman times. But Stevens (*Erechtheum*, p. 102) rightly pointed out that the later copy may well be taken as trustworthy. Möbius has since gathered together several other instances of the copying of this lintel ornament on independent monuments, including a sepulchral lekythos of indubitably fourth century date (*Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, pp. 178 ff.). On those copies which include the filling palmettes, they are of the flame variety and of a sober type much more appropriate to the late fifth century than to the period when the lintel was restored. We are therefore justified in supposing that the flame palmettes were included in the original scheme. A palmette of the same stage of development is indicated for the akroteria of the Erechtheion. See C. Praschniker, *Zur Geschichte des Akroters*, pp. 15 ff., fig. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, Beilage, XXI, 6.

<sup>7</sup> A flame palmette (though the details of its form are not recoverable) appears on the terracotta sima that has been assigned to the Periclean Telesterion at Eleusis (M. Schede, *Antikes Traufleisten-Ornament*, pp. 36 ff., pl. III, 21, IV, 22; Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 164, 169, n. 1, 173). The sima is regarded by Schede and Noack as contemporary with that of the Argive temple.

<sup>8</sup> Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, III, no. 1529, p. 325, pl. 317; Möbius, *Die Ornamente der gr. Grabstelen*, pl. 9, d.

<sup>9</sup> *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, London, 1817, Ch. VI, pl. 6.

more gently too than those on the central and lateral akroteria of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.<sup>1</sup> One might, however, object that flame palmettes of the same general type as ours do recur on monuments of a later date, as the Temple of Athena at Tegea, the Tholoi at Delphi and at Epidauros.<sup>2</sup> But a second glance will show that the earlier dating of the Athenian palmette is confirmed by the more gentle curvature of its petals, by the lack of emphasis on the mid-ribs and more especially by its well rounded outline, a detail particularly significant in view of the narrowness of the available field.

An early date is indicated also by the accompanying *akanthos*. From its simplicity and lack of characterization and from the obviously primitive, inorganic way in which the leaves are wrapped about the roots of the tendrils we may regard this as one of the earliest appearances of the *akanthos* in this use. Close parallels are to be found on the akroteria of grave stelai whose sculptural style is close to that of the Parthenon and which have accordingly been placed in the decade 440–430 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

In origin, the *via* design would seem to be an adaptation of a scheme that had been developed for akroteria, as found, for instance, on the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina and on a marble from Apollonia in Epiros,<sup>4</sup> and also on the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. To meet the special requirements of the *via*, the lower part of the old design was compressed, its upper part expanded. The slight traces that have been observed in the *viae* of the Propylaia suggest that Mnesikles there employed the old open palmette.<sup>5</sup> The effect is not happy, for the palmette reaches out into space and struggles against its bounds. The closed palmette as found on our cornice admits of a more self-contained and altogether more satisfactory design. One is perhaps entitled to suspect that the flame palmette was first devised to meet this special need and for this very building.<sup>6</sup> The prominent position and the fame of our Stoa would sufficiently account for the speedy adoption of the design in other buildings that were then being built or planned. And likewise to the sculptors of Attic grave stelai, who must have worked nearby, the Stoa furnished a ready pattern.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the central akroterion see *Aegina*, I, p. 293, fig. 248; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 133, *a*; for the lateral, *Arch. Delt.*, I, 1915, p. 24, fig. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Schede, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 29–31.

<sup>3</sup> Stele Giustiniani and a stele from Karystos now in Berlin. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 139, *a, b*, p. 166, n. 315, 195; Möbius, *Die Ornamente der gr. Grabstelen*, pl. 2, *a*, pp. 11 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Aegina*, I, p. 294, fig. 249; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 132 (mid fifth century); Henzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, pl. 34, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Penrose, *Principles*<sup>2</sup>, p. 64, pl. 31.

<sup>6</sup> The use of the open palmette in the *viae* of a building as late as the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros will not tell against a much earlier date for our building (Defrasse-Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 58). The architect of the Temple of Asklepios may well have based his design on an older and more conservative model, just as Polykleitos in designing the sculptured frieze band for the wall of the neighboring Tholos would seem to have had in mind the design on the north door of the Erechtheion. See Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LH, 1927, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> It was probably a proper feeling for spatial effect that kept the flame palmette out of the vase painter's repertoire until late in the century and restrained its popularity among the vase painters thereafter. See Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 177.



If our argument is trustworthy, the ornament on the via would suggest that the designing of the Stoa occurred after that of the Propylaia, but still in the neighborhood of 430.

It may be objected that the irregularities and variations in dimensions noted in the cornice and frieze of the Stoa would not have been tolerated in the Periclean buildings on the Acropolis. This is quite true. But the comparison should be drawn not with those examples of extravagant perfection but with less pretentious structures such as the Pompeion of the early fourth century and the small west Stoa in the Asklepieion which is probably to be dated shortly after the establishment of the sanctuary in 420 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Beside these, our Stoa will rank high in the substantial and painstaking quality of its construction.

#### b. *Building Material*

The kinds and combination of stone used in the building call for some comment. We have already noted that a soft whitish poros is found in the inner and lower foundations. Harder poros of darker color occurs in those parts of the foundation that were to be exposed. The same varieties of poros are found in the same relationship in the Hephaisteion, the Erechtheion and in those parts of the Propylaia where old material was not exclusively employed and in the Pompeion which appears to be contemporary with or but little later than the Wall of Konon.<sup>2</sup> The similarity between the stone used in our building and in the Erechtheion is sufficiently close to suggest that it came from the same quarry. Conglomerate does not appear in the foundations of the Stoa proper, though it forms part of the (later) retaining wall to the west. This stone had begun to be used in Athens as early at least as the beginning of the fourth century, for it occurs in the Monument of Dexileos, who fell at Corinth in 394 B.C.<sup>3</sup> By the middle of the century it would seem to have been in common use for it is found in the monument of Lysikrates (335/4 B.C.) and in the small rectangular building to the south of the Stoa which we shall find reason to date somewhat earlier.

The extremely light brownish poros used for the upper walls and the triglyphs was probably brought from Aegina, as noted above. This particular variety of poros, among others, is found on the island and it was used there in the Temple of Aphaia (*Aegina*, p. 21). In the building accounts of the Erechtheion Aeginetan stone is specified for the frieze backers. Though none of the actual members has survived, we may suspect that the

<sup>1</sup> The current dating of this building in late Hellenistic times is palpably wrong. This small simple Stoa is obviously earlier than the great fourth century building in the east part of the area and it may some day be shown to be the earliest building in the sanctuary.

<sup>2</sup> K. Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, pp. 174 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, no. 56. Travlos warns me that the conglomerate wall in Eleusis assigned by Noack (Taf. 16 M4, M5), and Wrede (*op. cit.*, p. 52) to the Periclean period, is probably part of a later re-building. Outside of Athens, conglomerate was used as underpinning for the floor slabs of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, ca. 430 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 318). In the Theatre of Dionysos breccia is found in walls now dated in the late sixth century and Periclean period (E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, III, pp. 58 ff., 68 f., 72 ff.).

material was the same as that found in the Stoa and that it was employed for the same reasons: economy and lightness.<sup>1</sup>

The use of Hymettian marble at a time as early as that indicated for our building by the other evidence may seem surprising. The earliest well established occurrence hitherto recorded of the familiar gray-blue "upper" Hymettian marble in the monumental buildings of Athens would seem to be in the "Kononian" Pompeion.<sup>2</sup> Yet the stone was employed earlier for inscriptions and sepulchral monuments. An honorary decree of 410/9 B.C. (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 110) was engraved in Hymettian marble, as also records of the treasures in the Parthenon published ca. 400 B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1373, 1379). Of Hymettian marble too is the string course which received the inscription in the monument erected outside the Dipylon to the Lacedaemonians who fell at Peiraeus in 403 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The same marble was used occasionally for inscriptions both public and private in the first half of the fourth century, after which it becomes comparatively common. Its occurrence in sepulchral monuments follows a similar course. It is found in a few grave stones which can be dated from the style of their ornament or of their lettering to a time around 400 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter it became increasingly popular, particularly for small and simple stones or for those on which the principal decoration was to be painted rather than carved.<sup>5</sup> It is, however, improbable that the use of the new stone for such minor objects should have antedated its employment on a more extensive scale. The slab required for an inscribed stele of standard size was not only a big block but one of select quality. Such could not readily be gotten by casual cutting on the rugged slopes of Mt. Hymettos, but it could be chosen from the walls of a large quarry pit already opened for architectural marble. We are therefore driven to suppose that Hymettian marble had been employed on a large scale in some Athenian building already before the end of the fifth century. With the doubtful exception of the Theatre of Dionysos and the Stoa below it, our Stoa in the Agora is the only known candidate.

Its use having been pushed back thus far, Hymettian marble becomes the direct successor of gray Eleusinian limestone as a device for gaining color contrast in buildings made largely of white marble or of poros covered with white stucco. Outside of Eleusis itself, Eleusinian stone enjoyed but a brief popularity for architectural purposes: the frame

<sup>1</sup> *Erechtheum*, pp. 181, 350 f. The use of Aeginetan poros at Eleusis in the fifth and fourth centuries is attested by the building accounts. See Caskey, *Erechtheum*, p. 350, n. 2 and Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 118, 199.

<sup>2</sup> For Hymettian marble used in a fifth-century drain in the Theatre of Dionysos see Bulle (Wrede), *Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern*, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1930, col. 90; *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 290 ff. The plinths that supported the bronze knights in front of the Propylaea, dedicated ca. 440 B.C., are said to be of Hymettian marble (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 400). Yet the marble is not of the blue variety with which we are here concerned and, in any case, one at least of the bases appears to be a later replacement.

<sup>4</sup> Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, III, 1492, dated by Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 146, to ca. 400 B.C.; *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 907, 1001.

<sup>5</sup> Of the latter type one may note the stele of Melitta, sister of the Dexileos who died in 394 B.C. (Conze, *op. cit.*, III, no. 1467) and a large monument with painted figures of about the mid fourth century (*ibid.*, no. 1443).

around the base of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia; steps, orthostates and string courses in the Athenian Propylaia; the curved base for the cult statue that antedates but was re-used in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos; the backing of the sculptured frieze of the Erechtheion and some other unspecified part of that building.<sup>1</sup> Its abandonment in favor of the blue marble is understandable, for the Hymettian stone is more readily quarried in large masses, more easily worked afterwards and, for buildings in Athens, it had to be carried rather less than half as far.<sup>2</sup> And though the marble is not so intense in color as the limestone, its surface is susceptible of a more uniform polish and does not acquire the gray film which suggested to early travellers that the background of the frieze of the Erechtheion had been stuccoed.<sup>3</sup> The Eleusinian stone did, however, continue to be used for statue bases even into the Roman period. But the practice of combining blue Hymettian marble with the white Pentelic in buildings, a combination that was to be regular through the fourth century and Hellenistic times, may now be traced back with assurance to the fifth century and with some probability to our Stoa in the Agora.

### c. Pottery

We may look for help for the more precise dating of the building to the mass of débris that was found on the floor of the pottery works destroyed when the Stoa was begun and to the pottery that was found in the filling thrown in to carry the Stoa floor (see above, pp. 8, 20). This material must clearly antedate the building and that from the potter's shop especially may be taken as providing a rather close *terminus post quem* for the beginning of construction. A representative group, including the obviously latest pieces, is discussed below by an impartial judge.

- a. P 44. Two fragments from a calyx krater decorated in two zones (Figs. 27 and 28). From the contemporary packing beneath the floor of the Stoa. Diam. at lip calculated, 0.37 m.; H. pres., 0.12 m. and 0.07 m.

Upper zone: return of Hephaistos. On the larger fragment, Dionysos leading the mule of Hephaistos; revellers before and behind. On the smaller fragment (which should be set to the right of the larger) parts of the drapery, footstool and sceptre of the waiting Hera. Lower zone: a youth, right, looking back; on the wall a lyre.

Partial relief contours. The glaze used for drawing has fired red, the background glaze a deep chocolate brown. Thick white, washed over with glaze thinned to yellow, for the berries of the border, the fillets, the reins, and the names of the two gods written above their heads. Leaf stems of the border painted in thinned clay.

The profile of rim and wall is close to that of the Nekyia krater (P. Jacobsthal, "The Nekyia Krater in New York," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, 1934, pp. 117 ff.; cf. G. M. A. Richter and

<sup>1</sup> *Erechtheum*, Inscr. V A, l. 26, pp. 181, 319. Since no Eleusinian stone is now to be found in the fabric of the building, save in the frieze, we may suspect that the two blocks here mentioned were to be used in connection with the base of the cult statue, which has completely disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient quarries on the west slopes of Mt. Hymettos have been recently identified (S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 268).

<sup>3</sup> *Erechtheum*, p. 181.



M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, figs. 55-59). Good parallels for the fillets in the work of the same painter. With the ivy border compare a bell krater in Vienna (G. von Lücken, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. 116). The use of thinned clay in such patterns appears at least no later than the decade 440-430 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 501, fig. 19). With Dionysos' drapery compare the frontwards fall of the himation end on the Eretria painter's Oxford amphoriskos (*Att. Vas.*, p. 430, 7; *C. V. A.*, Oxford 1, pl. 40, 4). White leading reins for Hephaistos' mule recur on the well-known oinochoe in New York (F. R., pl. 120, 1; J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* [*V. Pol.*], p. 61, n. 4).



Fig. 27. Fragments of a Krater from the Stoa Filling

Representations of Hephaistos' return have recently been discussed by Karl Schefold (*Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 137 ff.; p. 140, note 2, gives the earlier literature). Our fragments provide an addition to the relatively small group of vases on which Hera as well as Hephaistos is represented. Add also a calyx krater in Agrigentum (E. Gabrici, *Vasi Greci dei Musei di Palermo e Agrigento*, p. 20 and fig. 7; no. 23 in Jacobsthal's list of calyx kraters with two zone decoration, *op. cit.*, p. 140). Gabrici notes the conservative treatment of the figure of Dionysos, understandable if the painter, working in the vicinity of 400, followed the same monumental original as did many artists of a generation and more earlier. In seeking an explanation for the popularity of this subject during the third quarter of the fifth century it is perhaps permissible to consider not only the existence of a famous wall-painting, but also the craftsman's interest in the building of Hephaistos' temple, in progress on the hilltop above the potters' quarter.

What scene was represented in the lower register, is uncertain. On the krater in Agrigentum, mentioned above, the adventures of Theseus occupy this position; possibly also on our vase. But

the boy suggests rather Ganymede or Tithonos; thus, a series of pursuit scenes. The object which the boy is holding might be a bow, or part of a broken lyre.

The elaboration of this vase, with its profusion of near-gilding, may at first sight suggest a date near the end of the century. We have seen, however, that parallels for its details appear in the thirties, and it would be difficult to associate the drapery of Dionysos with any much later time. The style of the figure in the lower zone is moreover contemporary with that of the earlier works of the Eretria painter: cf. *Monumenti Lincei*, XXIV, 1916, pl. 6 and p. 884; *V. Pol.*, p. 61, n. 4. ca. 430.

- b. P 5105. Fragment of a black-glazed amphoriskos with stamped decoration (Fig. 29). Provenience as a. H. pres., 0.063 m.; the upper half and the tip missing.

For the ornament above the tip, the maker has used a different palmette stamp than for that around the middle of the vase. Both decoration and scale are midway between the large early stamped amphoriskoi with sprawling ornament (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 490, fig. 12) and the small examples, closely decorated, of the end of the century (Richter and Milne, *op. cit.*, fig. 31). The palmette stamps are crisp; only the glassy glaze, and a certain crowding of the ornament, suggest that the high point of the stamped style (compare no. g, below) has been passed. ca. 430-420.

- c. P 4843. Upper part of red-figured kantharos (Fig. 30). From the exploratory pit behind the retaining wall of the Stoa, with nos. d-i, below. H. pres., 0.07 m.; diam. at lip, 0.095 m. Most of one handle and parts of rim and walls restored. A boy on either side, in dancing pose; on A, a goal post. No relief contours; brown inner drawing; the fillet white. Metallic glaze; the fabric extremely thin and hard.

Whether a stemmed kantharos of form B (*V. Pol.*, p. 32, n. 1 and pl. 29, 3; L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings*, p. 17, fig. 16) or the stemless shape more commonly stamped or patterned than figured, is uncertain from our fragment. A figured example of the stemless sort, to be seen in the National Museum, Athens (N.M. 1436), belongs to the years between 440 and 430. The few analogies for the stemmed shape come from the vicinity of the mid-century; ours would be one of the latest of the series, for pose, hair-dress and drawing alike suggest a date well into the thirties. The artist resembles the Calliope painter (*Att. Vas.*, pp. 427, 428).

- d. P 4859. Black-glazed kantharos (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H. at lip, 0.082 m.; diam., 0.109 m. Much of both handles, including all of the upper parts, restored.

The shape is like that of a red-figured kantharos in the National Museum (N. M. 1236), decorated in a manner recalling the Eretria painter; cf. Oxford *C.V.A.*, 1, pl. 48, 34, and 2, pl. 52, 12; also Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 16, fig. 15. The foot of our piece is exactly like that of the patterned example in London, *C.V.A.*, III 1c, pl. 32, 15.



Fig. 28. Detail from the Krater of Fig. 27

- e. P 4860. Black-glazed mug (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H. as restored, 0.115 m.; diam. at lip, 0.096 m. The base as restored is perhaps a trifle too high.

Compare the Euaion painter's mugs (Caskey, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43, figs. 30, 31); these have a better swing to the lip and curve to the body than ours.

- f. P 4858. Black-glazed squat ribbed cup (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H., 0.062 m.; diam., 0.116 m. Low ring foot; black beneath.

The shape appears to be characteristic of the third quarter of the century (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, no. 49), a variant on the better known mugs or jugs with reeded bodies (oinochoe form 8) many of which were found in this deposit.

- g. P 4848. Black-glazed stemless cup, stamped and incised decoration (Figs. 31 and 32). Provenience as c. H., 0.049 m.; diam., 0.166 m.; much of the rim and walls, and most of both handles, restored. The rim lightly offset inside only; the foot moulded without, and lightly beneath where it is black save for a central reserved spot decorated with circle and dot. Extraordinarily thin hard fabric, excellent glaze; the finest of many stamped kylikes, the drinking cup characteristic of this deposit. Another is illustrated in *Hesperia* IV, 1935, p. 519, no. 102.

The elements of the unusually elaborate pattern are all familiar in the third quarter of the century: the central star elaborates upon the motif earliest employed in incised decoration; the meander appears occasionally on cups; the linked palmettes compare favorably with those of Athens N.M. 1573 (*J.H.S.*, LVI, 1936, p. 213, fig. 17); the criss-cross lines recall those often painted on skyphoi of this time. For their use on other stamped cups, compare *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 295, fig. 42, no. 177, and B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II, pl. 90, no. 1272.



Fig. 29. Stamped Amphoriskos from Stoa Filling

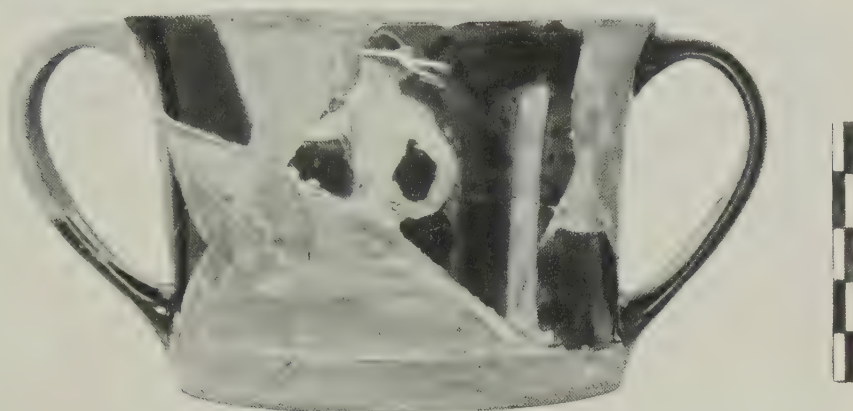
- h. P 4876. Black-glazed mug with horizontal ribbing (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. II. as restored, 0.065 m.; diam. at lip, 0.084 m. Nothing of the base remains. Thin fabric; excellent glaze.

The shape refines upon that of no. e, above. The deep wheel-run grooves and sharp ribs are of the sort seen on phialai (Richter and Milne, *op. cit.*, fig. 181), but rarely in Attica on other shapes. A fragment in the National Museum, from the Theban Kabeirion but possibly Attic, comes from a mug similar to ours, but larger. On it, rows of stamped palmettes with crisp straight petals ornament the concavities.

- i. P 4870. Small mixing bowl on stand (Fig. 33). Provenience as c. H., 0.104 m.; diam., 0.246 m. One handle and parts of the bowl and stand restored. Gritty brown clay, unglazed.

Firm brown clay clinging to the interior of this and other such bowls from the same deposit suggests that they were used by the potter for mixing clay. Similar shapes, in groups of household pottery, often show traces of burning and appear to have been braziers (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 515, fig. 27), but here the shallow bowl suited no less well the purpose of the potter who for vases of the quality of those illustrated from his shop must have mixed his clay in small quantities and with extraordinary care.





c

Fig. 30. Kantharos from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa



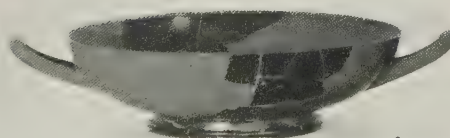
d



e



f



g



h



Fig. 31. Black-glazed Vases from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa



Fig. 32. Interior of Black-glazed Cup from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa



Fig. 33. Mixing Bowl from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that a lower limit for the two groups of pottery might be placed somewhere toward the end of the third quarter of the fifth century and consequently the beginning of the construction on the building should not be far removed from that time.<sup>1</sup>

We may here recapitulate the archaeological evidence bearing on the date of the building. The proportions of its members and the general quality of its workmanship indicate that it follows closely the full tradition of Periclean architecture. The decoration of its cornice is of a style appropriate to the late '30s. The pottery from around its foundations breaks off in the late third quarter of the century. That the Stoa was designed after the Propylaia (which was actually built between 437 and 432 B.C.) seems certain from the appearance in it of Hymettian marble rather than Eleusinian limestone<sup>2</sup> and from the more advanced type of palmette used on its cornice. A date between 421 and 415 B.C. has been suggested for its marble akroteria which were presumably among the last touches applied to the building.<sup>3</sup> Other evidence will be considered below (p. 73).

#### d. *Design of the Building*

In this building we have recovered not only one of the earliest known independent colonnades on a monumental scale but also one of the most interesting and satisfying schemes to be employed in such buildings (Fig. 34). The beauty of its design may best be appreciated through comparison with earlier or contemporary colonnades such as the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, the Stoa that bordered the north side of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion,<sup>4</sup> the Stoa Poikile at Olympia, all of which are in plan simple rectangles with one or two rows of columns and with straight fronts. The more elaborate plan of the Athenian building may have been devised for the fuller utilization of the available space and also with the object of presenting a more interesting façade to the market square. Such an innovation in the accepted plan for a stoa is paralleled in the development shown by the Propylaia of the Acropolis beyond the simple traditional scheme for monumental entrance ways. The use of the outthrust wings with a difference in the colonnades of central and lateral parts adds further point to the comparison between the two buildings.<sup>5</sup> We have found reason to believe that the Stoa is later but only slightly later than the Propylaia. One is tempted to suppose that the design of the building in the market place, if it was not directly due to Mnesikles, was at any rate influenced by the free and ingenious spirit evident in the works of that master on the hill above.

<sup>1</sup> The description of the pottery and the conclusion regarding its date are by Miss Lucy Talcott.

<sup>2</sup> That the dark gray limestone was used also in the Erechtheion does not prove that the Stoa was designed after that building as well, for in the Erechtheion the dark stone is more intimately associated with the sculpture than with the architectural scheme of the building.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 376 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Eph.*, 1900, cols. 120 ff., pl. VI.

<sup>5</sup> The similarity, to be sure, is more apparent in the plan than in the elevation. Comparison has been drawn also between the Propylaia and the scene building of the Theatre of Dionysos. E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, III, pp. 73 f.



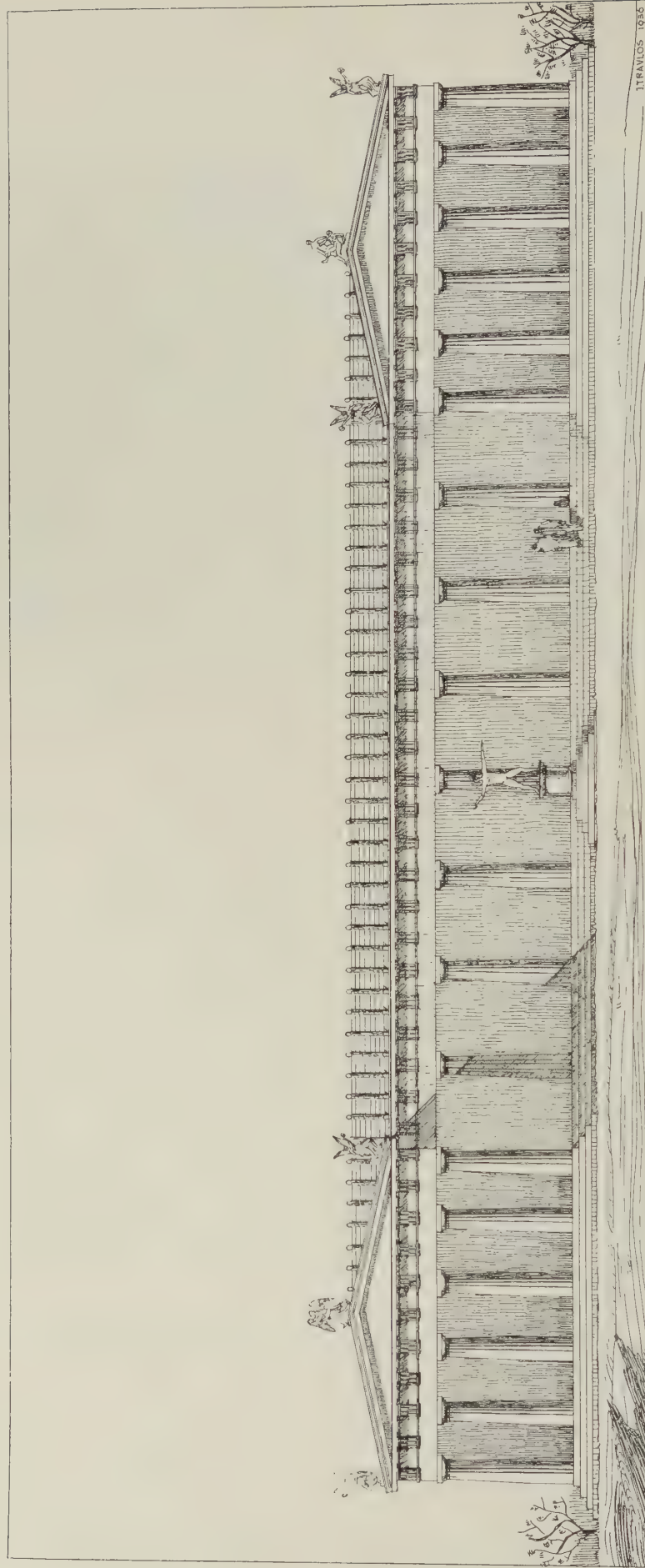


Fig. 34. Front Elevation of Stoa of Zeus, restored.  
 The ancient ground level probably covered the two lower steps toward the south (left) end  
 of the building

The winged scheme is found occasionally in later stoas. At Lindos on Rhodes the lofty Sanctuary of Athena was approached through a monumental entrance way that combines elements of both the Athenian Propylaia and our Stoa.<sup>1</sup> Its single colonnade and the tetrastyle fronts of its wings give an effect of meager proportions in comparison with the Agora Stoa. The Stoa of Antigonos on Delos, of the later third century B.C., was in all probability inspired by the Athenian building.<sup>2</sup> In its greater length (19 interior columns) and in the free way in which the width of the metope is altered to suit the different column spacing of the middle and lateral parts, the Delian building provides a striking contrast with the moderate scale and the severe regularity of the Athenian Stoa. The rarity of the winged design in later times may be attributed to the increasing popularity of the type of Agora that was colonnaded as a single square unit, exemplified especially by the late fourth-century and Hellenistic foundations of Asia Minor.

Another feature in the plan of the building that reminds one of the Propylaia and Mnesiklean freedom is the introduction of the fourth step. This is paralleled in another closely contemporary building of Athenian design, viz. the Temple of the Athenians on Delos.<sup>3</sup> In all three instances, the additional step was a reasonable device for the adjustment of difficult ground levels.

The use of the three-metope arrangement of the frieze which has been restored in the mid part of our building is another bold departure from the strict Doric canon which may well have been suggested for the Stoa by its more limited application above the broad central passage-way in the main façades of the Propylaia.<sup>4</sup> The greater openness which it permitted recommended the scheme and resulted in its general use in later stoas.

#### THE RETAINING WALL

Reference has already been made to the retaining wall that borders the Stoa on the west and south. Its purpose was to support the steep face of the scarp cut in the foot of Kolonos Agoraios by the builders of the Stoa and so to prevent the very friable rock of the hill from eroding and washing down. Such protection was especially desirable behind the back wall of the Stoa which was to be painted on its inner face. It was, moreover, clearly the wish of the architect of the Stoa that the area immediately to the south of the building should remain open at least to the level of the foot of the south wall of his building.

The situation and construction of the wall have already been described by Stillwell (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 115) and need be but briefly reviewed here. The wall runs closely parallel to the back wall of the Stoa at a distance of 1.10 m. from it. At a point 11 m. south of the southwest corner of that building it turns at right angles toward the east and its

<sup>1</sup> C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pl. I; *Arch. Anz.*, 1904, cols. 210 f.

<sup>2</sup> F. Courby, *Délos, Le Portique d'Antigone*; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 111 f., 204.

<sup>4</sup> The same device was employed in the Propylon of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion, which appears to be contemporary with the Second Temple of Poseidon. *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, Ch. VIII, pl. 2, pp. 53 f.

course in this direction can be traced some 15 m. beneath the superimposed foundations of the later Temple of Apollo. Its easternmost extremity as preserved lies within the porch of the temple and the falling ground level to the south of its line suggests that it never extended much farther. Behind the Stoa, as one might expect, the construction is more substantial than in the southern part. Commencing at a point approximately in line with the outer face of the Stoa's south wall, the retaining wall was carried north in squared blocks laid in regular courses for a distance of some 26 m. It continued north with reduced thickness, the courses consisting of only a single row of stretchers, for the hill sloping rapidly down toward the north no longer required a wall of such great height or solidity. In this section behind the Stoa the retaining wall is built for the most part of soft creamy poros identical with that used in the foundation of the Stoa, but it includes also a number of blocks of conglomerate.

Beyond the south end of the Stoa and in its east-west part the wall was built of broken limestone, laid loose and without any binding medium. At its southwest corner, and again near the corner of the Stoa, there are incorporated in it broken blocks of soft creamy poros.

The greater part of the excavation at the foot of the hill was obviously made by the builders of the Stoa. One might ask whether the southern part was contemporary with that immediately occupied by the Stoa. The fact that both the northern and southern parts of the western cutting are in line suggests that they are contemporary. The same argument points to the contemporaneity of the two sections of wall. The architect of the Stoa probably had the retaining wall in mind from the beginning. In any case the crumbly nature of the hillside must soon have made evident the necessity for such a wall. That the interval between the construction of the Stoa and of the retaining wall is not too great is shown by the presence in the wall of blocks probably discarded by the Stoa builders because of miscutting or breakage. The presence of blocks of the same poros in the southern part of the wall provides additional evidence of the contemporaneity of the two parts. In the area to the south, which must have been under the charge of another board and where no large building yet stood, a temporary retaining wall of cheaper material was deemed sufficient. The subsequent construction of the later Temple of Apollo at a higher level involved the burying of the lower part of the light retaining wall and the higher level of the new building rendered unnecessary any new wall.

The exploratory pit opened behind the retaining wall (see above, p. 20) produced from its footing trench pottery of the early fourth century. The wall must therefore be at least that late. A closer date will be suggested below (p. 69).

#### MONUMENTS IN FRONT OF THE STOA

The monuments of which traces remain in front of the middle colonnade and between the projecting wings of the Stoa are of interest both in themselves and because of their relation to the building (Fig. 35, Pl. I).

First in the series is undoubtedly the round foundation that lies in the middle of the area. Its shape and its maximum diameter (*ca.* 4.20 m.) are given by the foundation pit






Fig. 35. Area in Front of Stoa from Northeast

*a* = Southeast Corner of North Wing; *b* = Bedding for Round Base; *c* = Area of Exedra; *d* = Octagonal Base

and by fragments of three of the outermost blocks that still lie in position. These stones are of soft, creamy poros and they are cut wedge-shaped so as to fit into the periphery of a circle. Of the superstructure nothing has been identified with certainty. The stratification indicates that the Stoa and base are closely contemporary (the building presumably being slightly earlier) and that the new and higher ground level was established at the same time in relation to the two. An intimate relationship between base and building is suggested further by the fact that the centre of the circle falls precisely on the east-west axis of the Stoa and in the line of the front columns of the Stoa wings.

Immediately to the north, or rather, northwest of the round base, is a rectangular bedding cut in the soft rock. It measures *ca.* 1.40 m. square. Absolutely nothing of the structure itself remains, but its position indicates that in date, as in place, it falls between the round monument and the octagon to the north.

Between the round monument and the south wing of the Stoa, there remain in position blocks of the two lowest courses of an exedra-like structure that faced toward the market square. The foundation has maximum dimensions of *ca.*  $4.60 \times 7.90$  m. The surviving blocks are of hard, gray poros roughly worked. The angle blocks of the second course, which would seem to have been the euthynteria, were secured by small  clamps set shallow. Numerous working chips found in the footing trenches show that the superstructure was of Pentelic marble. We may restore the monument with a pedestal for sculpture along the back, a bench at the foot of the pedestal, and, across the front, two or three steps. A mass of lamps and pottery found in the contemporary packing between the Exedra and the Stoa front is to be dated in the second century A.D. The size, the irregular dimensions, the workmanship of the blocks would be appropriate to the time of Hadrian.

Immediately beneath the Exedra is a packing of small field stones and broken marble set in soft brown mortar which contains a little pounded tile. This packing would seem to have no immediate connection with the Exedra, inasmuch as it extends some 0.50 m. beyond the western limit of the Exedra foundation and was in places cut away to make room for the blocks of the Exedra. In width the bedding measures 4.95 m. and in length it appears to have occupied all the available space between the south wing of the Stoa and the round monument. Its north end, indeed, is crescent-shaped, following the curve of the earlier monument base. A few scraps of lamps and vases found around the packing are datable to the early part of the first century A.D. The monument accordingly must be as late as that time; it need not be later.

The corresponding area between the round base and the north wing of the Stoa was occupied by a monument of peculiar shape: an irregular octagon with a fan-like projection toward the north. The rectangular cutting along the south side of the octagon may be earlier than the main monument but it contained, *in situ*, some of the characteristic foundation packing of the monument. The octagon measures *ca.* 4.20 m. from side to side. For the central part of the monument, an octagonal pit was sunk to a depth of 1.00 m. in bedrock and was filled with a solid mass of concrete: soft brown mortar, including a little



pounded tile, field stones and broken marbles both architectural and sculptural. Individual beddings for a few of the squared upper blocks may be distinguished about at the level of the surface of bedrock. The packing for the north and south extensions, though of similar material, is not so deep as that for the core. Of the superstructure we have as yet found nothing. The mortar used is so similar to that of the bedding that was overlaid by the Exedra as to suggest that the two monuments were closely contemporary. The broken marbles incorporated in both foundations may well date from the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.

#### STOA ANNEX

A few supplementary observations may be added to the account that appeared in the earlier report on the Hellenistic Building which we shall now call the Stoa Annex. It was there noted that this rectangular, two-roomed structure had been set down immediately behind the Stoa on a site hewn for the most part from the foot of Kolonos Agoraios (Fig. 36). From the plan of the Stoa as now established, it is clear that the Annex was intended to be placed symmetrically on the axis of the other building. Actually the axes of the two lie 0.94 m. apart. That the Stoa and Annex were very intimately associated is shown by the fact that the Annex, so far as can now be made out, was approached only through openings cut in the back wall of the older building. Each room of the Annex, moreover, would seem to have had its own independent entrance. It will be observed in the plans that the north, south and middle walls of the Annex were carried eastward to the back wall of the Stoa. We may presume that the intervening sections of the old retaining wall were now dismantled so that each of the new rooms was provided with a spacious forehall. The existence of an eastern doorway in each of the two rooms is indicated further by the pair of rectangular piers set against the inner face of the east wall of each. In the north room the lowest blocks are preserved, in the south room there remain only the dressed beddings. Corresponding foundations do not appear along the other walls of either room so that we may perhaps restore in front of either entrance a pair of columns with an ornamental lintel or arch. The two rooms would seem not to have communicated directly with each other, for the foundation that flanks the median wall on either side and which in all probability supported a bench, carries unbroken along the middle part of the wall where a doorway, had such existed, might reasonably have been placed.

In considering the interior arrangement of the rooms, we may restore a bench along either foot of the median wall on the evidence of the bedding blocks which are there preserved. In the south room, however, the bench would seem to have terminated originally where the line of blocks now breaks off, *i. e.* near the corner of the rectangular base. That a corresponding bench existed along the south wall of the room is shown by a dressed surface for the necessary line of bedding blocks inside the main wall foundation. And it will be observed that the symmetrical restoration of the paving in the adjoining room suggests a bench along its north side.





Of the flooring of Pentelic marble, blocks remain only in the north room. They rest on a packing *ca.* 0.50 m. thick made up largely of working chips, and these from re-used material. Numerous fragments of building blocks in marble and poros show that more than one earlier building contributed to the construction of the Annex. Some of the small bits of poros as also four fragmentary tubular water spouts of island marble must come from an archaic building, whereas the profile of the mouldings and the indifferent workmanship to be noted on certain of the marbles prove them to be from one or more Hellenistic structures. Among the débris, moreover, were found fragments of a base of Eleusinian limestone that bore an honorary decree in lettering of the late fourth century B.C.

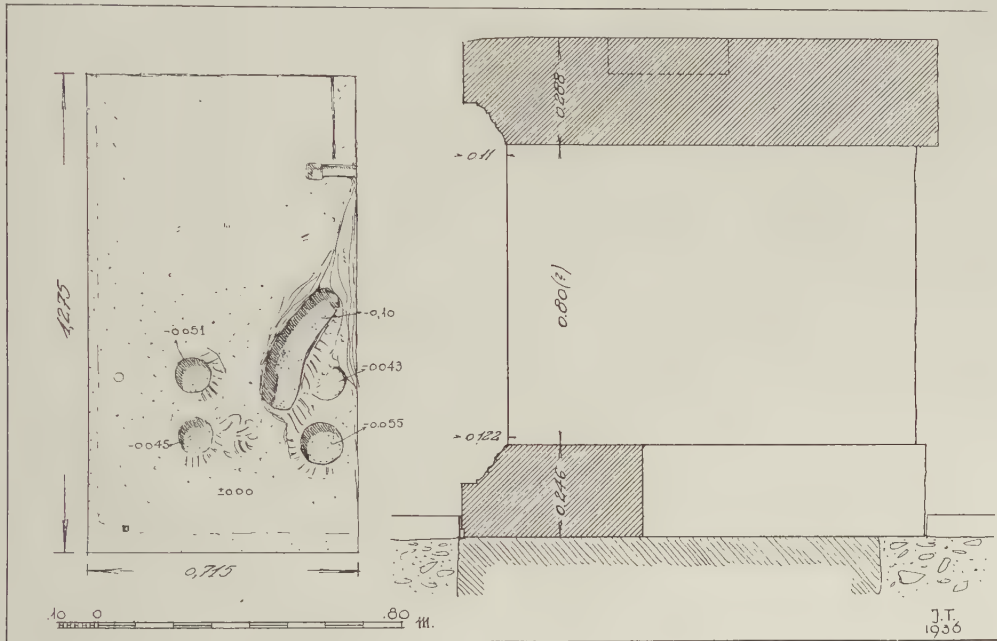


Fig. 37. Plan of Capping Block and Restored Section of Monument Base in Stoa Annex

(I 4265). The packing that overlies bedrock in the south room is of the same character as that in the north and rises to the same level, suggesting that the south room also was flagged with marble slabs.

In the western part of the south room there remain the foundations of a large monument base. The first marble course rested on a single row of blocks of soft yellow poros which were set down into the packing beneath the floor but which do not reach to bedrock. Of the plinth of Pentelic marble two blocks remain in position and a third was found built into the late Roman wall nearby. Their profile is illustrated in Fig. 38. They were secured to one another by  $\neg$  clamps and their tops were worked to receive orthostates of which the corner blocks only were dowelled. Nothing of the orthostates has been found. But the capping block from the south end of the base had been incorporated into the same late Roman wall (Fig. 37). Its profile differs but slightly from that of the plinth. Only



the front and side faces of the capping block have mouldings, its back is left quite rough and was certainly not intended as a joint surface. Hence the length of this block gives us the width of the monument: 1.275 m. Assuming that the base was set symmetrically in the

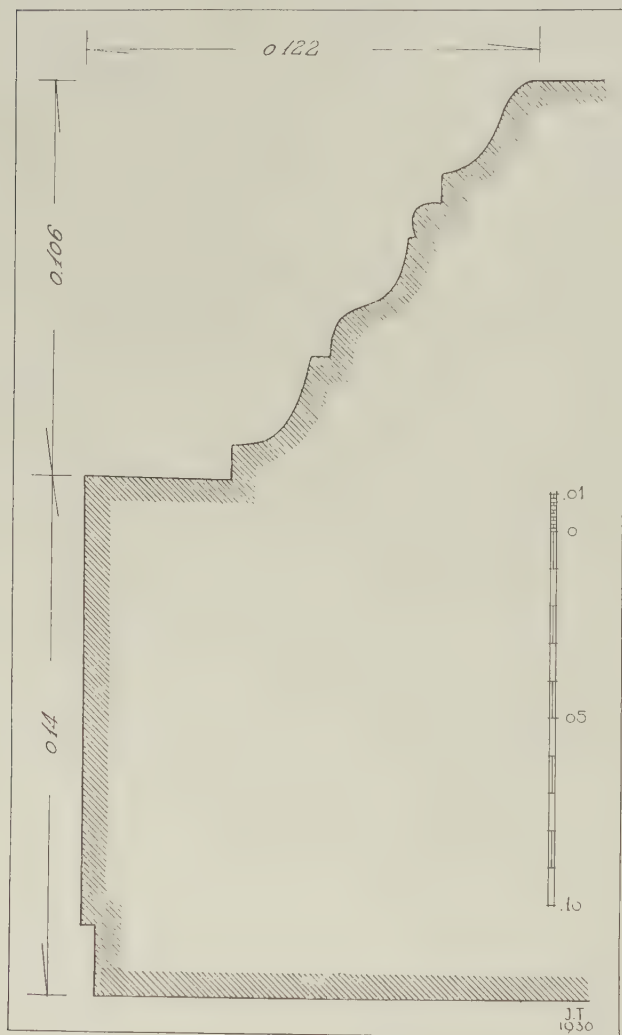


Fig. 38. Profile of Base Moulding of Monument in Stoa Annex

room, we may calculate its length at 3.98 m. The capping stone was secured to its neighbor by a  $\neg$  clamp set toward the back. Toward the front a second clamp was rendered unnecessary by a large bronze statue which stood with its right foot on the surviving block, its left on the missing neighbor. The cutting for the tenon that supported the foot is 0.34 m. long and suggests that the statue was well over life size. Four large round dowel holes secured some object above the right foot of the figure. Two smaller cuttings toward the outer edge of the block must have supported attributes, one probably a spear grasped in the right hand of the figure. The entire base might have supported two other statues of similar scale.

The preserved capping block is uninscribed. But a small scrap that would seem certainly from its profile and workmanship to come from one of the other capping stones was found incorporated in the late Roman wall (I 4268). It bears an inscription in lettering of the early first century A.D. which records a dedication by the Demos in honor of some Roman:

$\delta \delta \eta \mu [ \sigma \varsigma . . | . . . \sigma \upsilon \nu \nu \acute{\iota} \omicron \nu . . .$

The monument in its present state is probably contemporary with the Stoa Annex. The poros bedding blocks on which it stands, themselves re-used, resemble closely other blocks in the wall foundations of the Annex and there was nothing in the filling round the poros blocks of the monument to suggest that they were introduced at a later time.

But the blocks of the marble plinth were brought from elsewhere, as shown by dowel cuttings in their undersides for which no corresponding cuttings exist in the poros blocks



on which they now rest. The original clamp and dowel cuttings in the tops of the two blocks that were found undisturbed in their second position must have been re-used. The third of the old plinth blocks, however, was used in the back row of the course and was turned upside down so as to give a broader bearing surface for the orthostates of the new base. New cuttings were made in its top for clamp and dowel. The surviving capping block would seem to have been cut when the base was set in its present position for its mouldings are worked more carelessly than those of the old plinth blocks and the clamp cutting in its top resembles that newly made in the upturned plinth block rather than the original cuttings in the plinth.

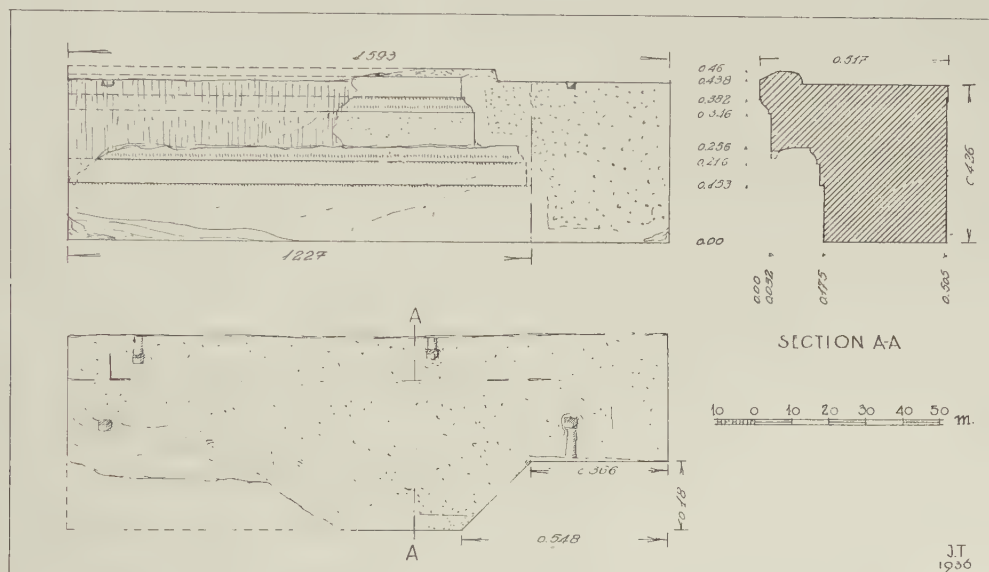


Fig. 39. (A 107) Interior Cornice of Stoa Annex

The workmanship of the plinth blocks would suggest for the original construction a date in the late Hellenistic period. Actually the profile of their mouldings finds close parallels in a group of Delian monuments dated epigraphically between *ca.* 130 and 90 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Some information about the upper walls of the rooms is provided by a block of Pentelic marble found in the pillaged foundation trench at the southwest corner of the building (Fig. 39). It is obviously an interior cornice block, presumably from that corner. The top of the corona was left rough and irregular. Cuttings in its top show that the block was secured to its neighbors and to its backer by  $\sqcap$  clamps. That the wall continued above, but with reduced thickness, is indicated by a setting line on the top of the block.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. Courby, *Le Portique d'Antigone*, p. 87, figs. 61, 117-119.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth observing that the back face of the block and the end which shows no joint surface were cut with the saw. The exposed faces were dressed with the toothed chisel and edged with a smooth band.

We may, then, restore an interior cornice at a level presumably somewhat above the lintels of the doors, so that it could have been projected inward above each entrance, and supported there by flanking columns. A comparable cornice is to be found in the Tower of the Winds, where it effectively breaks the monotony of an otherwise high plain wall.

In the earlier reports it has been suggested that the Annex in its original form dates from the third century B.C. and that the marble floor was added in Roman times. The evidence invoked was the material from the well and the two cisterns whose lower parts were overlaid by the foundations of the building. Further examination has shown, however, that only one period is to be recognized. No satisfactory earlier floor has come to light beneath the level of the marble flagging. In the filling that was thrown in to receive the marble floor has been found a piece of Arretine ware and fragments of lamps that can scarcely be earlier than the time of Augustus. We must, therefore, place the construction of the Annex at least that late. The fragments of earlier buildings found in that same filling, the scrap of inscribed base of Eleusinian stone, the old blocks re-used for the rectangular foundation in the south room, all these may most conveniently be derived from the Sullan disturbance of 86 B.C. That so much of such material was still lying about suggests for the Annex a date as soon after the siege as is consistent with the other evidence. We may, accordingly, place the construction around the turn of the era. The filling of the well and cisterns may have been necessitated by some earlier building activity in the neighborhood, conceivably by the erection of the great Hellenistic building, the foundations of which appeared in 1936 between the Stoa Annex and the Hephaisteion.

#### IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY

Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμουν . . . . . πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς, ἀφιεῖς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρονσα Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον . . . . . Πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἐστῆκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας . . . . . Ἐνταῦθα ἐστῆκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός . . . . . στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται γραφᾶς ἔχουσα θεοὺς (τοὺς) δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεὺς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Ἄθμος . . . . . ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οὗ βοηθήσαντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν . . . . . ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνῳ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῶον ἐπίκλησιν. Pausanias, I, 3, 1-4.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου.

*Idem.* I, 14, 6.

Our most straightforward and trustworthy evidence for the identification of the building is contained in the passages from Pausanias quoted above.<sup>1</sup> For their application it would

<sup>1</sup> On the identification, see Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 108, 451 (Stoa Basileios); IV, 1935, pp. 354, 376 (Stoa of Zeus); Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 110 (Stoa Basileios); Valmin, *Bull. de la soc. royale des lettres de Lund*, 1933-34, pp. 1 ff. (Stoa Basileios = Stoa of Zeus); Picard, *Rev. arch.*, 1934, pp. 96 f. (Stoa Basileios = Stoa of Zeus); Walter, *Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1936, cols. 95 ff. (Stoa of Zeus). See p. 224.

be highly desirable to have exposed the actual point where the main road coming up from the Dipylon entered the market square. But, as shown above, the line of this road and its mouth have now been fixed within narrow limits. It is clear that the road passed the north end of the Stoa at a distance of not more than 30 m. From this interval we must deduct the width of the lesser street which skirted the Stoa on the north. Now the normal width of this street is *ca.* 6.50 m.; at its mouth it may well have been wider. The remaining space between our building and the main road is obviously too limited to accommodate a colonnade of any considerable size or importance that would face on the square. It is perfectly clear, moreover, from Pausanias' description that the Stoa Basileios was distinct from the colonnades which bordered the road from the Dipylon; it definitely belonged to the Kerameikos, which for Pausanias meant the market square.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that our Stoa is the "first on the right" as one entered the square, and that it was accordingly the building which Pausanias called the Stoa Basileios.

This conclusion is strengthened by the second passage from Pausanias. It becomes increasingly clear that the so-called Theseion is to be identified as the Temple of Hephaistos seen by Pausanias. The "Theseion" lies on his route between the Enneakrounos and the Stoa Poikile and in that line it is the only temple which could appropriately be described as "above the market place," certainly the only building which could both meet that requirement and at the same time be worthy of the statues by Alkamenes (?). We know, moreover, from literary references that the Hephaisteion stood high in the metal-working region.<sup>2</sup> The excavations of the past two years have brought to light abundant remains of metal-working establishments which date from the sixth century B.C. into the fourth century A.D. and lie to the east, north, west and southwest of the temple. Further justification is scarcely needed for calling the "Theseion" the Hephaisteion.<sup>3</sup>

Since we may now take the Hephaisteion as a fixed point, we shall find that our building is an excellent candidate for the Stoa Basileios of Pausanias' second passage. It is, in the first place, the only building on the west side of the square, so far exposed, that could be described as an independent stoa. Since, moreover, it was but a single story in height, its roof lay well below the level of the Hephaisteion. The traveller naturally chose the Stoa as a point of reference (rather than, say, the neighboring Temple of Apollo) because it was the most impressive of the large buildings that he had noted on the west side and that were in clear view from the temple above. If we suppose for a moment that the Stoa Basileios lay farther north, beyond our building, its very remoteness would seem to render Pausanias' remark pointless. If we place the Stoa to the northwest

<sup>1</sup> On the restricted significance of the word in Pausanias, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Andok. I, 40: ἰδὼν δὲ Εὐφημον τὸν Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλοκλέους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ καθήμενον, ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἥφαιστίον, . . .

Bekker, *Anecd.*, I, 316, 23, χαλκῷ: ὄνομα τόπου, ὅπου ὁ χαλκὸς πικράσκεται δὲ ὅπου τὸ Ἥφαιστίον.

<sup>3</sup> M. Picard has recently proposed to identify the "Theseion" with the Eleusinion (*Rev. arch.*, 1936, pp. 119 f.). If the argument depends on the identification of the "South" Stoa as the Stoa Poikile, the attempt is foredoomed to failure. The "South" Stoa is certainly not older than the second century B.C.



of our building, the reference again loses point, for any structure in that position must have been separated from the Hephaisteion by the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces, by the street to the Sacred Gate and by the late colonnade along the north side of that street.<sup>1</sup>

Were further confirmation needed for this identification, it might be found in the terracotta akroterion discovered in the Stoa Annex. This group has been identified as a woman bearing off a youth. It would be strange indeed if this were other than Pausanias' group of Hemera and Kephalos. We may safely identify them as such and place them over the south wing of the Stoa (since they are mentioned second) and assign the corresponding group of Theseus and Skiron to the apex of the north wing. It would be difficult to imagine a more satisfactory setting for the groups described by Pausanias. They were obviously akroteria and clearly, from the very fact of their being groups, central akroteria, each demanding a pediment. A stoa of ordinary shape with its long side to the square will not serve. Did we not have the present building, we should be driven to restore a structure of just its shape so that the two pediments and the monumental groups above them might face the square.

The identification of the terracotta groups does not, however, lessen the strangeness of their combination with lateral figures of marble. Pausanias evidently thought them striking, for it is seldom that he lingers over akroteria, yet to these he has devoted rather more space than he gave to the entire pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon. And surely monumental akroteria of terracotta are an anachronism in Athens of the late fifth century. One is reminded of Pausanias' account of the statue of Olympian Zeus at Megara:

I, 40, 3 (Frazer's translation): "The image of Zeus was not finished in consequence of the outbreak of the war of the Peloponnesians with Athens, in which the Athenians annually ravaged the Megarian territory by sea and land, thereby crippling the public revenues and reducing private families to the lowest depths of penury. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, but the rest is of clay and gypsum. They say that it was made by Theocosmus, a native artist, assisted by Phidias."

There can be no doubt that the plans of the artist in Athens were disturbed by the counter activities of the Megarians and their allies. We may surmise, however, that the Athenians blushed to admit to the visitor a national humiliation such as that which cost his Megarian informant such pangs in the telling.<sup>2</sup>

Now that their date has been fixed within narrow limits, it is possible to assign the two groups to their proper places in the long series of monuments based on the same themes. Theseus' combat with Skiron had already been illustrated sculpturally on two important

<sup>1</sup> There is some reason to believe that the Hellenistic Building to the northeast of the Hephaisteion was destroyed by Sulla and was not rebuilt.

<sup>2</sup> It is tempting, but fanciful, to suspect that the choice of Theseus and Skiron as a subject was directed against Megara in a gesture of derisive imperialism conceived about the same time as the Megarian decree of 432 B.C. Megarian historians, as we know, championed their respectable fellow countryman Skiron against the infamous libels devised by the Athenians to glorify their national hero Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, X).

Athenian buildings, the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi and the Hephaisteion on the hilltop. It had, moreover, been the subject of numerous vase paintings, particularly since the revival of the interest in Theseus as a national hero inspired by Kimon's recovery of his remains.<sup>1</sup> Hence the designer of our group was working on familiar ground. How well he succeeded we shall probably never know.

As for Eos (*i.e.* Hemera) and Kephalos, it will be recalled that they had appeared together already in the sixth century on a central akroterion at Caere<sup>2</sup> and on an antefix of slightly later date at Curti near Capua.<sup>3</sup> In Attica, throughout the earlier fifth century, the scene had been repeatedly used by vase painters with ever increasing freedom.<sup>4</sup> The pyramidal scheme to which the group lends itself is obviously suitable for an akroterion, but whether or not the Attic vase painters had any local architectural prototype before the erection of the Stoa, we cannot say. In any case, our terracotta group must now be regarded, not as the germ of a long line of development, but more nearly its flower.

If one wishes help in the appreciation of our battered fragments, he may turn to the lovely medallion of the closely contemporary cup by the Kodros Painter<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 40). He must alter the pose by reversing the position of the boy but he may safely believe that the artist in clay attained at least equal skill in composition and grace of movement. For a slightly later sculptural rendering of the same theme we have the central akroterion of the main façade of the Temple of the Athenians on Delos. The man who designed the Delian group perhaps had the Athenian in mind, but if so he seems deliberately to have avoided copying: the Delian Eos bears her "victim" high on her left shoulder in a bolder but scarcely a happier composition.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 40. Hemera and Kephalos from a red-figure Kylix

<sup>1</sup> Roscher, *Gr. und röm. Mythologie*, IV, cols. 1009 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Photograph in E. Douglas Van Buren, *Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*, pl. XVIII, 2, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Best illustrated in H. Koeh, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, pl. XVII, 1, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> For the material see the early list by Stephani in *Compte-Rendu*, 1872, pp. 180 ff.; Roscher, *Gr. und röm. Mythologie*, I, cols. 1272 ff.; P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, no. 75 and note by Beazley on p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 426, 6; *Mon. Ined.*, X, 1877, pl. 39; Roscher, *Gr. und röm. Mythologie*, I, cols. 1275/6.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Zeit.*, XL, 1882, pp. 349 ff.; F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237 ff.

The Delian temple, moreover, furnishes the best parallel in this period for the combination of a central group with single lateral figures above a pediment. On Delos, Eos and Kephalos of the main front are flanked on either side by a solitary Nike, while Boreas and Oreithyia of the west pediment are likewise set off by single Nikai.<sup>1</sup>

The monument bases that are to be related to our Stoa were carefully confined to the space between its wings so that the area between the wing fronts and the long line of monuments that bordered the drain might be left open to traffic. Hence the statues seen by Pausanias "near the Stoa" are undoubtedly to be thought of as standing in front of the middle colonnade between the wings. Of the foundations for monuments discovered there, we may unhesitatingly assign the oldest and most advantageously placed, the round base, to Zeus Eleutherios. References to it in literature and inscriptions indicate that this statue was one of the landmarks of the Agora. The carefully chosen position and the size of the round base make it worthy of such a monument. Of the remaining foundations we may attribute that of the exedra which stood between the round base and the south wing to Hadrian. Its date, as already observed, is suitable, and its massive foundations were undoubtedly intended to carry the bulk of one or more large statues. The statue of Hadrian may well be represented by the armored torso found in the first season of excavation to the east of the Metroon.<sup>2</sup> We shall discover that after the general destruction of the late third century A.D. our Stoa was never rebuilt. The north part of the Metroon was, however, rehabilitated, in part with material gathered from the neighboring ruins. At this time, then, *i.e.* the fifth century A.D., Hadrian may have been dragged from his original standing place and re-erected in front of the Metroon.<sup>3</sup>

From the literary references we gather that Konon, Timotheos and Evagoras must have stood very close to one another and to Zeus.<sup>4</sup> Since they are mentioned by Pausanias before Zeus, we may venture to give them places between the round base and the north wing of the Stoa. Of the two foundations discovered in that area, the date of one is unknown, of the other early Roman. We need not, however, be dismayed, for monuments and their bases were constantly damaged and renewed. In Pausanias' day two or even all three of the fourth-century statues may have stood on the octagonal base.

<sup>1</sup> Another, slightly earlier parallel for a (marble) group possibly used as a central akroterion is provided by a representation of ephedrimos, the torsos of which were found to the east of the Hephaisteion in 1931, one of the heads to the south of that temple in 1936. Style, material and scale suggest the association of the group with the Hephaisteion. Cf. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 407 ff., figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A splendid marble head of Antoninus Pius was found by the Germans in their early excavations around the Temple of Apollo Patroos and has been resurrected recently from the magazines of the National Museum by Hekler (*Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 404, figs. 7, 8).

The head may come from the colossal statue mentioned in *I.G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 1081/5. The name of the Emperor cannot be read with certainty, but Antoninus will fit. The recipient of the statue is identified with Zeus Eleutherios and where could his figure more appropriately have been placed than beside the god (on the Hadrianic exedra)?

<sup>4</sup> Isokrates, IX, 57; Dem. XX, 70; Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, II.



"Behind is a colonnade," continues Pausanias, "with paintings of the Twelve Gods, as they are called." Pausanias' point of reference is obviously the group of statues which he has been discussing at length. It follows that by the colonnade he meant the mid-part of our building on the back wall of which we may therefore place the Twelve Gods.<sup>1</sup> From this point of vantage, they had a clear view across the square to their altar, less than 60 m. to the east. "On the wall beyond are depicted Theseus and Democracy and Demos." These figures we may accordingly assign to the south wall of the stoa. There remains, then, the north wall for "the deeds of the Athenians near Mantinea when they were sent to help the Lacedaemonians."<sup>2</sup>

The paintings, as Pausanias and others inform us, were done by Euphranor. That part of them which dealt with the cavalry engagement near Mantinea must have been executed while the event was still fresh in men's minds, that is, soon after the battle in 362 B.C. Since Euphranor was apparently responsible for all the paintings in the Stoa, we may suppose that the rest were done about the same time. The provision for leading the wall blocks at the back of the Stoa suggests that the wall was originally intended to receive paintings. That they were not applied immediately after the completion of the building was probably due to the same financial stress which resulted in the central akroteria being left in clay. The retaining wall to the west of the Stoa, which has been shown by the conglomerate stone used in it and by the pottery found behind it to be somewhat later than the Stoa, may well have been built when the paintings were done to assure them greater protection.

Pausanias now continues southward to the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, leaving us to consider, without his help, several puzzling problems connected with the Stoa. And first, its relation to the Stoa Poikile. There is good reason to believe that the older Stoa closed, in whole or in part, the north side of the market square and that it extended westward to the point where the main road from the Dipylon entered the Agora.<sup>3</sup> From a quotation in Harpokration (*s. v.* *Ἑρμαῖ*) we gather that the area between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa Poikile had been chosen for the setting up of so many herms that it came to be called "The Herms." This implies that the mouth of the road where it debouched on the square was abundantly wide, and this it would be if we suppose that no other large building lay immediately north of our Stoa. We know, moreover, that "The Herms" were closely associated with the cavalry displays which formed a part of the Panathenaic procession as it made its way from the Pompeion through the Agora toward the Acropolis. It was by

<sup>1</sup> There is no need to suppose that by *στοά* in this sentence Pausanias passes to another independent building. He may well use the word here, as elsewhere, to denote merely a colonnade of which a building might have several. Of the Library of Hadrian, for instance, he observes (I, 18, 9): *πεπολῆνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ ἀντὰ οἱ τοῖχοι*. And in the dedicatory inscription of a library, recently found in the "Valerian Wall," the donor is said to have given "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with all its books and all the decorations in the building" (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330 f.).

<sup>2</sup> On the paintings, see also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 11, 25; Plutarch, *de gloria Athen.*, 2; Valer. Max. VIII, 11, 5; Eusthathios, *ad Iliadem*, A 529.

<sup>3</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 336.

"The Herms" that the phylarchs coached the young knights in rehearsing for the event.<sup>1</sup> It was in the same place that one Demetrios, a descendant of Demetrios of Phaleron, when hipparch for the Panathenaia, set up bleachers higher even than the herms.<sup>2</sup> And Xenophon, in discussing the part of the cavalry in the procession, suggests that the knights should start from "The Herms," make the round of the Agora, paying their respects to all the divinities and then, forming again by "The Herms," dash up to the Eleusinion.<sup>3</sup>

We must now turn for a moment to the base sculptured by Bryaxis which was found *in situ*, as noted above, within 4.00 m. of the north wall of our Stoa. It will be recalled that this monument was erected by a father and two sons, each of whom, in turn, as phylarch had won in the cavalry display called the Anthippasia, which would seem to have formed part of the Panathenaic procession. We can scarcely doubt that the victors erected their joint monument on the site of their triumph.<sup>4</sup> It follows that the area known as "The Herms" lay immediately north of our building and we have already observed that the Herms stood between the Stoa Poikile and the Stoa Basileios.<sup>5</sup>

What, now, is the relation between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios? The two names have been constantly associated both in ancient and modern times. Numerous literary references leave no doubt that the Stoa of Zeus took its name from the divinity represented by a statue that stood beside the building. Pausanias saw this statue and observed that it stood in the same place as three other statues which he had already described as close to the Stoa Basileios, a stoa which we have found, I think, good reason to identify with our building. And we have already noted that the one base suitable by reason of its date, size and position to receive the statue of Zeus, is the round foundation in front of our building. But this base, hemmed in by the wings, could not conceivably be placed with reference to any building but this of ours. It would seem that our building was known under two names, of which Pausanias used only the more common, the Stoa Basileios.<sup>6</sup>

The situation is puzzling but not impossible. Pausanias elsewhere referred to the Stoa of Zeus without comment on the name (X, 21, 6; cf. I, 26, 2). One might therefore have expected him to make some explanation on his first mention of the building, yet his silence here is paralleled by his failure to inform us of the other names of the Tholos, of the Stoa Poikile, perhaps too of the Odeion in the Agora, and of the earlier name of the fountain

<sup>1</sup> Mnesimachos *apud* Athen. IX, 67, p. 402 F.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. IV, 64, p. 167 F.

<sup>3</sup> *Hipp.* III, 2. Cf. also Demosth. IV, 26.

<sup>4</sup> The bronze horse dedicated by Simon in the Eleusinion and accompanied by an account of Simon's exploits was doubtless a similar monument set at the other end of the course (Xenoph., *de re equestri*, I, 1).

<sup>5</sup> In the foregoing paragraphs I have merely reviewed the argument by which Lolling, immediately after the discovery of the base in 1891, correctly and brilliantly placed it (*Arch. Delt.*, VII, 1891, pp. 55 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> In fairness to the other members of the Agora Staff and to the Agora Commission, I wish to make it clear that the theory here developed of the identity of the Stoas represents my personal opinion on the matter.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Since the identification of the building as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios is well established while its association with the Stoa Basileios is still hypothetical, the name "Stoa of Zeus" has been used throughout this article and will be retained on the official plan of the area. T. L. Shear, Director of Agora Excavations.

Enneakrounos. And, indeed, Pausanias' neglect to mention the alternative name of the one stoa is less surprising than would have been his entire failure to record the name of a second (had it existed), and it is an omission less reprehensible in a conscientious topographer.

The two names both appear in early inscriptions. The stele *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115 of 409/8 B.C. was, according to its preamble, to be set up in front of the Stoa Basileios, whereas two other stelai (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 689, 690), one of the year 262/1 B.C. and the other not far removed in date, were officially ordered to be placed near the Stoa of Zeus. Classical authors likewise refer to the Stoa of Zeus and to the Stoa Basileios: Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus* (VII, 1), the authors of [Plato] *Eryxias* (p. 392 a) and [Plato] *Theages* (p. 121 a) to the former, Plato in the *Euthyphro* (2 a) and the author of [Demosthenes] XXV, 23 to the latter. This loose usage merely serves to remind us that the ancients were far from precise in their references to their public buildings. We have accustomed ourselves to their practice of referring to another building of the Agora in their literary references as the Tholos, in their inscriptions as the Skias,<sup>1</sup> and we have now learned that they called the same building with its precinct the Prytanikon.<sup>2</sup> Further on we shall find reason to believe that the meeting place of the Boule, commonly referred to as the Bouleuterion, might also be designated officially as the Synedrion (see below, p. 215). It has recently been shown that a building on the Acropolis to which Herodotos referred as the Erechtheion was at the same time known officially as either the "temple in which is the Ancient Image" or the "Ancient Temple."<sup>3</sup> Colonnades, because of their less distinctive character, suffered especially in this regard. There can be no question, for instance, that the Stoa Poikile continued to be called also the Stoa Peisianakteios long after it was painted, nor does the appearance of the designation Poikile in but a single inscription (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1641, 29) suffice to establish that as the only "official" name. Nor should we forget that Pausanias, in front of the Stoa Poikile at Olympia, remarked that "some name it the Colonnade of Echo" (V, 21, 17).<sup>4</sup>

No inscription nor original literary authority, so far as I am aware, refers to the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus as separate buildings. Several late writers, however, refer to them as two stoas and indeed state specifically that they lay alongside one another or that the one was close to the other.

Harpokration (Suidas), *s.v.* βασιλείος στοά: δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας ἥ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλείος.

Hesychios, *s.v.* βασιλείος στοά: δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησιν βασιλείοι στοαὶ, ἥ τε τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλέως Διὸς, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου.

Eustathios, *ad Od.* α 395: καὶ βασιλείος ἐκεῖ (Ἀθήνησιν) στοὰ πλησίον τῆς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς στοᾶς.

<sup>1</sup> Yet even the epigraphic practice was not constant for in an unpublished Agora inscription of Roman imperial date, as Professor Meritt informs me, the building is referred to as the Tholos. Cf. also *I. G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 3735.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dinsmoor in *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> It is commonly supposed, though it would be difficult to prove, that the Long Stoa and the Stoa Alipholis of Athens were one and the same building. See Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 364 f.



Yet even Harpokration, probably the earliest of the lot, may be quoting at second or third hand and in no case can we control the original sources. It is quite possible, indeed, that all these quotations go back to a single source, in itself ambiguous. So much one might infer from a comparison of the passages and particularly from the garbled version given by Hesychios. It is scarcely necessary to point out the ready cause for confusion in the very scheme of our building, consisting as it did of two wings, each of which a Greek might have called a "stoa," lying "close to" and "alongside one another."<sup>1</sup>

Aristophanes, in the *Ekklesiazousai* of 393 B.C., refers to the Stoa Basileios in the passage in which Praxagora explains how she would distribute her "dining panels":

Line 683: καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοιὰν ἀκολουθεῖν  
τὴν βασιλείον δειπνήσοντας· τὸ δὲ θῆτ' ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην,  
τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ καππ' ἐς τὴν στοιὰν χωρεῖν τὴν ἀλφειτόπωλιν.

The Scholiast comments on ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην: τοὺς θῆτας, τοὺς μισθωτοὺς εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον· ἐπεὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θῆτα ἄρχεται. Van Leeuwen, in his edition of the *Ekklesiazousai* (note to lines 684 sq.), accepts the Scholiast's suggestion and sees in it, as in the passage of the play, a reference to the painting of Theseus which Pausanias noted "after his account of the Stoa Basileios." The Dutch scholar infers further, on the sole evidence of this passage, that in Aristophanes' day the building that sheltered this painting was called the "Stoa of Theseus"! The Scholiast's interpretation is very plausible, for the play on words between "Theta" and "Theseus" produces a joke of the same kind, and calibre, as those which precede and follow. But Van Leeuwen's inferences are vitiated by a serious anachronism. The Theseus to whom he refers was painted, according to the express testimony of Pausanias (I, 3, 4), Pliny (*N. H.*, XXXV, 129) and Plutarch (*de gloria Atheniensium*, 2), by Euphranor, undoubtedly at the same time as the Cavalry Battle near Mantinea, i. e. not before the occurrence of the battle in 362 B.C., a full thirty years after the production of the *Ekklesiazousai*. In any case, Euphranor's active career can scarcely be stretched to cover a major commission so early as 393 B.C. Nor, if we separate the stoas and so eliminate the akroterion, have we knowledge of any other association (let alone the very familiar association demanded by the nature of the passage) between Theseus and the "Stoa of Zeus."

But a moment's reflection will suggest another painting of Theseus, this time in combat with the Amazons, a painting by Mikon on the walls of the nearby Stoa Poikile (Paus. I, 15, 2). This painting must surely have been one of the glories of Athens in the time of the *Ekklesiazousai*. Aristophanes, indeed, refers to it elsewhere as a thoroughly well known work (*Lys.* 678 and Scholiast; Arrian, *Anab.*, VII, 13, 5) and he had, we may suspect,

<sup>1</sup> In this instance the lexicographers would seem to have effected the divorce of two members that were really one; it has lately been demonstrated how writers of the same class united in unholy wedlock two other widely separated buildings of the Agora: the Tholos and Prytaneion. See E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470 ff.

a particular fondness for an old fashioned painting done by a contemporary of Aischylos. It may be objected that *παρὰ* with the accusative could scarcely be applied with precision to the relation between our building and the Stoa Poikile in the position to which we have assigned it. Yet it is perhaps fairer to the poet to suppose, not that he had a ground plan in mind, but that his lively imagination had carried him to the side of Praxagora by the statue of Harmodios, from which she would direct the outgoing panels and from where our building and the Stoa Poikile undoubtedly appeared to lie side by side. In any event, with our present knowledge of the roadway that must have separated our building from any neighbor to the north and because of the irregularity of the site there available, one must admit that the expression can scarcely be applied with any greater precision to the relative position of our building and such a (hypothetical) neighbor.

Hence if one would use the passage from the *Ekklesiastousai* in the argument, he must in all honesty take it to refer not to a Stoa of Zeus distinct from the Stoa Basileios but rather to the well known and well authenticated Stoa Poikile. And it follows as a corollary that in the time of the *Ekklesiastousai* the Stoa Poikile was the only other prominent stoa in the immediate vicinity of the Stoa Basileios, for otherwise the point of the passage would be blunted by its ambiguity.

The theory that the two names, Stoa Basileios and Stoa of Zeus, may have been applied to one and the same building will conveniently account for the fact that the two first appear in literature and inscriptions simultaneously toward the end of the fifth century B.C. The first unquestionable reference to the Stoa Basileios is found in the above noted inscription of 409/8 B.C. (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115), and the first authentic appearance of the Stoa of Zeus is in the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, where it forms the setting for the dialogue.<sup>1</sup> It is not likely that the building is much older than these earliest references to it, for its prominence and importance would surely have guaranteed its appearance in our literary and epigraphic sources soon after its completion. Combining, now, our internal and external evidence, we may suggest that the Stoa was designed about 430 B.C. and that it was complete for all practical purposes by 409/8 B.C. Whether construction actually began in the early years of the war or only after the declaration of peace in 421 B.C. we shall probably never be able to say with assurance. The uncertainty that still prevails regarding the history of the Erechtheion, despite its more abundant documentation, warns one against undue precision. But we may be permitted the conjecture that Demosthenes had our building in mind among the Propylaia, the Parthenon, the stoas and ship-sheds in his catalogue of the "everlasting monuments" left by the Periclean democracy.<sup>2</sup>

We may now turn back for a moment to consider the earlier remains beneath the Stoa and particularly those that were identified above as of a sanctuary. According to the most credible account, Zeus got the name of Eleutherios from having delivered the Athenians

<sup>1</sup> It may well be that the actual composition of that dialogue is to be placed after Leuktra, yet we shall scarcely venture to accuse its learned author of such a palpable anachronism as placing Socrates in a building that was not erected until after his death in 399 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> XXII, 76; cf. [Demosthenes] XIII, 28.

from the Persian menace.<sup>1</sup> This implies that the cult of the god existed before the Persian troubles. We are told by a scholiast on Aristophanes that there was an actual sanctuary of the god in the city.<sup>2</sup> Hence we are justified in assuming that the area had of old been sacred to the same divinity and we may with confidence place a statue of Zeus on the rectangular poros base and assign to him the early altar to the east. The image is not likely to have survived the sack of 480/79 B.C. In the years that followed, squatters intruded and set up their little industrial establishments in the area of the old sanctuary. But we may be sure that, as soon as the city could afford it, another statue was erected and inscribed with the name of the god and his new-won epithet. Precisely where this statue stood we cannot say, presumably to the east of the old and closer to the altar. Around image and altar, then, the worship continued until the construction of the Stoa. The contemporaneity of the round base and the Stoa shows that the architect had the statue very definitely in mind in planning his building, suggests indeed that respect for the existing statue may well have influenced the design of the new Stoa. The magnificent composition that resulted inevitably led to the designation of the Stoa, in both popular and official parlance, by the name of the god, and this designation persisted alongside the more prosaic name based on the use of the building.<sup>3</sup>

Having gone thus far, we may suggest that the early altar to the east of the sanctuary is to be identified with the stone on which the archons annually took their oath of office. From numerous literary references we gather that this object stood in the Agora near the Stoa Basileios and, since sacrifices were made on it, we may suppose that it differed little from an ordinary altar.<sup>4</sup> The early date and the position of our monument make it a likely candidate.

The primary purpose of the Stoa is indicated by Pausanias: it was the seat of the Archon Basileus during his one-year term of office. From Plato's *Euthyphro* (2 a) we gather also that in the Stoa itself the Archon presided over the lawsuits that came under his jurisdiction. Since that jurisdiction covered cases of impiety, we may suppose that the trial of Socrates took place here. It would seem too that the Council of the Areopagus met here at times.<sup>5</sup> The fact that they had to rope themselves about to secure privacy suggests

<sup>1</sup> Harpokration, s. v. 'Ελευθέριος Ζεύς: 'Υπερείδης' "τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Διὶ, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ ἑλευθέριον προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Αἰδύμος φησιν ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ ἑλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγράφεται μὲν σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ ἑλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος.

<sup>2</sup> ad Plutarchum 1175: τοῦ σωτήρος· ἐν ᾧσιν Αἰα σωτήρα τιμῶσιν, ἔνθα καὶ σωτήρος Αἰὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ ἑλευθέριόν φασιν. The priest of Zeus Soter (= Eleutherios) is mentioned in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 689, 690; III<sup>2</sup>, 1352, 1390.

<sup>3</sup> For the statue we should expect a work of monumental character, in date a little later than the Persian retreat, and, as an outside statue of that period, undoubtedly in bronze. The requirements are perfectly met by the Zeus of Artemision (*Arch. Delt.*, XIII, 1930-31, pp. 41 ff.). The spread of his arms would demand a pedestal of something like the dimensions of our round base.

<sup>4</sup> Aristot., *Ath. Pol.*, VII, 1; LV, 5; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 235 D; Demos., LIV, 26; Plutarch, *Solon*, 25; Pollux, VIII, 86; Harpokration, s. v. λῆθος.

<sup>5</sup> [Demosthenes] XXV, 23: τὸ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλὴν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη περισχοινίσσεται, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐκ' ἐναντίας εἶται καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἀποχωρεῖν.



that, in early times at any rate, there was no closed meeting place in the Stoa. The Annex, built in the first century A.D., was undoubtedly intended to correct this primitive simplicity and to facilitate the work of Court and Council. Its two large rooms would be adequate as offices or court-rooms.<sup>1</sup>

The Stoa, when not engaged for public business, provided a roomy and elegant shelter for the transaction of private business and gossip. The continuous bench, for which the bedding blocks remain along the foot of the walls, added to its convenience. Among its earliest and most regular habitués we may number Socrates.<sup>2</sup>

The prominent position of the Stoa by the side of the market square and near the approach from the principal gate of the city made it a suitable place for the setting up of public documents on stone. According to Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, VI, 1) the rents due on the Athenian cleruchies in the Lelantian plain were recorded on stelai which stood near the Stoa Basileios.<sup>3</sup> The revised codes of their ancient laws, the preparation of which had so much occupied and agitated the Athenians in the closing years of the fifth century, when finally put on stone were set up in and before the Stoa Basileios. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, VII, 1) says specifically of the laws of Solon (and he is unquestionably referring to the revision) that they were written on *kurbeis* and set up in the Stoa Basileios. Andokides (I, 85), speaking of the laws both of Solon and of Dracon and having in mind especially the later program of revision which began in 403 B.C., observes that the revised codes when approved were written up in the Stoa. We can scarcely doubt that Andokides refers to the same building as Aristotle. Of the actual stones which bore the revised laws more than one fragment has survived.<sup>4</sup>

The building, as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, also became a popular place for the erection of public documents and exhibits, particularly those commemorating some act of liberation or preservation. It is significant that the earliest document which we know to have been set up here was the charter of the new naval confederacy of 377 B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43). Konon, Timotheos and Evagoras would seem to have been assigned their positions by virtue of the parts they had severally played in warding off the last Persian threat to Greek liberty. In 323 and again in 318 B.C. Euphron of Sikyon was honored by decrees of the Athenian people recording the services he had rendered in recent wars in defending

<sup>1</sup> The existence of the Annex, so perfectly compatible with the functions of the "Stoa Basileios," would be difficult to explain if one were to persist in regarding our building exclusively as the "Stoa of Zeus." All references to the "Stoa of Zeus" if taken independently would indicate that it was nothing more than an open lounging place.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, VII, 1; [Plato], *Eryxias*, 392 a; [Plato], *Theages*, 121 a.

<sup>3</sup> The historical significance of the reference is too uncertain to permit one to draw from it any useful conclusions as to the stelai or the building. Thus we cannot say whether the 2000 allotments mentioned by Aelian are to be equated with the 4000 allotment holders among whom, according to Herodotos (V, 77), the Athenians divided the lands of the Chalcidians after crushing them in 506 B.C., or whether we have to do with cleruchies established after the subjugation of Euboea in 446 B.C. (See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, I, 1, p. 401, n. 3.) In neither case could we say with certainty whether the rentals were published in this form immediately on their establishment or long afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115 (409/8 B.C., Law of Dracon); *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 1 ff. (Laws of Solon, etc.).

the liberties of Greece and of Athens. A copy of the decree was to be placed on the Acropolis and another beside Zeus or Zeus Soter.<sup>1</sup> The second of the two stelai was found in 1891 in the cutting for the Athens-Peiraeus railway where it had been used as a covering for an ancient drain, doubtless the Great Drain, which here passed close in front of the Stoa. The importance of the administration of the grain supply in the troublous years of the third century is well illustrated by a decree of 276 B.C. passed in honor of the grain officials. Significantly enough, the document was to be set up "in the Agora where is the statue of Zeus."<sup>2</sup> When the Emperor Hadrian was honored by the city, it was as her guarantor of freedom, Eleutherios; his statue was erected before the Stoa of Zeus and an honorary decree was set up in the same region.<sup>3</sup> So too the Stoa of Zeus was the natural place in which to hang the shield of Leokritos, who had been the most courageous in freeing the city of Macedonians in 289/8 B.C. and likewise that of the Athenian Kydias who fought bravely in the Greek defence against the Gauls in 279 B.C.<sup>4</sup> These shields were pulled down by Sulla's soldiers in 86 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

#### DESTRUCTION

The original plan of the Stoa seems always to have been respected and we can detect no alterations in the building proper. The addition of the Annex would scarcely have affected the appearance of the building as seen from the market square. We have already observed that Sulla carried off the shields that had been dedicated in the Stoa and we have reason to believe that his soldiery damaged certain of the nearby monuments.

The final destruction came in late Roman times. The scattered architectural fragments and the whole floor of the building were overlaid by a deep deposit of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. A more precise clue to the date of its collapse is given by the fragment of its cornice that was found by the "Valerian Wall" (see p. 23). Several stelai that had once stood by Zeus or in front of his Stoa have also been found in the line of the wall.<sup>6</sup> There is now good reason to date that fortification in the late third century A.D. and to associate it with the sack of the city by the Herulians in 267 A.D.<sup>7</sup> We may be certain

<sup>1</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448. Note especially 1, 47: *καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθ[ερώσας]*. Cf. Lolling, *Arch. Delt.*, VIII, 1892, pp. 56 ff.; Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 429, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792. For the date see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 564, n. 1. Professor Meritt has kindly supplied the following note: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 416, no. 13 is a decree praising an archon and his two paredroi and was to be set up in front of the Stoa of Zeus ([ἐ]μ[π]ροσ[θ]εν τῆς τοῦ Ἀ[ρ]χ[ο]ν[ος] στοᾶς). But the inscription is too fragmentary to enable us to decide whether the archon honored was the archon Eponymous or the archon Basileus.

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 1075.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. I, 26, 2; X, 21, 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. X, 21, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, 448, 689, 690, 792.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 332. For the literature on the Herulians see Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 104. An actual sack is clearly indicated by the historians: Zosimos, I, 39: *τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα διαθέντων καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολιορκησάντων*; Synkellos, p. 382 D: *εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν φθάσαντες ἐμπιπρῶσι τὰς Ἀθήνας, Κόρινθον τε καὶ Σπάρτην*; and, despite the scepticism of Judeich (*l. c.*) and Wachsmuth (*Stadt*

that the Stoa suffered in the capture of the city and that it was soon after stripped to provide the necessary building material for the new fortifications.

The Stoa was never rebuilt. A vast quantity of broken household pottery, lamps and coins, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., proves that in this period the area was occupied by private houses, the walls of which, save for an occasional ruinous fragment, have entirely disappeared. Above the stripped west foundation of the Stoa was laid a rectangular water channel which may be followed southward around the back of the Temple of Apollo, along the front of the Metroon to a point opposite the Propylon (Fig. 126). It doubtless carried water from the fountain house toward the region of the Dipylon. Within the limits of the Stoa Annex, in a level of the fourth century A.D., have been found traces of a bronze-working establishment of that period. Among the broken moulds and ash and charcoal lay a few scraps from a bronze statue. We may suspect that these late refugees had settled on the spot like ghouls to strip and melt down the statues that had once stood on the pedestal in the south room. In the fifth century we may date two thin walls of re-used ancient blocks that run east and west across the area of the Annex. But we can make out neither the full plan nor the purpose of the building. The area lay somewhat apart from the main settlement of Byzantine times, and this circumstance, coupled with the speedy inhumation of the remaining stones by the wash from the adjacent hillslope, has preserved enough to make this tale possible.

## SANCTUARY OF APOLLO PATROOS

### PLATES III—V

#### DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

Trial excavations conducted in the winter of 1895–96 by the German archaeological Institute under the direction of Dr. W. Dörpfeld revealed the northern end of an ancient building at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios due east of the Hephaisteion<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 41). The excavations of the following season, continued under the same auspices, exposed enough of the structure to make certain its plan: a temple-like building facing east, with a small room set against its northern side and with a porch across its front.<sup>2</sup> The Greek Archaeological Society, which resumed the exploration of this region in 1907 and 1908, uncovered little or no more of the building and the heavy stone enclosure wall erected at the close of the campaign in 1908 concealed again part of the foundations of the porch.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the current excavations, ancient filling was found overlying the northern walls of the northern room of the main building and of the small rectangular build-

*Athen*, I, pp. 706 ff.), there can be no longer any question that the entire region of the Agora, as well as the Dipylon, was laid waste at this time. For the destruction of the Pompeion, see Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 182.

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 225; *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, p. 1, pl. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Praktika*, 1907, pp. 54 ff.; 1908, p. 59.





Fig. 41. Sanctuary of Apollo from the East

ing at its northeast corner as well as over the mid-part of the foundation for the colonnade of the main structure. This filling has been removed and the building further examined in the successive seasons from 1931 to 1935. The original earth filling beneath the floor level of the main room, the north room and the porch had been completely removed prior to the present excavations and of the evidence which it might have furnished for the study of the building no record is forthcoming. Much of the original filling within the foundations of the smaller building and between the two buildings did, however, remain and its evidence will be considered below. The foundations of still another building have been recognized within the limits of the first.

Since the plan and orientation of these three buildings suggest their identification as temples and since they fall into a chronological sequence, we may refer to them as the First, Second and Third Temples. The First was a small building set in the south part of the sanctuary. Of it there remain the foundation for a curved west wall and an interior base. The Second Temple stood in the northeast part of the area. It was smaller than the first, was rectangular in plan and survives in its foundations. The tetrastyle temple, long known, forms the third of the series. Its lower foundations are practically intact; a few meters of its euthyteria remain in position; some of its wall blocks still stand in place and several step blocks, re-used in nearby structures, have been identified. A round water basin which lies beneath the Second Temple will require a word of notice later.

#### FIRST TEMPLE

In the soft bedrock of the southern part of the cella of the Third Temple one may trace a shallow trench, 0.75 m. wide, *ca.* 0.20 m. deep (Fig. 42, Pl. III). The preserved part lies on the arc of a circle with a diameter of *ca.* 8.50 m. Toward the north its continuation was cut away by the builders of the east-west retaining wall which bisects the area of the later cella; toward the south it extends beneath the foundations of the Third Temple and reappears outside. Here the line of its outer edge may be traced for *ca.* 2.00 m., its inner edge having been cut away when the Third Temple was built. Farther east the surface of the bedrock has suffered so much in later times that nothing more of the trench can be detected. The cutting was obviously intended to receive a foundation, of which the lowest part consisted of field stones bedded in clay. A few of these remain undisturbed in the trench. Their state of preservation suggests that this packing had just filled the trench so that the bottom of the first wall course proper would in this part have lain about at the level of the surface of bedrock. Within the curve of the foundation bedding lies a block of gray poros, 0.53 m. square, 0.19 m. high, which, from its level and from the absence of any apparent connection with the Third Temple, may be assigned to the First Temple, either as the base for an interior column or, more probably, for a statue.

The fact that the interior base does not fall on the centre from which the arc was described, though it does lie on the east-west axis of the structure, indicates that the building is to be restored not as circular but as apsidal. That it faced east is shown by





Fig. 42. Sanctuary of Apollo from the West



the lack of any trace of an entrance from the west and by the fact that Kolonos Agoraios begins to rise steeply immediately to the west of the curved bedding. Hence the building may take its place in the series of archaic apsidal temples represented already on the Acropolis of Athens,<sup>1</sup> at Delphi,<sup>2</sup> and at Corinth,<sup>3</sup> and in the Kabeirion near Thebes<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 72).

Of the superstructure nothing has been identified with certainty. A couple of poros wall blocks finished in an archaic style which were found in the area of the sanctuary and parts of an early Doric column with its capital found deep beneath the Stoa of Zeus may belong. Their discussion will be reserved for the final publication.

#### AREA TO THE SOUTH (Plate VI)

The clearing of bedrock immediately to the south of the First Temple, *i. e.* between it and the archaic Temple of the Mother, gave some indication of the situation before and after the construction of the two temples. The soft bedrock had been worked down to a fairly smooth and level surface in the western part of the area. In connection with this levelling a wall had been carried along the western edge of the space, skirting the front of the remaining steep part of the hill. The northern end of this wall has been obliterated by the later building operations in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Toward the south the wall extends under the northwestern corner of the early Temple of the Mother and then turns east at right angles. Its eastern limit, again, has been destroyed by later buildings. But at a distance of 11 m. from the angle just noted, a wall of lesser thickness ran north at right angles to the main wall. It too has disappeared beneath subsequent constructions. Of these walls nothing remains for the most part save a shallow bedding trench cut in the bedrock or in the firm earth overlying bedrock. Here and there masses of the lowest packing remain: a single thickness of field stones bedded in clay, with a width of *ca.* 0.65 m. in the main wall, of *ca.* 0.50 m. in the lesser. The extent of the area involved, compared with the flimsiness of the wall construction, and the break in the line of the wall at the foot of the hill suggest that we have to do with an unroofed enclosure rather than with a building. For its date of construction there is no real evidence. It had long been ruinous when the archaic Temple of the Mother was erected above its southern part. Presumably it had been dismantled before or at the time of the construction of the First Temple of Apollo. The fact that it overlaps the areas of the two sanctuaries would argue against its association with either. It might well be regarded as a private establishment antedating the foundation of the cults in this area.

The character of the foundations of the First Temple of Apollo, particularly of the inner square bedding block, suggests that the contemporary ground level to the south of it lay close above bedrock. When the archaic Temple of the Mother was built, on the

<sup>1</sup> Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pp. 155 ff.; Carl Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, pp. 125 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 2, p. 186, fig. 142; Weickert, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 f.

<sup>3</sup> Weickert, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 88, fig. 1, pl. II; Weickert, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 f.

other hand, the ground level in the area had risen by *ca.* 0.70 m. Hence we are justified in associating with the First Temple of Apollo a ground level formed above a few centimeters of hard packed earth that overlies the dressed bedrock to the south of the Temple. We may safely assign to the construction of the same building a few chips from the working of island, probably Parian, marble that were found scattered through this earth packing and imbedded in its surface.

With this same ground level is to be associated a peculiar pit cut down in the bedrock toward the middle of the area under discussion. The walls of the pit showed abundant



Fig. 43. (a) Fragment of a Mould for a Bronze Statue and (b) Modern Impression from the Same

traces of burning. In a deeper part at one end were found numerous fragments from an outer mould of terracotta that had been used for casting a bronze statue of about two-thirds life size. One small fragment preserves part of the mouth, chin and nose (Fig. 43). Enough remains for the restoration of the lower limbs to a point above the hips and other non-joining scraps come from the back of the figure. The pose is typically Apolline: the two legs close together, the left foot thrust well forward. The base of the mould agrees in shape and dimensions with the cutting in the lower part of the pit so that we may well believe that the finished mould stood in the pit and received molten metal from the furnace immediately adjacent. After the casting, the outer mould was stripped from the figure and thrown into the pit. At the time of use, the mouth of the pit must have been at the level of the surface of bedrock or a little higher. It was completely closed and

filled by the mass of earth that was brought in perhaps shortly after the construction of the First Temple of Apollo. In the corresponding layer, *i.e.* the layer overlying bedrock, in the area enclosed by the later Metroon, fragments have been found of another mould for the casting of a head of the same period and scale but with variations in the features. That both moulds had actually been used is shown by the bits of bronze that still cling to their inner surfaces. One might suspect the existence here of a metal-working establishment or a sculptor's workshop. Yet experience has shown that the sites of such regular establishments are marked by traces of repeated firings, by scattered masses of ash and metal waste. Here, on the other hand, the traces of burning and the fragments of mould and metal waste are concentrated. The bedrock and the contemporary ground level round about are clean and free of such rubbish. It would seem quite possible that both moulds are to be connected with the one statue, on the supposition that on the first casting the head was defective. It is, then, perhaps not unduly rash to conjecture that the statue was intended for the new temple adjoining. We might, indeed, go further and presume that the working chips of island marble found around the mouth of the pit come from the working of the marble base that carried the figure and that stood probably on the poros bedding block within the apsidal temple.<sup>1</sup>

#### DATING

For the date of the First Temple the evidence is almost confined to a handful of potsherds extracted from the original clay packing found in the bottom of the foundation trench and among its broken rock. These sherds obviously provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction. The only figured piece among them is illustrated in Fig. 44.<sup>2</sup> Its unglazed inner surface, gently concave vertical profile and calculated diameter of *ca.* 0.19 m. suggest that it came from the neck of a large amphora of the Vurva type. Various parts of a lion, a boar and a goose are preserved. One



Fig. 44. (P 5112) Sherd from Foundation Packing of First Temple

<sup>1</sup> The detailed study of this material may be expected to throw light on the technique of bronze working at a time but little removed from the traditional date of the invention of casting in Greece. It is hoped that this new evidence may be combined with that from numerous other remains of metal working of various periods recently found in different parts of the excavation, when it will be published in a separate article with adequate illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved height 0.08 m.; fairly careful incision; purple on the chest of the lion and in his mane.



might place it little if at all later than the first quarter of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> I note also a scrap from a Protocorinthian skyphos, linear style; small pieces from the base and wall of early Attic skyphoi of the thin-walled Corinthian style; a fragment from the lip of a seventh-century bowl with groups of parallel bars on its rim, a broad wavy line around the top of its outer wall,<sup>2</sup> and fragmentary bases from typical seventh, or early sixth, century cups. A limited amount of pottery found in the lowest layer above bedrock to the south of the Temple and in association with the statue moulds runs down to the middle of the sixth century. The Temple must be equally late but it is not necessarily later.

The First Temple was obviously ruinous at the time when the north part of the sanctuary was cut down, *i.e.*, when work began on the Stoa of Zeus. Only a serious disaster will account for the complete destruction and abandonment of the building. We need scarcely doubt that the disaster occurred in 480/79 B.C.

## SECOND TEMPLE

The remains of the Second Temple, as already noted, lie in the northern part of the area. Its foundations are parallel to the south side of the Stoa and the two foundations were separated by an interval of *ca.* 0.40 m. The subfoundations of the Temple are of coarse conglomerate, in blocks measuring  $1.35 \times 0.65 \times 0.40$  m. laid as stretchers in single rows save along the east front where there are two rows laid side by side. Beneath the east and north sides only two courses of such blocks were used, for the west and south sides as many as five courses were necessitated by the earlier water basin, of which more below.

The first course intended to be visible still remains in position on the south side: three blocks of hard gray poros (0.318 m. high, 0.67–0.74 m. wide), the outer faces smooth-dressed for their full height, the inner side left rough (Fig. 50). The joint surfaces show well worked anathyrosis and the joints were secured by clamps of  $\vdash$  shape. Rust stains prove the use of iron clamps. There is no trace of dowelling between this course and those above or below.

Setting lines show that the next course was set back from the edge of this one 0.023 m. on the flanks and the rear. Across the front, however, it was withdrawn the width of a step, perhaps 0.30 m., as shown by the dressing on the surface of the surviving block and by the fact that the clamp for one of the now missing front blocks of the first poros course was necessarily placed off centre so as not to be exposed. We may restore not one but two such steps across the front, their height, combined with that of a toichobate, giving a level suitable to that of the floor inside. The front wall and the threshold would

<sup>1</sup> See Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, § 121, 123; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 344 ff. Cf. also a piece newly found in the Athenian Kerameikos, *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, cols. 203, 207, fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 582 ff., nos. 172–194.

thus have rested directly above the inner of the two rows of conglomerate blocks which constitute the eastern foundation.

The plan indicates a simple cella with front wall and door, there being no room for columns. Its outside dimensions, measured on the euthynteria, would be 5.20 m. east to west, *ca.* 3.65 m. north to south. Of the original superstructure nothing has been identified. In the northwest corner of the cella, however, a block of conglomerate ( $1.15 \times 0.65 \times 0.34$  m.) still lies in its original place, imbedded to its full depth in the earth filling. Its position clearly indicates that this block, together with its now missing fellows, formed the bedding for the cult statue, the plinth for which must have been *ca.* 1.50 m. long.

At a later date a porch was added to the building. For this addition a massive foundation was built, extending some 4.00 m. beyond the front line of the original building. It consists of large blocks of conglomerate, together with several re-used poros blocks resting in part on the bedrock, in part on a packing of broken stone (Figs. 41, 50, Pl. III). So confined was the space that the builders of the extension were obliged to cut away the projecting ends of the conglomerate foundation blocks of the porch of the Third Temple up to the very edge of the euthynteria of that building and the relations of the new structure with the Stoa to the north must have been equally intimate. The width of the porch can be fixed at *ca.* 4.80 m. from the cuttings made in the foundations of the Third Temple to receive it and from the three dowel holes that remain in the underpinning for its stylobate on the south side. The stylobate of the porch rested approximately at the same level as the second step of the original structure so that the old threshold continued in use and no change in the floor level inside was required. This arrangement, however, excluded the possibility of steps on the flanks of the porch, which would in any case have been rendered useless by the proximity of the neighboring buildings. We may suppose, and indeed the remains require, that the flanking walls of the porch were set against the outer faces of the side walls of the original structure, a solution which appears startling on the plan but which would not have been apparent from the front of the building. The massive underpinning suggests that the porch was paved with marble slabs. The number of steps required to make up the difference in height between the stylobate and the ground level in front as indicated by the base of the altar would appear to be four or five.

A few small fragments of a Doric order were found in late Roman levels in front of the building and they may well come from its porch. They include a column and a regula of Pentelic marble, a triglyph and a geison of hard gray poros. But since their dimensions are not commensurable with those of the porch in any canonical relation, we can scarcely hope to recover the arrangement.

Of a cella flooring of Greek times, perhaps the original flooring, a little remains: a thin layer of brown mortar immediately overlying the earth filling, its surface loosely studded with water-washed pebbles and painted red. Its level was such that it just overlay the conglomerate slab of the statue base. A few square centimeters of this flooring still remain on the top of the northern part of this stone, enough to show that the pedestal proper

reached only to within *ca.* 0.27 m. of the northern edge of the block. In later times another floor was laid over the earlier. It consists of chips of Pentelic marble of irregular size imbedded, with large interstices, in a layer of crumbly lime mortar *ca.* 0.05 m. thick. This second floor also overlay much of the conglomerate block.

About 4.50 m. to the east of the original front of the Second Temple and precisely on its axis, the bedding block of its altar still rests in place. The block is a re-used foundation stone of poros ( $1.21 \times 0.81 \times 0.41$  m.). The workmen who laid the foundations for the later porch of the Temple carefully cut down to the west without disturbing it.

#### WATER BASIN

For the round basin that underlies the Second Temple a rectangular pit measuring  $4.10 \times 4.70$  m. had been cut in bedrock to a depth of 2.10 m. immediately to the south of the Stoa (Pl. IV, Fig. 45). In the middle of the pit six blocks of conglomerate 0.435 m. high were placed so as to enclose a square 1.17 m. to the side. On top of these rested a second course 0.64 m. high consisting of eleven blocks of soft white poros set radially. Their inner ends were trimmed with the adze so as to form a circle 1.44 m. in diameter at the top, 1.30 m. at the bottom. A gallery with a curved top (0.39 m. wide, 0.43 m. high) was let through this course above the northwest corner of the square beneath. It leads off in a northwesterly direction, but investigation showed that the channel did not continue in any form beyond the wall of the pit. Tumbled in the mouth of the basin were found four complete and a couple of fragmentary blocks from the curbing, cut from the same soft poros as the second course. They stand 0.40 m. high and, with their missing neighbors, would have enclosed a circle *ca.* 1.55 m. in diameter. Their joint ends are neatly cut with anathyrosis and a thin collar projects from the upper wall. Such treatment suggests that the upper part at least of these stones was intended to be visible. Since the contemporary ground level around the basin lay *ca.* 1.20 m. above the top of the radially set poros blocks, we may restore one or two courses between them and the curbing. The floor of the pit was paved with 0.10 m. of firm mortar made of sand, gravel and lime and a little broken tile. The interstices between the ends of the large radial blocks were carefully walled with field stones and broken tiles set in clay and plastered on the outside with hydraulic cement. On the inside there is no trace of plaster.

The use of hydraulic cement and the precautions taken to waterproof the outside of the basin indicate that it was intended to do with water. Yet the absence of water deposit and of any trace of wear may be taken as proof that the construction was never used, in all probability never finished. That such was the case is suggested also by the pottery gathered from the undisturbed contemporary filling between the walls of the round basin and of the rectangular pit into which it was set. The material is identical with that found in the filling thrown into the round pit by the builders of the little temple. We may conclude that the construction of the temple prevented the completion of the basin. The purpose of the peculiar structure is not obvious. It would seem, as already observed, to have been intended for water. But that it was not a drain hole of any sort is





Fig. 45. Round Pit beneath Temple II.  
The curb stones found in the pit have been placed on the  
temple foundation above

shown clearly by the pains taken to waterproof it and by the fact that its outlet leads directly away from the Great Drain. If a conjecture is permissible where evidence is so slight, we might suggest that the pit was intended as part of a fresh water pipe line leading from the springs at the foot of the Areopagus toward the Dipylon. The pit would have served as a settling basin and for this the outlet is properly placed well above the floor. From its neatly curbed mouth water might have been drawn in this otherwise unwatered part of the square. And here too the pipe line might have been lowered sufficiently in level to be carried in a tunnel beneath the floor of the Stoa. The carefully plastered floor and outside wall would have prevented ground water from contaminating the pure.

#### DATING

The architectural character of the Second Temple is too slight and the building itself too ill preserved to afford evidence for precise dating. The combination of conglomerate and hard poros, the good if economical workmanship, the use of  $\vdash$  clamps taken together would merely suggest a date in the fourth century. The material from the undisturbed filling removed from within the foundations is more helpful. The round pit had clearly been filled in with earth by the builders of the Second Temple and some of its curb-stones, which would have been of little use elsewhere, were thrown into its mouth. Precisely the same sort of earth was used as filling inside the tiny cella as its foundation walls were carried up. Working chips from the conglomerate and poros blocks were found scattered through the earth. Datable objects from the filling will, then, provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Temple.

Lodged in the mouth of the aperture in the round basin was found a small and mutilated stone that had marked the boundary of a mortgaged house (I 1888). The character of the document and of its lettering are appropriate to the second quarter of the fourth century.

A considerable quantity of broken household pottery, both coarse and fine, came from the filling. It included several small fragments of red-figured ware of the first half of the fourth century. More abundant was the black-glazed ware of which a representative selection is illustrated in Fig. 46.

- a. P 3706. Cup-kantharos. H., 0.084 m. Tall loop handles bent back on themselves. Firm black glaze, scratched from the bottoms of two grooves at the junction of body and base and from one on the underside of the base.
- b. P 3710. Cup-kantharos. H., 0.085 m. Similar to the preceding in shape, but with reeded side-wall. Glossy black glaze much flaked.
- c. P 3709. Cup-kantharos. H., 0.075 m. Massive moulded rim. Vertical handles flat on top, spurred. Firm black glaze. Stamped on floor, four double horseshoes surrounded by a rouletted spiral.
- d. P 3714. Skyphos. H., 0.083 m. Horizontal loop handles of squarish outline. Firm black glaze. Bottom reserved save for two black circles.
- e. L 1507. Lamp, Type VII. H., 0.035 m. A horizontal band handle has been broken away. Firm black glaze inside and outside. Also a small fragment from a lamp of similar shape glazed only on the inside, its outside polished.

- f. P 3720. Fragment of plastic vase. Preserved H., 0.061 m. There remains part of a draped figure seated on a cushioned stool. The entire modelled surface was covered with soft white paint; on the drapery are traces of pink overlying the white. The flat back was covered with black glaze. On the underside of a base (P 3721) which probably goes with this fragment is the graffito: . .]ημορος.

For the dating of the pottery one must turn to Olynthos (destroyed in 348 B.C.). Among the mass of black-glazed ware found in the houses of that site, much of which was imported from Athens, one may find exact parallels for our kantharoi and skyphoi. Our lamps also



Fig. 46. Pottery from Filling of Temple II

are of types that were the last used in the Macedonian town before its destruction and they are identical in shape with the very latest found on that site. The plastic vase is of a type common in Athens in the first half of the fourth century. Many specimens (as yet unpublished) have been found on the Pnyx in association with red-figured pottery of that period. They were imported and copied by the Olynthians. On the analogy of the Olynthian finds, it appears that our pottery is typical of that in use in the second quarter of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Confirmation of this dating is given by comparison with objects of the same

<sup>1</sup> For the kantharoi see *Olynthus*, V, pls. 148–150, especially nos. 507, 524, 526; for the skyphoi, *ibidem*, pls. 183–185, especially no. 971; for the lamp see *Olynthus*, II, p. 141, Series 7, figs. 305–307; V, p. 279, Group 8, pl. 200; O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, 2, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 45 ff.; for the lamp with unglazed



types found in the earliest Alexandrian cemetery at Chatby. The development which took place in the quarter century between the latest Olynthian and the earliest Alexandrian objects is apparent in the growing stems of the kantharoi, in the more attenuated forms of the skyphoi and in the pierced knobs which appear on the lamps from Chatby.<sup>1</sup>

The pottery, then, provides for the building a *terminus post quem* at about the middle of the fourth century. It is sufficient in bulk and is homogeneous enough in point of date to suggest that the construction took place not long after that time. With such a date would agree the character of the marble inscription and the graffito on the base of the plastic vase.

For the dating of the porch of the Second Temple the evidence is confined to a handful of sherds removed from its foundation packing. This pottery runs down certainly into the second century B.C. but not necessarily later. We may well believe that the porch was added shortly after the reconstruction of the neighboring Metroon in order to give a more uniform appearance to the west side of the square. A date in the second half of the second century B.C. is indicated. The flooring of marble chips is undoubtedly of the Roman period but how late we cannot say.

### THIRD TEMPLE

#### FOUNDATIONS

The preparation of the foundations for the temple was made difficult in the first place by the decided northward slope of the bedrock along its front and again by the cutting made to the south of the Stoa by the builders of the Stoa. And so, while a single course of squared blocks laid directly on bedrock sufficed for most of the foundation of the south part of the cella, a deeper underpinning was required toward the north. From the character of the foundation used in this northern part, it is clear that now, if not earlier, a great mass of earth filling had been thrown in to the excavated area south of the Stoa, sufficient indeed to raise the ground level *ca.* 1.00 m. above the toichobate of the Stoa. Through this earth filling trenches were cut down to bedrock and were filled with broken masses of Acropolis limestone (Figs. 42 and 47). The top of the rock filling was finished with smaller stones at a level high enough to receive the single course of squared blocks of red conglomerate which in the side and back walls of the main cella and in all three walls of the north room served as euthynteria and toichobate. The seeming inadequacy of the method is sufficiently refuted by the present condition of the foundations. The top of the course of conglomerate does not vary by more than 0.01 m. in level from corner to corner.

The use of broken-rock filling was confined to the foundations of the cella and the north room. For the front colonnade, an underpinning of squared blocks was required. These are of coarse red conglomerate, measuring on the average  $1.35 \times 0.65 \times 0.40$  m. At the

exterior cf. *Olynthus*, II, p. 143, Series 8, fig. 307; V, p. 282, Group 9, pl. 201; for the plastic vases, *Olynthus*, VII, pp. 13 ff., nos. 386 ff., especially no. 389 which is undoubtedly Attic and identical in technique and in the profile of its base with our fragment.

<sup>1</sup> For the kantharoi cf. E. Breccia, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, La nécropole di Sciabti*, II, pls. LIII-LV; for the skyphoi *ibidem*, pl. LVI, 120; for the lamps, *ibidem*, pl. LVII, 125 and 126.



Fig. 47. Northeast Corner of Cella of Temple III from Southwest



Fig. 48. Southeast Corner of Temple III



northeast corner they extend down to a depth of four courses, of which the uppermost consists of headers, the lower of stretchers.

The euthynteria of the porch, preserved along the south side, along the south half of the front and along part of its north side is of poros: hard, gray Peiraic limestone. Its blocks are 0.40 m. high and of random length: 0.665–1.30 m. Their outer faces are smooth dressed over their full height. Their breadth is irregular and was adjusted to suit the irregularities in the face of the conglomerate course behind (Fig. 48). The inner faces of the blocks of the euthynteria are, accordingly, for the most part quite rough and the spaces between poros and conglomerate were freely packed with broken limestone. Incorporated in this packing along the south side of the porch are two fragments from the poros crown of a wall. The base of the block measured *ca.* 0.46 m. across, its apex is broken away. These blocks may well have been removed from that part of the retaining wall which must have been broken away by the builders of the Third Temple. The blocks of the euthynteria proper were tied to one another by clamps of  $\vdash$  shape. In the surviving part of the euthynteria of the north side of the porch, however, iron clamps of  $\neg$  shape were used. Two of them remain in place, covered with lead. There is no reason to suspect repair or replacement here and indeed in an undisturbed block of the next course overlying the euthynteria at this point one may see a cutting for a  $\vdash$  clamp.

Setting and weathering lines show that the face of the lowest step was set back from the edge of the euthynteria 0.064 m. along the sides, 0.058 m. along the front. No blocks of this course remain. Their length, however, is given by cuttings in the euthynteria for the dowels which had been set one in one end of each block. The exposed end of the return of this step along the south side was secured by a dowel leaded through a pour-channel.

For the second step a rabbet was cut in the face of the topmost course of conglomerate blocks. From this step we have perhaps two fragmentary blocks which have been re-used in a late foundation to the south of the Temple (Fig. 49, *a*). They are of Hymettian marble with a drafted band along the lower edge of the face and with carefully worked anathyrosis. One is a corner block, preserved in its original length and width; the other is only the end of the neighboring block. They are excluded from the stylobate by their narrowness and from the first step by their height (0.226 m.) which is 0.01 m. greater than that indicated by the cuttings for the first step. Their other dimensions would suggest for them a place in the north flank of the building. It will be observed that the back part of both blocks has been cut away, that of the corner piece on a curved line. With the period of this trimming are to be associated also the cuttings for  $\neg$  clamps, dowels and prys in the tops of the blocks and the mason's marks on their faces: an *alpha* on either side of the joint between the two, a *gamma* ( $=\gamma[\omega\rho\iota\alpha]$ ?) by the other joint surface of the larger piece. These cuttings are too careful to have been done by the late Roman builders of the foundation in which the blocks now lie. They resemble rather the cuttings in the porch of Temple II. We may suspect that some alteration in the steps of Temple III was occasioned by the addition of the porch to the neighboring building.



For the stylobate, another broad ledge was cut in the top of the topmost course of conglomerate. The cuttings in the subfoundations and the requirements of the plan suggest for it a width of *ca.* 0.95 m. across the front, *ca.* 0.78 m. on the flanks. This would leave a width of *ca.* 0.62 m. to be divided (about equally) between the two steps, both front and

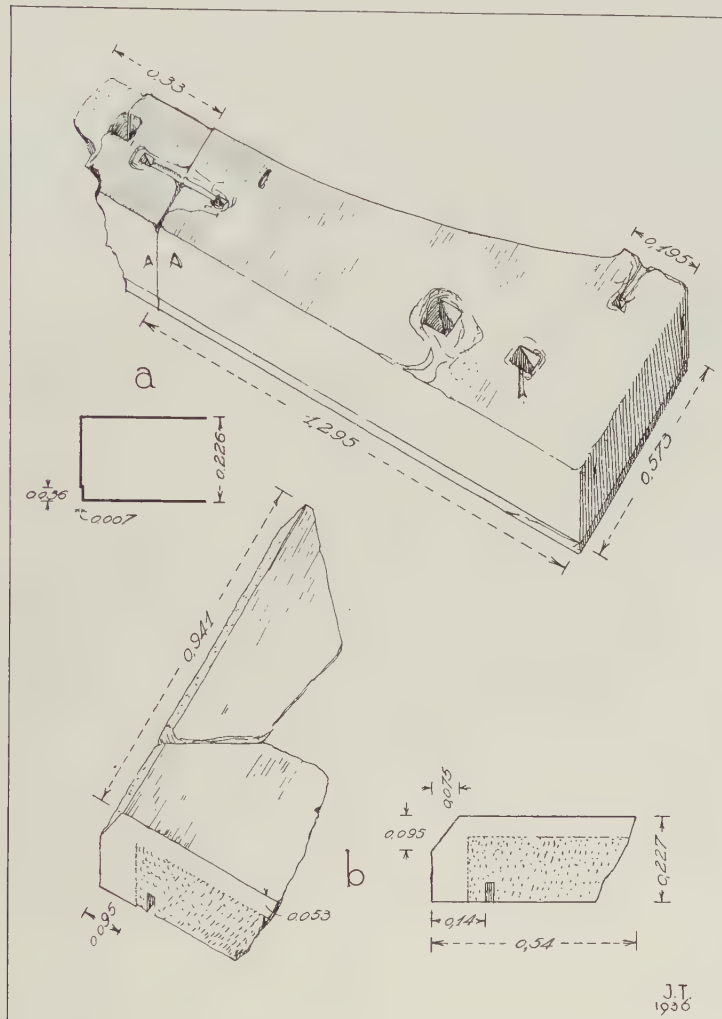


Fig. 49. Step and Stylobate Blocks of Temple III

flank. One end of each block of the stylobate was secured by two dowels similar to those used in the first step. The outer dowel in each case was set in the top of the second step; for the inner, which must otherwise have been imbedded in the coarse and friable conglomerate, a special bedding was prepared by setting into the top of the conglomerate block a small slab of poros cut from the wall crown, other fragments of which appear, as

already noted, in the packing behind the euthynteria. This procedure was apparently a measure of economy intended to obviate the use of a complete *Ausgleichsschicht* of poros between conglomerate and marble, the common solution.<sup>1</sup> The joints in the stylobate corresponded precisely with those of the first step.

Of the stylobate one fragmentary block was found close by the late Roman foundation at the southeast corner of the Temple into which it had doubtless been incorporated



Fig. 50. Temples II and III from the Northeast

(Fig. 49, *b*). The front of the block is completely broken away, but it preserves its original length of 0.941 m. and height of 0.227 m. The dowel cuttings indicate that the other blocks of the stylobate varied in length from 0.94 m. to 1.00 m. The upper back corner of the block was roughly chiselled away so that the exposed edge of the upper surface fell a full 0.07 m. inside the actual rear face of the block. The inner of the two dowel cuttings is preserved, in the "south" end of the block, and enables us to fix the original place of the stone.

<sup>1</sup> For a somewhat similar procedure in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, see *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, II, p. 12. At Olympia the peculiar arrangement is attributed to a subsequent adjustment.

The southeast corner block of the stylobate was the first block laid in its course and it was dowelled in its north end. Continuing north, the workmen laid the succeeding single blocks, dowelling each in its north end. They had, indeed, laid an eighth block, as shown by the pry hole at its north end, but they then lifted it from its place for the time being and started from the north end. They then laid three blocks from the north, dowelling them in their south ends.<sup>1</sup> We are left with neither dowel nor pry holes for the fourth block from the north. It was simply thrust in from behind between its two neighbors and for this reason the underlying course was dressed down to its full width at this point only.<sup>2</sup> Our preserved block was not intended for a corner; it bears no trace of a column on its top; its back edge is worn by traffic; the iron rust in its cutting shows that it was actually dowelled. It belongs, therefore, in the second place from the north on the façade.

The builders of the Third Temple fixed the ground level around the cella of their building at a height almost 1.00 m. above that of the Second, although the ground level around the porch of the Third was to be about the same as that in front of the Second. The nature of the subfoundations of the Third Temple therefore required that between the Second Temple and the back part of the new building a filling of earth should be made. In order to keep this earth filling from washing out toward the front, a screen of well-dressed poros blocks was built between the Second Temple and the northern wall of the Third, striking the latter just west of the line of the front wall of its cella (Fig. 50). A rabbet cut in the top of the projecting ends of the conglomerate euthynteria blocks of the Third Temple suggests that the thin crowning course of this barrier was carried westward *ca.* 1.70 m. beyond the east face of the screen, its top about on a level with that of the stylobate of the Third Temple.

#### PLAN

The plan of the building is clearly that of a temple with a single porch toward the east. The width of the cella inside may be fixed, from the surviving bit of north wall and from the cutting for the southeast corner in the euthynteria, at *ca.* 8.64 m. To determine the length of the room we may measure from the line of the inner face of the preserved east wall to the back edge of a cutting in the top of the western euthynteria, which, to judge from the analogy of similar cuttings in the north euthynteria must have extended to the very face of the wall. Thus measured, the cella had an interior length of *ca.* 9.285 m.

In the back part of the cella, set indeed close against the euthynteria, lies a heavy poros slab ( $1.05 \times 0.78 \times 0.30$  m.), smooth on top but roughly dressed on the sides (Fig. 42, Pl. III). Its top rises slightly higher than the euthynteria. That the block is a re-used stele

<sup>1</sup> That the third block from the north was dowelled in its south end is shown by the cuttings made by those who later removed the dowel in destroying the building.

<sup>2</sup> On the practice of starting from both corners in laying a course see *Erechtheum*, p. 190. It assured greater precision and obviated the necessity of exposing a dowel or of using a pour-channel. In a wall, the last block could be dropped in from above with tongs, a procedure obviously impossible in a stylobate.



bedding is shown by a cutting ( $0.10 \times 0.15 \times 0.10$  m.) on its present under side. Since the treatment of the euthynteria and the foot of the wall precludes the possibility of a stone paving in the cella, we can only suppose that this block formed part of the underpinning for a statue base. As such it is correctly placed. Another block from the same foundation was found lying nearby: an equally rough slab of poros ( $1.10 \times 0.94 \times 0.35$  m.) which also had originally served as a stele bedding. The cutting in its surface measures  $0.72 \times 0.18 \times$



Fig. 51. Southeast Corner of North Room of Temple III, from Northwest

0.10 m. Apparently the under foundation comprised four such blocks which would have permitted the statue itself to stand well in front of the back wall.<sup>1</sup>

That the north room is part of the original scheme is unquestionable. Its foundations are of exactly the same construction as those of the north part of the cella and actually

<sup>1</sup> At various points in the top of the euthynteria course as it projected inside the wall are shallow beddings carried up to the line of the wall face (Pl. III). Since one of them intrudes on the north door, it seems probable that they served some purpose during the construction of the building rather than that they were intended to receive dedications set against the walls.

the two interlock (Fig. 51). The trenches intended to receive the packing of broken rock must all have been opened at one and the same time. The north door, which is certainly not an afterthought, likewise points clearly to the contemporaneity of the two rooms. To include the north room in the plan was a reasonable way of utilizing the otherwise waste space behind the Second Temple which was already standing. The room measured inside *ca.* 4.40 m. from north to south, 4.56 m. from east to west. It would seem to have been entered only through the door in the north wall of the cella. As for its purpose we can only conjecture that it served as a storeroom or treasury of the sanctuary.

The lack of provision for angle contraction in the stylobate excludes the Doric order. We have restored an *in antis* rather than a prostyle arrangement. Such a scheme is made probable by the shortness of the returns of the steps on the flanks and is shown to be the only possible plan by a consideration of the beddings cut in the top of the uppermost course of conglomerate on the sides of the porch. These beddings are barely wide enough to accommodate a toichobate of sufficient width for a wall *ca.* 0.56 m. thick (considerably thinner, that is, than the walls of the cella) and they do not show the necessary widening at the point where an anta might have been expected to fall. The fact that the stylobate of the façade is divided into eleven units calls for four columns between antae. We have given them a lower diameter of 0.58 m. which is compatible both with the thickness of the side walls and with the width of the stylobate. The intercolumniation will be 1.914 m.<sup>1</sup>

#### WALLS

Of the cella walls there remain in position the lower part of the front wall to the north of the doorway and a section of the north wall including the block which adjoined the northern doorway. From these remains it is clear that the walls were built of a double thickness of limestone blocks, irregular in their coursing and indiscriminately rectangular or polygonal in elevation. The joint surfaces were carefully prepared, those toward the inside being finished with a smooth-faced chisel, those toward the outside with a toothed. The block which supported the east jamb of the door leading into the north room stands 0.91 m. high and rests on the single course of conglomerate (Fig. 52). Its neighbor to the east, however, and probably the rest of the wall in general, were carried on a toichobate, 0.18 m. high, consisting of limestone slabs, the outer faces of which are quite rough. A similar toichobate 0.23–0.25 m. high lies also beneath the preserved portion of the front wall. Here it comprises two rows of slabs, that toward the porch being of squared stretchers

<sup>1</sup> Within the foundations for the porch lies part of a bedding-block for a stele. Its northern end was cut away, obviously by the workmen who laid the north foundation of the porch. The block is of soft creamy poros, 0.44 m. wide, 0.23 m. high and is preserved to a length of 0.53 m. In its top is the bedding for the stele, 0.17 m. wide, 0.08 m. deep and, as preserved, 0.35 m. long. Originally cut too long, it had been shortened 0.08 m. to fit the stele by the insertion of a small block of poros at its south end. Much of the poured lead remains in the bottom of the channel. The block rests on bedrock and was obviously placed after the construction of the Stoa and the levelling operations to the south of that building.



of gray poros, that toward the cella of rough limestone slabs. The thickness of the stonework in the north wall of the cella is fixed at 0.745 m. by the block adjoining the north door. The block adjoining the north side of the east doorway is only 0.70 m. thick and this represents the thickness of the front wall proper. The figure is confirmed by the dimensions of the threshold block to be discussed below. Yet a glance at the plan makes



Fig. 52. Block adjoining Doorway of North Room of Temple III, from Southwest

it evident that the cross foundation was intended to support something more than a simple wall of that weight. Actually, there remain in position two heavy conglomerate blocks in front of the inner row of preserved orthostates of the east wall (Fig. 50). The eastern side also of these blocks must of course have been concealed and an iron dowel which secured part of the plinth beneath the screening orthostates still rises from the toichobate near its north end. The position of the dowel suggests that the total thickness of the wall in its lower part was *ca.* 1.39 m. If we deduct 0.70 m. for the thickness of the wall proper



we are left with *ca.* 0.69 m. which may well have been occupied by a bench of a width sufficient to carry sculpture (Pl. IV, Section C-C).<sup>1</sup>

The insertion of these pedestals will perhaps account for the remarkable width of the subfoundations beneath the colonnade. Immediately behind the row of blocks that carried the stylobate and one course lower, lies another series of blocks, carefully laid, their tops dressed smooth and level as if to receive other stones. But it is difficult to understand what purpose could have been served by such a foundation directly behind the columns, and the possibility that it actually was used is practically excluded by the fact that the back part of the blocks which carried the stylobate, on both the façade and the flanks, was never dressed down so that no row of blocks could ever have been laid behind and contiguous to the stylobate. We may rather suppose that during construction a change of plan was made that involved drawing forward the porch by the width of one course of foundation slabs, *i. e.* *ca.* 0.65 m. This hypothesis is strengthened by the faulty coursing in the front part of these same foundations and by the observation that the front of the temple, as, presumably, it was planned originally, would have lined perfectly with the front of the Stoa to the north. Nor have we far to look for a plausible ground for the alteration in the plan. The 0.65 m. by which the colonnade would seem to have been drawn eastward closely approximates the width of the statue bases which have been restored at the foot of the front wall of the cella. We may suspect that it was the tardily conceived idea of including these benches in the plan that led to the necessity of extending the foundations of the porch eastward so that it might retain the same east-west width measured on the floor.

More than one variety of limestone was used in the construction of the walls. Three of the orthostates which still stand in the east wall of the cella are of hard creamy Kará limestone. Of the same stone are three slabs of the toichobate beneath this wall and the slab remaining in the corresponding position in the north wall. A few fragments of this stone were thrown into the packing of the subfoundation of the cella walls. Elsewhere, with the exception of the conglomerate slabs above mentioned, the material of the wall where preserved is Acropolis limestone. The inner surface was carefully picked with a single point for the reception of stucco, of which very slight traces survive. The outer surface of the surviving part of the north wall which looked into the north room was left in a rougher state. It retains no trace of stucco. That it was stuccoed, however, is made probable by the certainty that the other walls of the north room were so treated: a narrow band of good marble-dust stucco may still be traced along the top edge of the conglomerate euthynteria in the east wall of that room. Beyond this, nothing remains of the walls of the north room.

<sup>1</sup> The same solution has been suggested by Keramopoulos for a similar thickening of the foundation for the east wall of the cella of the third temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (*Arch. Delt.*, 3, 1917, pp. 40 f.). A similar purpose was perhaps served by the broad foundation along the sides of the pronaos of the stone temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi (A. D. Keramopoulos, *Τοπογραφία τῶν Ἀελφῶν*, pp. 86 f.). Cf. also the bench for statuary set against the wall inside the Sanctuary of Demeter at Priene (*Priene*, pp. 152 f.).

## FLOOR

In the cella there is nothing to suggest that the floor was other than of packed earth or of some simple mosaic like that employed originally in the Second Temple. The inner edges of the slabs of the toichobate are so irregular as to preclude the possibility of stone flooring of any sort. The rough way in which the inner edge of the top of the stylobate was finished shows that the floor of the porch was of the same material as that of the cella. Of the north room also the floor was of packed earth (or plaster) and lay at a level *ca.* 0.14 m. higher than that of the cella.

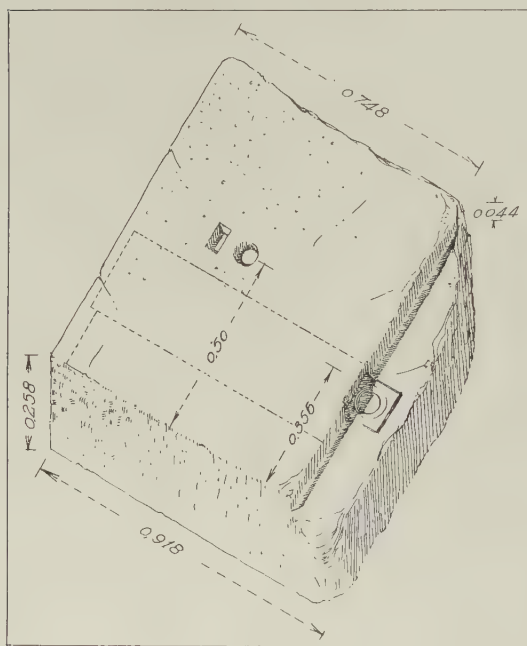


Fig. 53. Threshold of Temple III

## Doors

The backing block for the north jamb of the east door, as noted above, remains in position and, on the presumption that the door was placed in the middle of the front wall, indicates for it a width of *ca.* 2.18 m. to be reduced by the thickness of the two jambs (Fig. 47). The absence of any rabbeting for wood and the fact that the stippling on the inner surface of the block runs to its very edge show that the jambs were of marble. The inner face of the adjoining wall block was deeply undercut to receive the end of the threshold and was subsequently much mutilated to permit of the removal of that stone. The northern end of the threshold block of Hymettian marble was found lying in the north room

of the Metroon, where it had doubtless been re-used in some late reconstruction (Fig. 53). It may be identified with assurance from its height (0.255 m.) and from the undercutting of its end, both of which agree with the cutting in the underside of the block in the east wall of the temple. The bronze socket in which the lower pivot of the heavy main door turned still remains imbedded in lead in a rectangular cutting in the rabbet along the inner edge of the block. A lighter door, or, more probably, a gate of metal grill-work, was set farther forward on the threshold, and of it there remain two cuttings, one rectangular and intended to receive the lower end of the supporting post, the other a round socket for the door pivot. From the position of the sockets and from weathering marks on the threshold we may infer that the door jamb was *ca.* 0.22 m. thick, and from this it follows that the clear opening of the doorway was only 1.74 m.

The northern doorway, if centred on the north room, measured *ca.* 1.24 m. without its jambs. The face of the adjoining wall block to the east is finished to receive a marble threshold 0.21 m. high (Fig. 52). Here too the jambs were undoubtedly of marble.

#### DRAIN PIT TO SOUTH OF TEMPLE

Immediately to the south of the porch of the Temple is a shallow well cut down in the bedrock to a depth 1.44 m. below the euthynteria of the building (Figs. 54 and 126). It



Fig. 54. Drain Pit at Southeast Corner of Temple III, from South

was lined with a curbing of field stones set in clay of which only the lower part remains. The inside diameter is *ca.* 0.75 m. From the bottom of the well a drain channel, 0.40 m. wide, leads off in a northeasterly direction to join the Great Drain. The bottom, both of the well and channel, was filled with water-washed gravel which yielded pottery of the first half of the fourth century B.C. The arrangement had obviously served to receive the rain water from the steep hill slope to the west and to deliver it to the Great Drain without damage to the surface of the square. From the fact that the corner of the Temple



just overlies the drain channel it is clear that the channel is the earlier and it would seem further that the drain was filled up and abandoned on the construction of the Temple.

#### DATING

We have already observed that the difference in ground level between the Second and Third Temples and the way in which the difference was adjusted indicate that the Third is certainly the later. Yet the fact that the small building was crowded to the very north edge of the area suggests that the Third Temple was already in prospect when the Second was built. How great the interval was we cannot say. In any case, the date about the middle of the fourth century that we have established for the Second Temple serves as a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Third.

As noted above, we found the Third Temple almost completely excavated so that we were able to examine practically nothing of the original filling which might have been useful for fixing its date. A few small pockets of this filling found undisturbed in and about the foundations produced only a handful of non-committal sherds of the fourth century; small scraps of red figure and of black glaze.

The variety of building stone employed in the Temple is suggestive in a general way. Acropolis limestone, for instance, is found again as a toichobate above conglomerate in the Monument of Nikias (320/19 B.C. or shortly thereafter).<sup>1</sup> Kará limestone appears together with conglomerate and poros in the small temple in the west part of the Athenian Asklepieion, a building that is probably closely contemporary with our Temple.<sup>2</sup>

One might at first glance be tempted to compare the walls of our building with those of such an early structure as the older temple at Rhamnous.<sup>3</sup> The principle of construction is, indeed, identical, but the absence of curves and the emphasis on the horizontal line dispel any impression of archaism in the Athenian walls. Actually, the best Athenian parallels, in respect both of material and workmanship, are to be found in connection with certain tombs outside the Dipylon and in a house to the south of the Areopagus, all dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

The combination of  $\vdash$  and  $\lrcorner$  clamps, which seems to mark the transition from the one to the other variety, recurs in a number of other buildings which are known to date from the years immediately after Chaironeia. In the foundations of the Stoa of Philip II at Megalopolis the two varieties appear in precisely the same relation as in our Third Temple, *i. e.*, the  $\vdash$  form above the  $\lrcorner$ .<sup>5</sup> In the Philippeion at Olympia only  $\lrcorner$  clamps

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, pp. 474 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 323. The blocks of Kará limestone used in this building were clearly cut for their present position. Their dimensions and their style of workmanship are all against Versakis' belief that they were removed from the early Temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus (*Arch. Eph.*, 1908, cols. 277 f.; 1913, col. 72).

<sup>3</sup> W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, no. 18.

<sup>4</sup> W. Wrede, *op. cit.*, nos. 94, 100-103.

<sup>5</sup> *J.H.S., Supplementary Papers I: Excavations at Megalopolis*, London, 1892, pp. 59 f.

were used in the structural parts,  $\vdash$  clamps in the statue base.<sup>1</sup> In the Temple of Zeus at Stratos  $\vdash$  clamps appear in the foundations,  $\neg$  clamps in the superstructure.<sup>2</sup> The transition is well illustrated elsewhere in Athens by the monuments of Nikias and of Thrasyillos, both erected to commemorate choregic victories won in 320/19 B.C. In the surviving parts of the first one finds only  $\vdash$  clamps, in the second both  $\vdash$  and  $\neg$  clamps.<sup>3</sup> The exposed ends of steps in the Philonian Portico (in construction dating perhaps close around 330 B.C.) were secured by dowels leaded through pour-channels in precisely the same way as ours.<sup>4</sup> The restrained use of pour-channels has been observed also in the Temple of Zeus at Stratos,<sup>5</sup> and in the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene (ca. 335 B.C.),<sup>6</sup> even in the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (ca. 355 B.C.).<sup>7</sup>

By a slight anticipation we may avail ourselves at this point of one more bit of evidence for the date of the building. From Pausanias' notice (I, 3, 4) it is clear that the cult statue of Apollo Patroos was made by Euphranor. We shall find reason to believe that the statue was intended for the Third Temple. Pliny (*N. H.*, XXXIV, 50) tells us that the *floruit* of Euphranor fell in Olympiad 104 (364–361 B.C.). We have already seen that it was he who painted in the Stoa of Zeus the scenes from the cavalry engagement at Mantinea, presumably soon after the event in 362 B.C. His latest works for which we have any adequate chronological data were statues of Philip and Alexander in quadrigae (Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 78) and colossal figures of "Valor" and "Greece" commonly thought to be due to Philip II and to date after Chaironeia (Pliny, *l. c.*). In order to secure so important a public commission as the decoration of the Stoa of Zeus Euphranor must already have been an artist of established reputation ca. 360 B.C. It is obvious, then, that his active career could not have extended much beyond those works for Philip and Alexander, in all probability not beyond the third quarter of the century.<sup>8</sup>

For the construction of the Third Temple we now have an upper limit around the middle of the fourth century fixed by the date of the Second Temple. The system of clamping and dowelling employed finds excellent parallels in the period just after 338 B.C. The cult statue intended for the temple can scarcely have been executed after 325 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> *Olympia*, II, pp. 128 ff., p. 133, fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup> F. Courby and Ch. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie*, pp. 83 f.

<sup>3</sup> Only  $\vdash$  clamps were used in the frieze of the Philonian portico at Eleusis, a part of the structure which probably dates from the time of Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307 B.C.). But, as Noack has suggested, the form of clamp may have been fixed by regulations drawn up as early as 330 B.C. F. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 117, 121, 129.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos*, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> *Priene*, p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> C. Dugas, J. Berchmans, M. Clemmensen, *Le Sanctuaire d'Alea Athéna à Tégée*, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> For a recent study of the chronology of Euphranor see F. Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 41. An Attic pelike, decorated with a figure of Apollo Kitharoides obviously based on a cult statue and inspired in all probability by the work of Euphranor newly set up in the Athenian Kerameikos has been dated from the ceramic side at ca. 335 B.C. Karl Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 18, b, p. 22; *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, no. 370, p. 142.

The conclusion would seem inevitable that the building should be dated late in the third quarter of the fourth century. Since the temple was presumably erected at the public expense we are perhaps justified in surmising that it was part of the extensive building program for which the orator Lykourgos won renown during the time that he controlled the finances of the city (338–326 B.C.).

#### IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY

*Ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς (in the Stoa of Zeus) Εὐφρανὼρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπὶ κλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσε(ν ἔκ) Ἀελφῶν.*

*Ῥηκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητροὺς θεῶν ἱερόν, . . .*

Pausanias, I, 3, 4.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Third Temple is the building in which Pausanias saw Euphranor's statue. He described the temple as close by the Stoa in which he had seen Euphranor's paintings and immediately afterwards he mentioned the Metroon. We have found reason to identify the Stoa of Zeus with assurance. The identification of the Metroon, as we shall see, may be taken as certain. The sanctuary in question lies midway between the two. No other suitable candidate for the Temple of Apollo Patroos has come to light in the immediate area. The Hephaisteion has been suggested as a rival. If we admit its claim for a moment, then we still have the ruins just described to account for, and we shall be hard put to explain Pausanias' failure to mention a building that occupied a very prominent position adjoining his route and that was obviously a temple, probably the largest to face on the Market square.<sup>1</sup>

The small apsidal building immediately beneath the later temple of Apollo is sufficiently shown by its very position to belong to the same divinity. We may, then, speak with propriety of the bronze *kouros* whose mould was found nearby as an archaic Apollo.

The identification of the Second Temple is not so simple. Inasmuch as it bridges part of the chronological gap between the First and the Third Temples, one might be tempted to regard the Second also as of Apollo. But in this case why should the small building, along with its altar, have been left standing to obstruct the site for the larger temple that was to follow so shortly? It seems probable, indeed, as already observed that the Second Temple was crowded close against the Stoa in order to leave as much space as possible for the (already contemplated) Third. The way in which the northern part of the area was

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld, since the first appearance of the building, has insisted on its connection with the Stoa Basileios (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107 ff.; XXII, 1897, p. 225; *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, Tafel 37; see also B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, pp. 259 f.). Judeich did not admit this identification and on his restored sketch of the Agora named the building the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (*Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 331, fig. 43). For the view that the "Theseion" is the Temple of Apollo Patroos see Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 345, n. 4; 365, n. 2.



invaded and its level reduced by the builders of the Stoa further suggests that Apollo was not sole proprietor.

If we cast about for possible associates, we shall find that the choice is limited. The most probable combination is with Zeus or Athena, or rather, with both. In Demosthenes' speech against Meidias (XXI, 198) an oath is taken by Zeus, Apollo, and Athena and the scholiasts on the Iliad B, 371<sup>1</sup> inform us that this oath was peculiar to the Athenians for to them these three gods were paternal. The same three divinities are again closely associated in Plato's *Euthydemos* (302 c) and here it is Zeus Phratrios (or Herkeios) and Athena Phratria who are coupled with Apollo Patroos.<sup>2</sup> Such an association is readily intelligible. Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria were, naturally, the principal divinities of the phratry. But Apollo Patroos also had intimate connections with the fraternal organization. A client of Demosthenes, when being enrolled in his phratry, was presented to the members of the phratry and was taken to the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos and "to the other sanctuaries," which, presumably, included that of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria.<sup>3</sup> Apollo Patroos was associated also with Zeus Herkeios,<sup>4</sup> but the cults of Zeus Herkeios and of Zeus Phratrios, were very close, the one domestic, the other fraternal.<sup>5</sup> That a state as well as a fraternal cult of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria existed is sufficiently attested by the appearance of the couple in the sacred calendar recently found in the Agora.<sup>6</sup>

The hypothesis that Apollo shared the sanctuary with Zeus and Athena will account, moreover, for other circumstances otherwise difficult to explain. It has been shown that the southern part of the area occupied by the adjoining stoa had been, probably always was, sacred to Zeus. If we grant further that Zeus had a claim also to the area in which the Second Temple was subsequently built, the incursion made by the architect of the Stoa of Zeus will not seem so intolerable. In the second place, the statue base within the Second Temple must be restored, as indicated above, to a width unreasonably great for a single figure of a scale appropriate to the building. It would comfortably accommodate two figures of that scale.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, i, p. 730.

<sup>2</sup> *Εἴτα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἔφη, Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔστιν Ζεὺς ὁ πατρώος; — Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπωνυμία Ἰώνων οὐδενί, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπωκισμένοι εἰσὶν οὐθ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατρώος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰωνος γένεσιν. Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν πατρώος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, ἑρκεῖος δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηναία φρατρία. — Ἀλλ' ἄρχεῖ γ', ἔφη ὁ Διονυσόδωρος· ἔστι γάρ σοι, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ.*

<sup>3</sup> LVII, 54: *παιδίον ὄντα με εὐθέως ἦγον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρώου ἦγον, εἰς ἄλλα ἱερά.*

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 3: *ἐπερωτῶσιν δ' ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν [τοὺς ἄρχοντας]... εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων πατρώος καὶ Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά εἰσιν.*

Demosthenes, LVII, 67: *οἵκετοί τινες εἶναι μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῷ;* πάνν γε, . . . . φράτερες, εἴτα Ἀπόλλωνος πατρώου καὶ Διὸς ἑρκεῖου γεννῆται, κτλ.

Harpokration, s.v. *Ἑρκεῖος Ζεὺς*: *Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοσχίωνος· εἰ φράτερες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς ἑρκεῖου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πατρώου εἰσίν. ἑρκεῖος Ζεὺς, ὃ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἑρκους ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ ὕδρῳται — διὲ δὲ τούτοις μετὴν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἴη Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος, δεδήλωκε καὶ Ὑπερείδης.*

<sup>5</sup> See Plato, *Euthydemos*, 302 C cited above and C. A. F., II, 291, 9 (Kratinos the Younger): *Ζεὺς ἔστι μοι ἑρκεῖος, ἔστι φράτριος, τὰ τέλη τελῶ.*

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21, l. 48 ff.

A bit of evidence that amounts almost to a formal proof of the suggested identification is provided by an altar of Hymettian marble (I3706) found in the spring of 1936 in the upper levels in front of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 55). Though the back part of the block is broken away, its original width may be restored on the supposition that the sinking in the top, intended to secure the metal fire-pan, was centred transversely as it was longitudinally. In plan, then, the block measured  $0.60 \times 0.75$  m. The three preserved faces of the altar are lightly stippled save for an edging band finished with the toothed

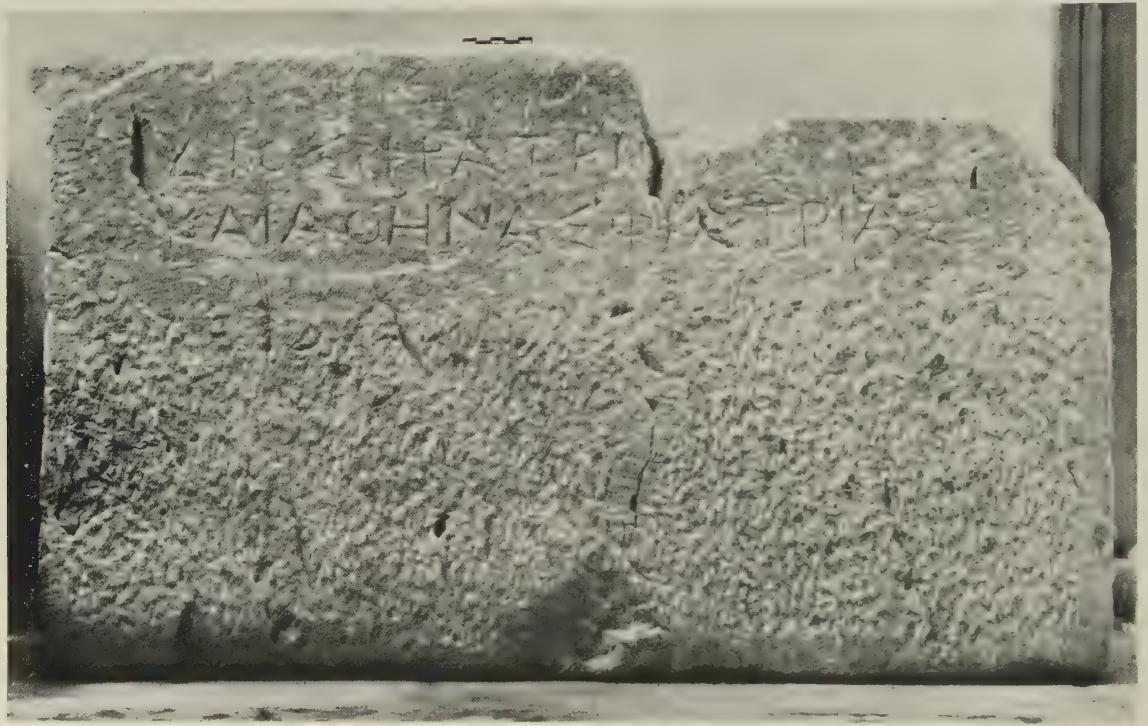


Fig. 55. Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria

chisel and for a panel across the front that bears, in characters lightly and carelessly cut, the inscription:

ΔΙΟΣ ΦΑΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΦΑΤΡΙΑΣ

The workings on top of the large poros block that rests in position in front of the Second Temple and that has been referred to above as an altar base suggest two periods of use. In the first the superimposed block was 0.91 m. long and was fastened by a dowel set in the round sinking that is centred in relation to the earlier arrangement. In the second period, the preserved stone carried another block with a length of *ca.* 0.78 m. and width of *ca.* 0.65 m. Around this block occurred most of the heavy wear which appears in Fig. 41. It will be observed that the disparity in dimensions between the plan of the newly found

altar and the later traces on top of the poros base will admit of a plinth of appropriate size between the two. One might be further encouraged to associate the pieces by the discovery in the packing under the poros block of working chips of marble identical with that of the altar. Nor need he be discouraged by the apparent remoteness of the place of finding of the altar stone. This block of convenient size may very well have been carried off by the builders of the Valerian Wall (to the point in the wall closest to its original position). In recent centuries, when the Wall in turn became the quarry of block hunters, the marble must have been removed and incorporated into a house foundation then being built at a distance of a few meters from the Wall.

As for the date of the altar, one might be tempted by the forms of the *alpha* and the *nu* in its inscription to place it in the fifth century B.C. But the use of Hymettian marble and the general carelessness in the working both of stone and inscription make improbable a date so early. As Meritt suggests, a group of Attic boundary stones, chiefly from mortgaged properties, provide adequate parallels in point of material, quality of workmanship, and archaic appearance.<sup>1</sup> From external evidence, the boundary stones may be dated to the middle and second half of the fourth century. The altar, then, may well be contemporary with the temple to which we have ventured to assign it. This represents the sum of our knowledge regarding the sanctuary and cult of Zeus and Athena.

We may now consider some of the dedications made to Apollo, and, first, the statues mentioned by Pausanias. In 1907, while uniting the two deep pits that had previously been opened in this area by Dörpfeld, the Greek Archaeological Society discovered the fragments of a statue of heroic size which was recognized as being of the type of Apollo Kitharoidos and which has been described indeed as Apollo Patroos (Fig. 56). It is said to have lain some 20 m. to the south of the building which we have identified as the later Temple of Apollo, that is within the north room of what has now proved to be the Metroon.<sup>2</sup> The bulk of the statue and the freshness of its surfaces leave no doubt that it originally stood somewhere nearby. Its type excludes it from the Metroon in which it was found and likewise from the Hephaisteion from which it might be thought to have rolled down. We are left with the nearby sanctuary of Apollo, and the scale of the statue further limits the choice to the Third Temple. That the piece stood under cover is shown by its unweathered surface. Its size and its pose would be perfectly appropriate to the cult statue designed for a cella of the size of that in the Third Temple and its style and admirable workmanship proclaim it an original of the fourth century B.C. The probability, then, becomes very strong that we have to do with Euphranor's Apollo Patroos.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2642 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 333. On the statue itself see the brief note by Kourouniotes in *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, Parart., p. 80 and the reference to it by Keramopoulos, *ibidem*, 1929, p. 95, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> It is not impossible that the statue of Apollo actually stood for a time in the north room of the Metroon where it was found. We shall show presently that in late times this part of the Metroon was extensively restored. The Temple of Apollo, on the other hand, would seem not to have been reconditioned after the sack of 267 A.D. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the discovery of the threshold block





Fig. 56. Statue of Apollo Patroos. National Museum, Athens

With the statues by Kalamis and Leochares mentioned by Pausanias the case is not so clear. We cannot fix the date of Kalamis' work more closely than within the limits of the active career of the artist, *i. e. ca.* 470–440 B.C.<sup>1</sup> If the tradition reported by Pausanias is correct, we must presume that the divinity represented by the statue was without attribute until it came to be called "Averter of Evil" from assistance rendered in stemming the plague of 430–427 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In view of what we now know of the history of the sanctuary, an alternative theory, long since proposed, becomes more attractive. Pausanias' informant may have been in error and the title may really have originated with the repulse of the Persians.<sup>3</sup> If this is so, then we may suppose that the youthful Kalamis was commissioned to do a new cult statue for the pillaged sanctuary and that Apollo had for long to be satisfied with this statue before the city could afford to rebuild his temple.<sup>4</sup> The figure was probably done in bronze, Kalamis' favorite medium and a sufficient guarantee of its disappearance.

Nor can we speak with more precision of Leochares' work. The artist's *floruit* is placed by Pliny (*N. H.*, XXXIV, 50) in Olympiad 102 (372–368 B.C.), but the artist could still assist in the dedication made at Delphi by Krateros after Alexander's death (*ca.* 320 B.C.?). We have no certain clue as to where in Leochares' career the Athenian work falls. The probability, however, is that Leochares' statue antedates the Third Temple and Euphranor's Apollo. Both statues were, presumably, dedications made at the expense of the state and it is difficult to conceive of an occasion for ordering a new and expensive statue at a time necessarily very shortly after the completion of the Third Temple and the dedication of its cult statue proper.<sup>5</sup>

The statue by Kalamis, then, was certainly, that by Leochares probably earlier than the Third Temple. The building commission must have found them standing in the open sanctuary, and naturally felt obliged to make adequate provision for them. The benches which have been restored as original features structurally incorporated in the front wall of the cella would have provided a sheltered and honorable new home for the earlier figures and there they undoubtedly stood when Pausanias passed.<sup>6</sup>

from Apollo's temple in the same room of the Metroon and the presence of the two omphaloi, which were undoubtedly Apollo's, at the northeast corner of the Metroon (below, pp. 110 ff.). Consider also the fate of the statue of Hadrian (above, p. 68).

<sup>1</sup> F. Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> This is the view of Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A comparable error would seem to be involved in a scholion to Aristophanes *Ranae* 501 according to which a statue of Herakles Alexikakos by Ageladas, the Argive teacher of Pheidias, was dedicated on the occasion of the Great Plague. See the discussion by Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Reisch's attribution of the statue to his younger Kalamis, the beginning of whose active career he fixed *ca.* 385 B.C., is invalidated by the long interval between the occasion and the expression of the gratitude. *Jahreshefte*, IX, 1906, pp. 232 ff. On the attempt to identify copies see Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.

<sup>5</sup> On the suggestion that the Apollo Belvedere may be derived from this Apollo by Leochares see Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencycl.*, XII, 1925, col. 1996.

<sup>6</sup> The perigete's language would seem to suggest as much. Note his use of the Attic genitive in the second case: ἐν τῷ ναῶ but πρὸ τοῦ ναῶ. We should probably translate "in the temple" but "in front

In the Epigraphical Museum lies a slab of Pentelic marble which undoubtedly comes from the same sanctuary though it was actually found by the Varvakeion where it too had served a second use (Figs. 57, 58).<sup>1</sup> Something was trimmed from its lower part by its re-users. Its one face is smooth dressed and bears the inscription *Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῶν*. At either end a joint surface is worked to receive the end of a similar slab set at right angles. The piece obviously comes from the front of an altar that consisted of four marble slabs set on edge with a cover slab on which the offerings were made.<sup>2</sup> The style of lettering and the workmanship of the block would fit well in the late fourth or early third century. We may take it then as altogether probable that the inscribed slab formed the front of the altar erected for the Third Temple.<sup>3</sup>

Among the dedications to Apollo we may safely include two omphaloi which were found together in a late Roman level at the northeast corner of the Metroon (Figs. 59, 101). The two are identical in material (Hymettian marble) and in workmanship but slightly different in dimensions and profile. Their walls are finished with a toothed chisel; a band 0.01 m. wide around the lower edge is smooth dressed; the undersides are roughly dressed with the toothed hammer. On the tip of each is a small sinking, worn smooth by the tramping which occurred after the omphaloi reached the place where they were now found, deep enough originally perhaps to retain a metal attachment. Alongside this sinking in the top of each is a cutting for a lewis.<sup>4</sup> The weathering on the surface of the omphaloi, which certainly predates their removal, suggests that they stood originally in an exposed position, conceivably between the front columns of the temple. Since there is no trace of fillets worked

of the cella." The statues of Athena and Hermes called the Pronaoi seen by the same traveller at the Temple of Ismenian Apollo by Thebes undoubtedly occupied a similar position (Paus. IX, 10, 2: *πρῶτα μὲν δὴ Ἰσμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑσοδὸν ἔστιν Ἀθηναὶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι πρόναοι· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναῖν λέγεται Σκόπας· μετὰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς ὑποδομέσθαι*). We have already observed that the remains on the Theban site suggested the restoration of benches like those proposed for the Athenian temple. Does Hesychius' *πρόνεως Ποσειδῶν* refer to still another statue similarly placed?

In clearing the ruinous front steps of the Third Temple we found a basketful of slivers of Pentelic marble from the drapery of a large statue. The workmanship is excellent, the finish somewhat smoother than that of the statue found in the Metroon. Repeated efforts have failed to establish any join between the slivers and that statue. The fragments, then, must come from another large statue of the classical period which may very well have stood in the porch of the temple.

Soteriou, in exploring the ruins of the Church of St. Dionysios on the north slope of the Areopagus, found a rectangular base of white marble inscribed with a dedication to Apollo Patroos in lettering of the fourth century B.C.: . . . Θ]εοδώρου | Ἀπόλλωνι πατρῶ[φ] | ἀνέθηκεν (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 143). This base presumably bore an offering and stood in our sanctuary, from which it was carried off as a building stone of convenient size and shape.

<sup>1</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4984; *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> For this style of construction one finds a ready parallel in the fifth-century altar of Athena Hygieia at the southeast corner of the Propylaia (Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 242 f.).

<sup>3</sup> This altar may be the "Altar of Apollo in the Agora" that was gilded in the time of Lykourgos (Ps. Plut., X. *Orat.*, 843 F).

<sup>4</sup> The lewis holes need not be taken to imply that the objects were set at a height, which indeed would be out of keeping with the essential nature of an omphalos. The lewis was the convenient means of handling an otherwise awkward mass in the workshop and between workshop and sanctuary.



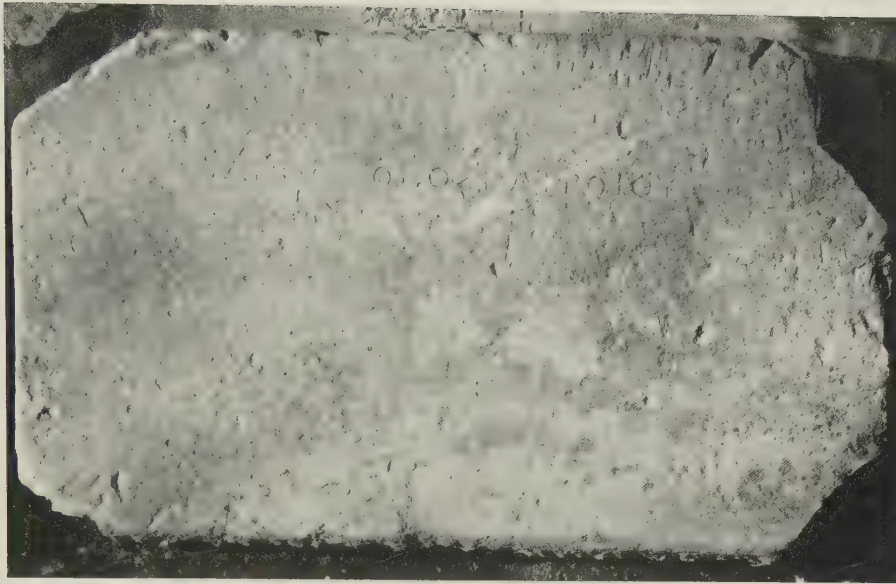


Fig. 57. Front Slab of Altar of Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4984)

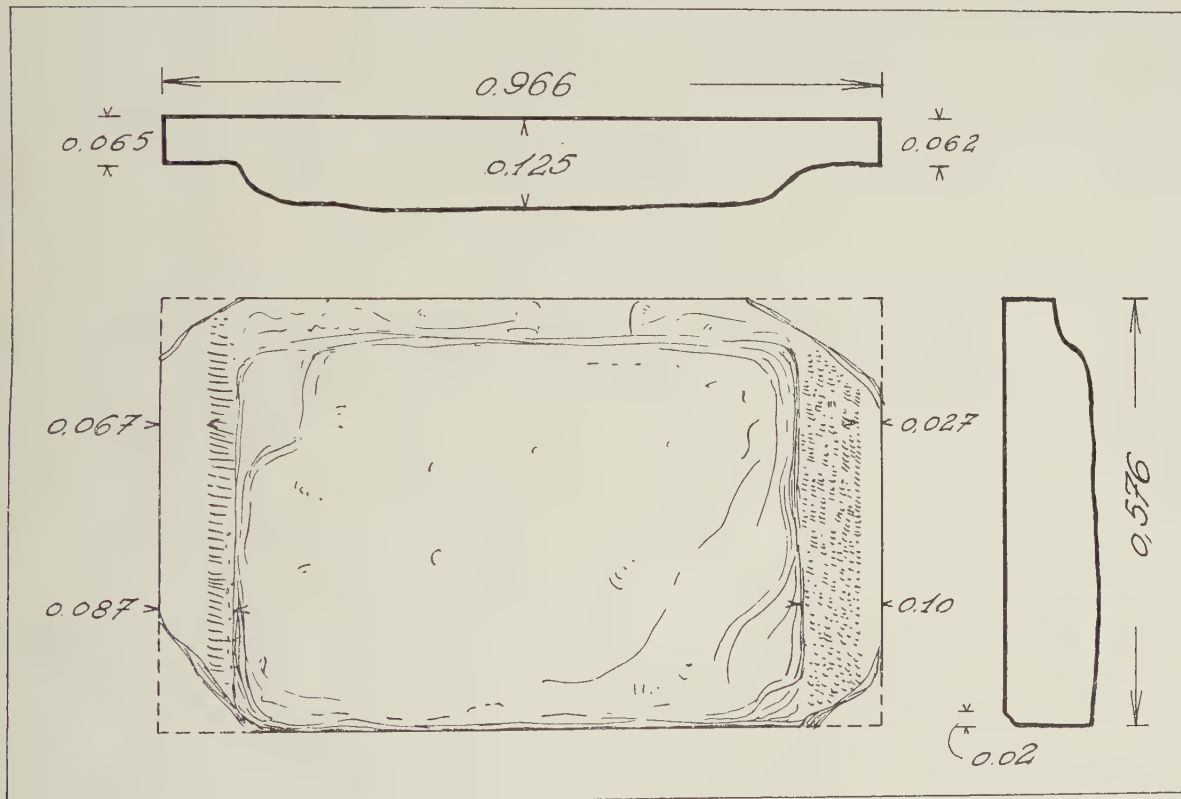


Fig. 58. Slab from Altar of Apollo Patroos; Elevation of Back, Horizontal and Vertical Sections

in relief on the surface of the marble we may suppose that these, like the older omphalos at Delphi, were decked on occasion with actual fillets.<sup>1</sup>

That omphaloi, copies, that is, of the original at Delphi, were set up in Apollo's sanctuaries elsewhere may be inferred from an Argive inscription of the third century B.C. which records the establishment of an omphalos in accordance with an oracle (undoubtedly in the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo at Argos).<sup>2</sup> At Athens, too, one would have expected the sacred symbols in the sanctuary of the Pythian rather than of the Patroon cult. But that the two aspects of the divinity were closely associated in the minds of Athenians

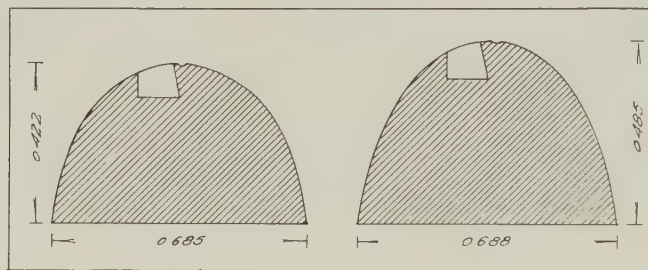


Fig. 59. Omphaloi, Vertical Sections

appears, for instance, from Demosthenes' appeal in *de Corona* 141 to τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει. The association is illustrated too by the inscription on an altar found at Athens: Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγνιέως προστατερί[ου] πατρῷου πύθιου κλαρίου πανιώνιου.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The omphalos is frequently represented in ancient works of art of which a selection is given by J. H. Middleton in *J.H.S.*, IX, 1888, pp. 294 ff. For more complete references see the excellent article by G. Karo in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *omphalos*. Yet very few actual specimens have been found. Three are known from Delphi: (1) of poros, without fillets, found probably within the foundations of the fourth-century temple of Apollo (F. Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *La Terrasse du Temple*, pp. 69 ff.; Holland, *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1933, pp. 212 ff.); (2) of marble with fillets worked in relief, found to the east of the temple (Courby, *l. c.*, pp. 70 ff., fig. 63, p. 266, fig. 209); (3) of a more slender conical shape, without fillets, found to the south of the Treasury of the Athenians (Courby, *l. c.*, p. 70, n. 1; E. Bourguet, *Les Ruines de Delphes*, p. 248, n. 1, fig. 31). Another was found in the sanctuary of the Amarsian Artemis between Chalkis and Eretria. It is of marble, covered with fillets in relief, and rests on a massive base worked in one piece with the cone (*Arch. Eph.*, 1900, cols. 19 ff., fig. 1). Within the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii rests an omphalos of tufa on the surface of which are traces of fillets worked in relief (Pierre Gusman, *Pompeii*, pp. 80 ff.; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 81). To these may be added the marble statue base in shape of an omphalos, fillet bound, found in the west parodos of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens (A. Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte griechischer Plastik*, pl. V; C. Waldstein, *J.H.S.*, I, 1880, pp. 179 f.). Fragments of a large marble omphalos, fillet bound, have been found to the east of the Metroon.

<sup>2</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXVII, 1903, pp. 270 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, p. 25; Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 35, fig. 7; *I.G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 1995. *I.G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 3630 had been restored by Dittenberger to attest a joint priesthood of the Patroon and Pythian cults. Graindor (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 27), by adding a new fragment, showed that the cult was only of Apollo Patroos of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi.

The list of offerings and dedications is not long, nor is there reason to suppose that the cult ever became very popular. It has been suggested that it may have been established and supported by the state of the Athenians to lend color to their contention that Attica was the home of the Ionian race.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the cult always retained a civic, official character. A client of Demosthenes, on being enrolled in his phratry apparently in the regular manner, was taken to the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos.<sup>2</sup> The archons in Aristotle's day on undergoing the preliminary scrutiny were asked whether they had altars of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos and if so where.<sup>3</sup> The jurymen in the court on Ardetos took their oath by Apollo Patroos, Demeter and Zeus Basileus.<sup>4</sup>

From other sources we learn little to supplement what has already been gathered from its stones about the history of the sanctuary. It may be that the Patroon is comparatively youthful among the Apolline sanctuaries of Athens. One would be inclined, for instance, *ipso facto* to assign priority to the god's rude sanctuary in the cave *ἐπὶ Μακράϊς*. The folk stories which associated Theseus with the Delphinion suggest for that dwelling of Apollo in Athens a very considerable antiquity.<sup>5</sup> If the Pythion owed not only the altar of which Thucydides wrote but also its foundation to the house of the tyrants as we are told, then the Agora sanctuary may well vie with it in age.<sup>6</sup> Neither in literature nor in the preserved inscriptions is there anything to suggest for the sanctuary in the Agora a date earlier than that of the statue by Kalamis, and yet the present exploration has pushed its foundation well back beyond the time of Kalamis. The fortunes of the sanctuary through the fifth and the fourth centuries have been illustrated from the ruins and need not be reviewed here.<sup>7</sup> For the Hellenistic period we learn nothing from outside sources and for the Roman period practically nothing. We know where the priest of Apollo Patroos sat in the Theatre

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. A. R. Munro, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 116 ff., especially p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Demosthenes*, LVII, 54. As Wachsmuth observes, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, p. 418, n. 4, the sanctuary in question may have been that of the phratry rather than that of the state in the Agora.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Polit.*, 55, 3 and further references quoted by Sandys *ad loc.* Keramopoulos has suggested that the stone by which the archons took their oath of office was the altar of Apollo (*Arch. Delt.*, XII, 1929, pp. 92 ff.). Another candidate for the "stone" has been noted above (p. 74).

<sup>4</sup> Pollux, VIII, 122.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14 and 18.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc. VI, 54; Suidas, *s. v. πύθιον*; Photios, *Lexikon*, *s. v. πύθιον*; Hesychios, *s. v. ἐν πυθείῳ χέσαι*.

<sup>7</sup> It would seem not impossible that the inscription *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 79, of the late fifth century, should be referred to this sanctuary. Provision is made for an annual levy of 2 drachmas from each knight, one from each hoplite, 3 obols from each bowman. The boule is instructed to appoint from its own number two treasurers to administer these funds of Apollo and these treasurers, together with the priest of Apollo, are to concern themselves in some way with the sanctuary of the God; lines 15 ff.: τ[ὸ] δὲ ταμίᾳ μετὰ [τῷ] ἡμε[τέρῳ] τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ τε | μένος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνο[ς] ἐπιμελέσθον, ὅπως ἐν κάλλισ] | τα θεραπεύεται . . . One might date the document to a time immediately after the completion of the adjoining Stoa and suppose that temporary provision was made for the rearrangement of the sanctuary necessitated by the disruption caused by the construction of the Stoa and that the sacred fund and its board of treasurers looked forward to the construction of a new temple for the god, a plan which was long delayed by financial exigencies. Such a restoration would suit admirably the evidence yielded by the site, but the inscription in itself contains nothing to connect it definitely with this particular sanctuary of Apollo.



of Dionysos (*I. G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 5061) and we know the names of two late incumbents of that office, one probably of the late second century A.D. (*I. G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 3630), the other of the third century (*I. G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 3697).

#### ABANDONMENT OF THE SANCTUARY

For the actual destruction of the Second and Third Temples we have no precise evidence. We may suppose however that they shared the fate of the Stoa to the north and of the



Fig. 60. Front of Later Temple of Apollo from the South, during Excavation

Metroon to the south and that they were seriously damaged in the sack of 267 A.D. There is nothing to suggest the repair of either building after that time. The area would seem to have lain desolate for at least a couple of generations thereafter. It was perhaps at this time that much of the ancient ground level was torn away in front of the temples, particularly around the northeast corner of the sanctuary. The resulting appearance of this region is well illustrated by Fig. 41 in which the level that appears along the front of the Third Temple is the first solid floor reached by the excavators. Yet this level is lower than the bottom of the bedding block for the altar of the Second Temple and that block must have been practically covered by earth when the area was in order.

This damage may well have been done by winter torrents after the Great Drain became blocked in the period of desolation following the sack of the area.

Around the middle of the fourth century A.D. this area, like that farther north, began to be inhabited once more. The ground level now rose quickly in front of the Temple and the advancing years could be followed with the help of the many coins, lamps and broken pots found in the stratified accumulation. By the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries the level had risen again to the top of the euthynteria. Above this level lay great masses of ash and charcoal, intermingled with soft earth and broken pottery. The layer of burnt matter lay deepest above the euthynteria of the Third Temple, where it reached a depth of 0.70 m., and thinned out to nothing at a point 10 m. east of the Temple front. Toward the north it continued to about the middle of the front of the southern wing of the Stoa. Apparently the rubbish was thrown out of some neighboring factory or workshop. The coins and pottery found in it show that it was gathering in the first half of the fifth century A.D. From Fig. 60 it will be clear that the layer of burning, marked by the white lines in the earth filling, extended unbroken above the conglomerate subfoundations of the colonnade and from this it follows that the marble steps had already been removed. Practically the entire remaining part of the building must now have been concealed and forgotten. Habitation would seem to have ceased again in this region in the latter part of the fifth or in the sixth century A.D. and when straggling settlers returned in the tenth century they could scarcely have suspected the existence of the Temple.

## METROON-BOULEUTERION COMPLEX

### POSITION

In the next place toward the south, and again set in close by the foot of Kolonos, lies a group of buildings which we may call the Metroon-Bouleuterion complex (Fig. 61). About two-thirds of the total area is now overlaid by the massive foundations of a building which we shall come to know as the Hellenistic Metroon. The northern part of this structure overlies the ruinous foundations of a small temple, probably the first Temple of the Mother of the Gods. Beneath the southern part of the Hellenistic foundations we shall recover the scheme of a large square building, the Old Bouleuterion. To the west of the Hellenistic Metroon are the rock-cut beddings and the few surviving blocks of the New Bouleuterion. The porch that was later added to the New Bouleuterion is to be noted along its southern side, and the Propylon, contemporary with the porch, through which the New Bouleuterion was approached from the market square, may be made out at the southeastern corner of the Hellenistic Metroon. Deep beneath the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion and in the areas immediately north and south of it, lie fragmentary earlier walls, some of which conceivably supported a Primitive Bouleuterion. The complex is bordered on the south by the Tholos.





Fig. 61. Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex from East Pediment of Hephaisteion. 1936



## DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The northern end of the Hellenistic Metroon was brought to light by the German Archaeological Institute in the winter of 1895–96 in the campaign which produced also the neighboring Temple of Apollo. About one-half of the great north room, together with its share of the eastern porch, appears on the sketch accompanying the report of the first excavation.<sup>1</sup> The Greek Archaeological Society, continuing in 1907 and 1908 the work begun by the Germans, not only removed the bank of earth between this building and the Temple of Apollo but also cleared all four rooms of the Metroon. Though its width had been fixed at the northern end, most of the eastern porch still lay deep beneath the modern Poseidon Street.<sup>2</sup> Much of the porch was cleared in the first season (1931) of the current excavations and in each succeeding season some time has been devoted to the further clearing and study of the building.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the area occupied by the New Bouleuterion was exposed by the Greek Archaeological Society in the years 1907–1908. In the spring of 1934 the Porch of the building was freed of its deep covering and the connection was definitely established between the council house proper and its Propylon which had already been excavated in the previous season. Supplementary digging was done in the spring of 1935 around the Propylon and between the Propylon and the main building.

## EARLIEST BUILDINGS

We may now attempt to disentangle the various foundations and to restore the buildings as far as possible, commencing with the lowest and earliest. In all periods, the architects working in this area were faced with the inevitable difficulties of the site: a gentle slope from south to north and an abrupt, irregular drop from west to east. The difficulties are especially apparent in the earlier periods, *i. e.* in the Old Bouleuterion and the buildings whose foundations now lie beneath it. These earliest remains indicate two periods of construction, in each of which the most substantial element was an eastern retaining wall that supported a terrace at the foot of Kolonos, the building or buildings proper rising on the terrace.

## FIRST PERIOD

Of the terrace wall to be associated with the first period, the front line may be traced beneath and within the limits of the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon (Pl. VI, Figs. 62, 63). This front has a length of 14.56 m. and is oriented not quite north-south. At its northern end, the wall turns at right angles toward the west and runs back a distance of 15.00 m.

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107 ff.; *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, p. 1, pl. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Praktika*, 1907, pp. 54 ff.; 1908, p. 59; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 331 ff., fig. 42.

<sup>3</sup> A preliminary architectural study of the building by Richard Stillwell has appeared in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 131 ff. Cf. also *ibidem*, pp. 105 f., 461.

The northwestern corner likewise forms a right angle. The west wall may be traced southward a distance of *ca.* 9.00 m. beyond which all trace of it has been destroyed by the subsequent cutting down of bedrock. At its southern end, the front wall of the terrace turns westward at an obtuse angle and apparently terminates against the rising bedrock beneath the foundations of the front wall of the Hellenistic building. Of these walls the eastern, in its lower part, was obviously a retaining wall serving to support the filling which



Fig. 62. Foundations beneath Porch of Hellenistic Metroon, from North

carried the floor of the building. The original ground level of the roadway in front of the wall at its northern end was 52.88 m., whereas the floor level of the building was 54.30 m. At the southern end of the eastern wall the original street level rose to a height of 53.60 m. In the northwestern corner, the bedrock was cut down to a depth of at least 1.60 m. to accommodate the building so that the western wall and the northern wall toward the northwestern corner were set against the face of a rock-cut scarp.

The building proper may be supposed to have been confined to the northern part of the terrace, the eastern retaining wall rising to serve as a free standing wall. It would then have opened on the free southern part of the terrace which was presumably approached



from the south. No trace remains of an entrance from the east. In the absence of all remains of the south wall, we cannot fix the north-south dimension of the building.

The eastern wall is preserved to a height of 2.00 m. at its northern end (Fig. 63) whereas toward the south it has been broken away to its lowest blocks. It is built of masses of Acropolis limestone in a primitive polygonal style. The blocks vary greatly in size, attaining a maximum length of 1.00 m. The interstices between the larger blocks were filled in



Fig. 63. Northeast Corner of Terrace Wall of First Period overlaid by Foundations of Hellenistic Metroon

with smaller fragments so that a minimum working was necessary for the joints. The exposed faces were sometimes left as they had broken in the quarry, elsewhere they were finished with the toothed hammer. No mortar of any kind was used. In the whole of its preserved height the wall served to retain an earth filling so that it has naturally only one finished face. The inner part was carried up in smaller stones less carefully placed making up a total thickness of *ca.* 0.70 m. The same style of construction was followed in the other walls of the building though rather less care was taken to bring their inner faces to a smooth surface. We may suppose that the upper walls were of unbaked brick. A few shattered bits of the bricks still cling to the ruinous top of the terrace wall at its north end,



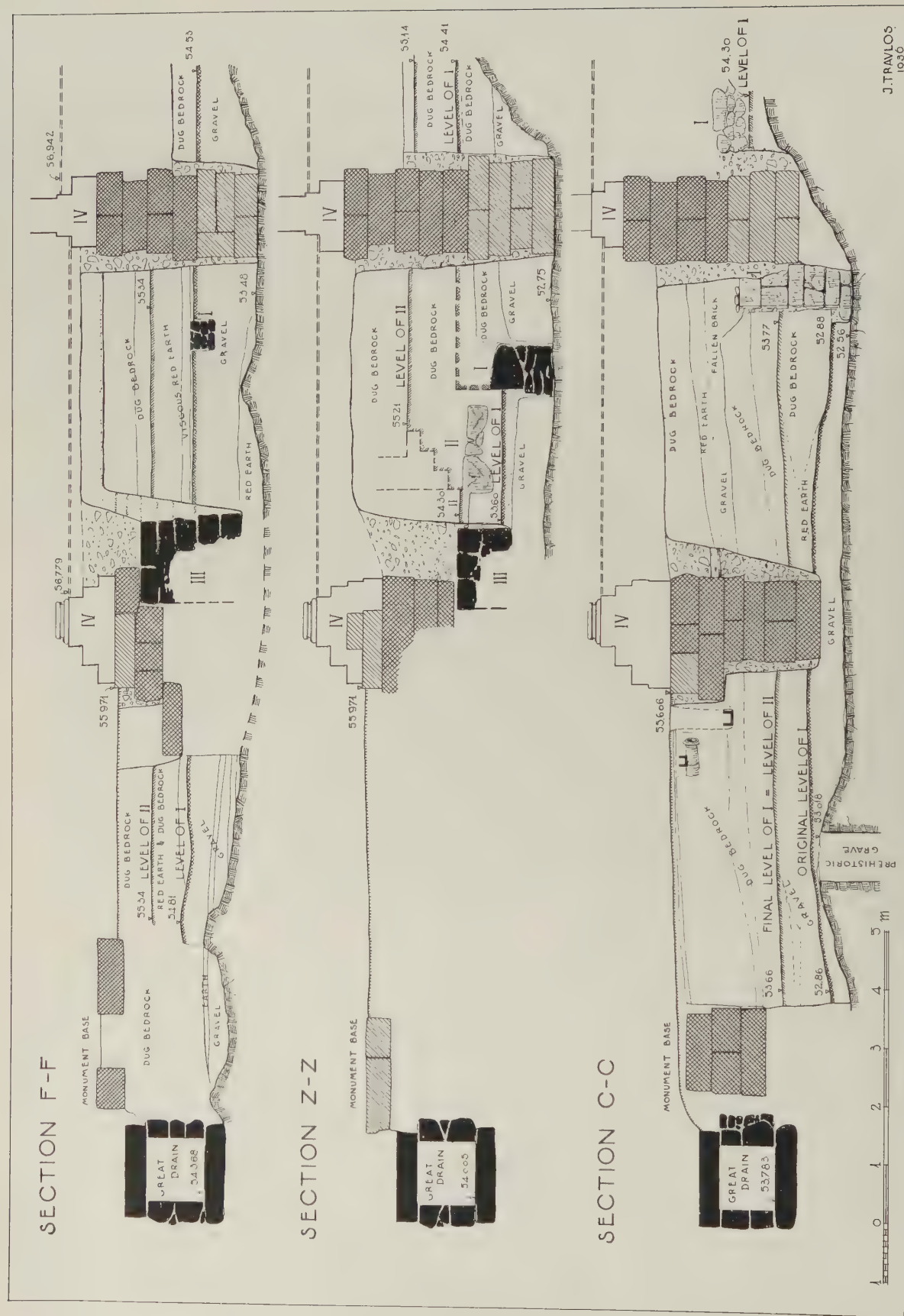


Fig. 64. Sections through Porch of Hellenistic Metroon. See Plate VI

and disintegrated masses of them filled the trench of the north-south retaining wall and overlay the dirt floors of the rooms.

Another contemporary building of similar construction and ground level and with approximately the same orientation lay to the south. No trace of a terrace wall has been found in connection with it, and the rising ground level would have rendered such a wall unnecessary. The northwest corner of the foundations of the building remains and parts



Fig. 65. Earliest Foundations and Pier of Old Bouleuterion in Second Room from South of Hellenistic Metroon

of its north and east walls (Fig. 65). The east-west dimension is fixed at 7.72 m.; of the north-south length only 5.20 m. remain. In its north wall the traces of a doorway are preserved. The foundation walls as preserved are of Acropolis limestone in big and little pieces, the joint surfaces for the most part unworked, but the exposed faces neatly aligned and dressed with the hammer. The wall thickness varies from 0.50 m. to 0.53 m., the preserved height is nowhere greater than 0.55 m. Numerous fragments of sun-dried brick found along the foundations indicate that the upper walls were made of that material. An annex had subsequently been erected against the west side of the building. The lowest

course of stones for its north wall and part of its west wall remain. They were laid in a more careless style than those of the main building. The floors of the building and annex were of packed clay.

To the north of this building and separated from it by an alley 1.20 m. wide, rose another structure of which only the southwest corner is preserved in its lowest foundations (Fig. 65). Later foundations have obscured or destroyed all but 1.20 m. of its west wall, 2.30 m. of its south wall. In construction it resembles the main building, but its stone socle is only 0.40 m. thick.

A deep cut sunk to the south of the Metroon, between its south wall and the polygonal wall that runs west from the Propylon, revealed scanty remains of another similar building in the same series (Pl. VI, Fig. 97). Later building operations have left us *ca.* 2.65 m. of a north-south retaining wall built of big and little blocks of Acropolis limestone. Only the lowest row of stones remains. The total thickness of the wall with its backing is 0.60 m. Set against the east face of the wall is a small L-shaped structure of similar construction ( $2.10 \times 1.42$  m.) intended doubtless to support a few steps leading up to the terrace above, the steps to be approachable from the north. Subsequent builders have cut down the terrace behind so that we can hope for no more of the walls of the building proper nor even of its floor. A slightly defined cutting in the bedrock beneath the south room of the Hellenistic Metroon suggests that the terrace wall originally extended north through the width of that room at least.

For the dating of the principal retaining wall, we may consult two groups of pottery, the one from the surface of the pre-existing accumulation into which the wall was set, the other from the filling that was thrown in behind the wall to form the terrace. In Fig. 66 are illustrated representative pieces, including those apparently latest in date, Nos. *c-e*, *g-j* from the upper gravelly layer through which the wall was set, the rest from the filling behind the wall.

- a. P 6094. From the upper wall of a krater. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.31 m. In a handle zone the animal-headed prow of a long galley crossed by the vertical bars which closed the zone toward the handle. On top of the rim, groups of transverse bars. Flaky brown glaze.

The shape of the vase and the boat find close parallels in a large krater in Toronto, recently attributed to the Protocorinthian school (Robinson, Harenum, and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, no. 113; Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pp. 9 ff., pl. 3). The fabric of our piece is identical with that of numerous other similar kraters from the same layer and seems undoubtedly to be Attic.

- b. P 6093. From the upper wall of a krater. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.23 m. In a lip zone, a row of water birds stand stiffly to attention. Flaky brown glaze.

The treatment of the water birds is again reminiscent of Protocorinthian. Cf. *inter alia*, Johansen, *Les Vases sicyoniens*, pl. XI, 2 = Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 4, 3.

- c. P 6087. From the upper wall of a krater with everted rim. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.39 m. In a handle zone a warrior with plumed helmet, round-topped shield and two spears in hand faces right toward another warrior of whom only the spear-points remain. Groups of transverse bars on top of rim. Flaky brown glaze.
- d. P 6083. From the shoulder of a similar krater. A figure seated to right with outstretched left arm. In the field a butterfly filler. Brown glaze.



- e. P 6082. From the upper wall of a deep bowl. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.15 m. A horse with a bristly mane to right. Brown glaze.
- f. P 6095. From the lip of a large amphora. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.17 m. Note the tips of the two wavy lines beside the handle attachment. Brown glaze for these, for the root of the handle and for the lip on the outside.

On this type of amphora see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 570 ff. The fabric of this piece suggests for it a date in the seventh century rather than in the Geometric period proper.

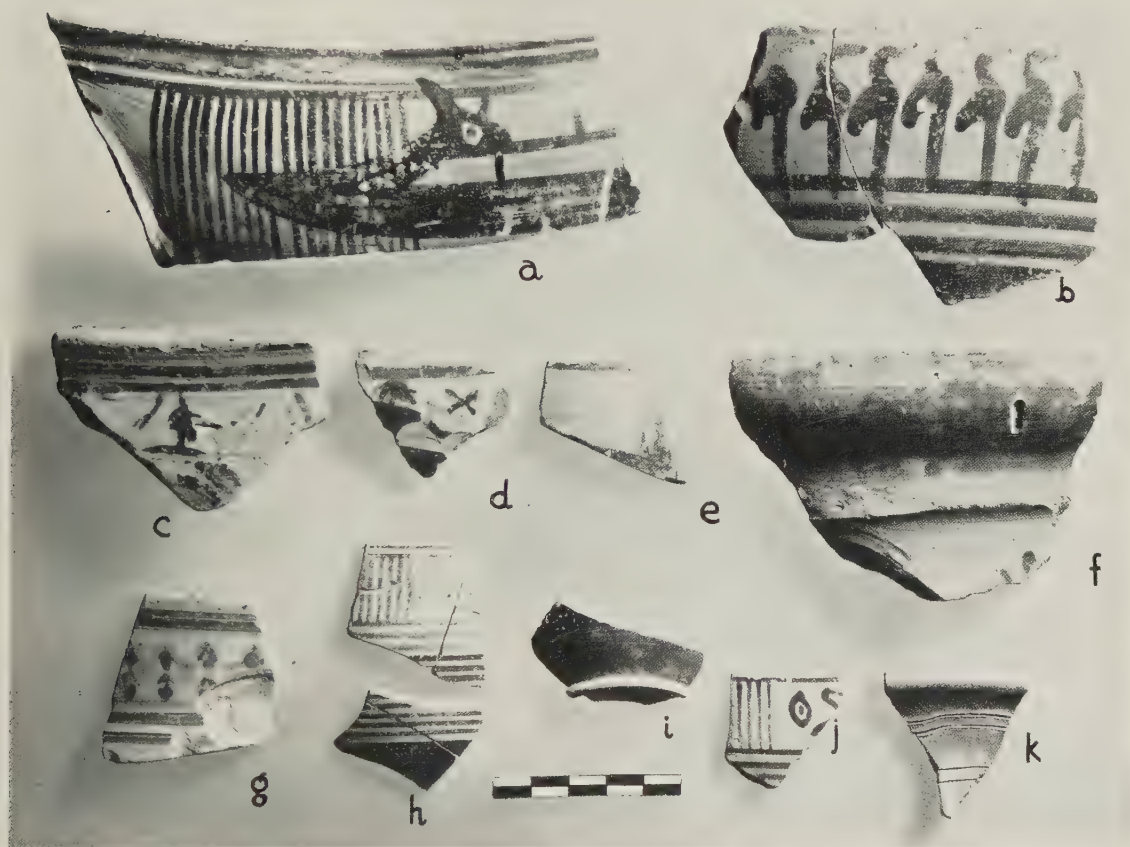


Fig. 66. Sherds associated with Construction of Earliest Period

- g. P 6085. From the upper wall of a kantharos. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.16 m. The upper wall is slightly inset and occupied by interlacing zigzag lines, their angles filled with diamonds. Two broad glazed bands on the upper part of the otherwise reserved inside. Brown glaze.

This type of kantharos, common in Athens in the early seventh century, is well illustrated in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 585 ff. For the pattern cf. *ibidem*, p. 591, fig. 55.

- h. P 6088 a, b. Protocorinthian skyphos. Two fragments from the wall. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.15 m.

On this type of skyphos, see Johansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff., pl. IX, 5, 6; Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 10, 4.

- i. P 6086. Protocorinthian skyphos. From its base. Diam. of foot-ring *ca.* 0.045 m. Foot-ring and underside unglazed.

Among the other fragmentary Protocorinthian skyphoi are three certainly of the same type, none with rays.

- j. P 6084. From the lip of an Attic skyphos. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.10 m. In the handle zone a water bird to right with a dotted oval in the field. Horizontal line above and below, vertical bars breaking the zone. A reserved line on outside just below lip. Brown glaze.

Skyphoi like *h* and *i* were the vases most commonly brought from Corinth to Athens at this period and the typically Protocorinthian shape and decoration were freely copied by the Attic potters. See also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 568 ff.

- k. P 6096. From the flaring lip of a water jar with incised decoration. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.16 m. Micaceous, russet clay.

Jars of similar fabric and decoration are found together with late Geometric vases (*Praktika*, 1911, pp. 126 f., figs. 24–29), but the ware continued to be popular well down into the seventh century and the thinness of the wall of this bit shows it to be of the seventh rather than of the eighth century. See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 597 ff.

There are besides numerous small fragments of late Geometric and Protocorinthian vases; nothing of Orientalizing style.

The pottery, then, from significant places around the wall is as late as the early seventh century but not later. The wall itself and the building which it represents must be equally late, though they are probably not much later. In style the wall is like enough to walls at Eleusis dated in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup>

## SECOND PERIOD

The buildings just described were short-lived. Whether they were wilfully or accidentally ruined we cannot say. Ashes and charcoal were found here and there overlying the floors, but scarcely in sufficient quantity to suggest a general conflagration. The following building period involved the eastward and southward extension of the old building and the raising of its level.

A new terrace wall was built, leaving the old at a point about 7.50 m. from its north-east corner (Fig. 62). The new wall swung out in a gentle curve so as to pass the south-east corner of the old wall at a distance of 1.80 m. About 2.50 m. beyond this point the second wall was in turn cut by the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion and, since those foundations overlie the continuation of the second wall we cannot fix its further course with assurance. But since the distinctive filling of broken bedrock to be associated with this reconstruction and the thin film of burnt matter which overlies the filling continue beyond the southern limits of the Hellenistic Metroon and appear beneath the (much later) Propylon, we may suppose that the north-south terrace wall also continued at least that

<sup>1</sup> With the outer face of our retaining wall compare the Eleusinian walls dated in the eighth and seventh centuries (Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, nos. 3–5) and with the inner face of the north wall of our structure compare an Eleusinian wall socle of the Geometric period (*op. cit.*, no. 2). In the case of such utterly simple construction arguments from style alone would not be conclusive.

far.<sup>1</sup> At a point almost opposite to the south end of the old terrace a gap 1.92 m. wide was left in the new wall and the ends of the wall were turned in a distance of 1.45 m. This gap was obviously intended to receive a flight of steps leading up to the terrace from the east, an arrangement which has effectively been destroyed by a Byzantine well.

The new wall is built in a more "refined" style of polygonal masonry than the old (Fig. 67). In the best preserved part the outer face is built up of a series of orthostates as much as 0.54 m. high, above which the blocks are smaller. Even in this remnant one may trace the long, swinging curved lines of the genuine archaic style. Face and joint surfaces are finished alike with a single point. The jointing, though not precise, is neat. The back face of the wall is built more loosely and with smaller stones to make a total



Fig. 67. Terrace Wall of Second Period of "Bouleuterion" from Northeast

thickness of *ca.* 0.55 m. Adjoining the stairway the blocks are larger, one measuring 1.15 m. in length. The face of the wall is inclined inward *ca.* one centimeter in 60.

In the course of the history of the earlier terrace the ground level in front of it had risen 0.40 to 0.50 m. (Fig. 64). The builders of the new wall accepted this as their ground level and set their foundations down through it, though they did not carry them to bedrock. The level of the area behind the retaining wall was raised by a filling of earth and bedrock, the surface of which lies some 0.25 m. above the original ground level connected with the earlier buildings at the southern limit of the area, as much as 0.80 m. at the north. This new filling completely overlay the ruinous wall tops of the small early buildings toward the south. In the north it occasioned serious alterations in the principal early structure.

<sup>1</sup> The southern limit of the terrace may be given by an east-west limestone polygonal wall that has been shown by a couple of late pits to pass just to the south of the Propylon. This area will be investigated further at a later date.



We have supposed that in the earlier period the east retaining wall served also as a free standing wall in its upper part. The way in which the junction was effected between the old and the new walls makes it clear that the old wall was broken down. That the new retaining wall did not serve the same double purpose is shown by the stairway let into its face and by the fact that it was not carried down to bedrock. It is possible that the east side of the building was now carried back to the line of a north-south wall, the northern 4.70 m. of which remains. The treatment of the faces of this wall indicates that it goes not with the floor of the first period but with a floor which lay somewhat higher than the earlier in the northwest corner of the building. The wall itself is built of Acropolis limestone in a rude polygonal style. It is 0.50 m. thick in its upper part. The southern limit of the building is still unknown.

There is no trace of further building to be associated with this alteration of the terrace. The extent of the enlargement would seem to imply that some more considerable undertaking was contemplated. Plans may have been interrupted for reasons unknown and then in a few years completely upset by the decision to erect the Old Bouleuterion.

The pottery found in the filling thrown in to raise the level of the terrace behind the new retaining wall provides a decisive *terminus post quem* for this reorganization. Amongst this pottery are to be noted not a few fragments of late Corinthian, especially of skyphoi, one piece of a Naukratite goblet, at least one bit of an East Greek coarse jar. Of the figured pieces, however, the most common are in Attic black figure, of the developed animal-frieze style. There are, besides, several fragments from early Little Master cups. Nothing need be later than the specimens illustrated in Fig. 68.

- a. P 2397. From the neck of an amphora. Bearded male head to right. H., 0.067 m. Purple paint for the flesh of face and neck, for the headband and for the bounding line below. At the base of the neck, a moulded ridge. Black glaze on upper part inside.

The fragment comes from one of a small group of amphorae marked, many of them, by a male head on the neck, bounded by one or two vertical wavy lines at either side; by heraldically opposed animals or birds on one or both sides of the wall and by base rays. For the literature, see Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, p. 252, "Weiterer Kreis"; *C.V.A.*, Musée Scheurleer, III E, F, pl. I, 1 and 2, Pays-Bas 19. Their place of origin has been much disputed. Style and fabric leave little doubt that our fragment was made in Athens.

- b. P 6089. From the wall of a Little Master kylix. H., 0.029 m. In a handle zone, a panther to right. Purple paint on chest and ears; white dots on neck.

The bit comes from a "band-cup" with a "brief-picture" including perhaps three animals standing peaceably together,—a type of kylix discussed by Beazley in *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 187 ff. and sufficiently illustrated by specimens in the British Museum (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., III He, pl. 16, 9 and 10, Gr. Brit. 74) and in the Louvre (Louvre III He, pl. 75, 3 and 4, France 507).

- c. P 2398 (a). Fragment from the wall of a closed vase. H., 0.061 m. A man, wearing a short cloak, stands behind his horse. Purple paint for the stripes on the cloak and for two horizontal lines below the panel; white for embroidered dots on the cloak.

The three pieces illustrated extend over a period of perhaps 50 years; *a* falling well back in the second quarter of the sixth century, *b* in the third quarter and *c* probably toward the end of that quarter. Since this pottery, with a quantity of other similar

fragments, came from many significant places around the reconstructed terrace and since its chronological sequence breaks off suddenly at the time of *c*, we may suppose that this sherd affords a close indication of the date of the reconstruction.

The style of the wall, if one may judge from the little that remains, is obviously more studied and refined than that of the earliest terrace and, since the two were intended to serve the same purpose, we are entitled to argue that they must therefore be the products of two different ages. Actually, the second wall finds satisfactory parallels in the socle of a fortification wall at Eleusis assigned to the late Peisistratid period.<sup>1</sup> A date early in the last quarter of the sixth century for this reconstruction of the terrace agrees well with the

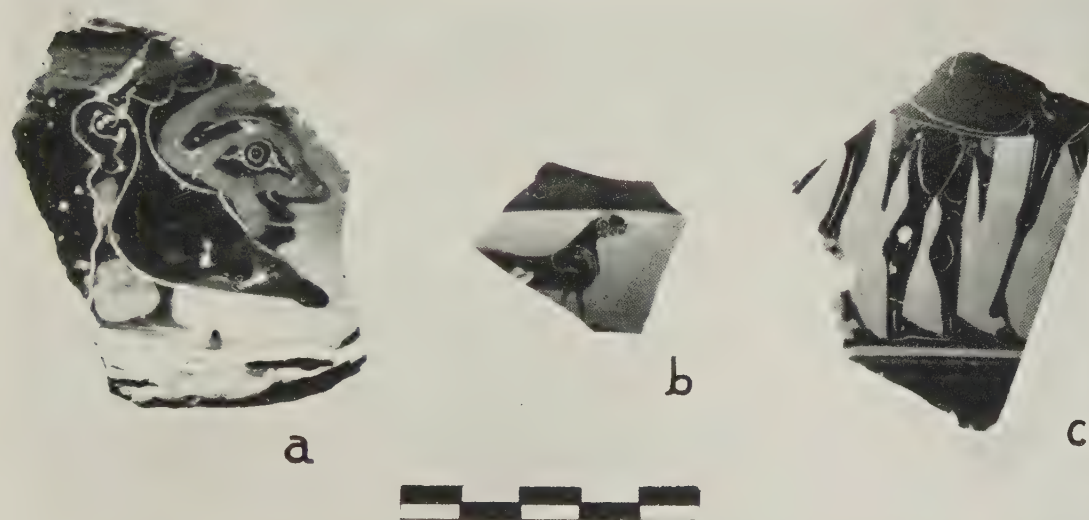


Fig. 68. Sherds associated with Second Period of "Bouleuterion"

other evidence bearing on the preceding and succeeding periods. It means for the original terrace a life of over 100 years, sufficient, that is, for the accumulation of earth and rubbish in front of its retaining wall and for the wearing and weathering apparent on its exposed surfaces. It will also leave, as we shall see, a very short life for the reconstructed terrace and this will explain the lack of accumulation in front of its wall before the construction of the Great Drain and of the accompanying terrace.

#### OLD BOULEUTERION

PRESERVATION (Plates VI, VII; Fig. 72)

Of the substantial building which next occupied the site nothing remains in position but the lower foundations of the outer walls and of the interior supports. These were almost

<sup>1</sup> Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, nos. 10-13.

completely overlaid by the Hellenistic walls. But even the foundations have suffered grievously, parts of them having been removed and re-used apparently by the Hellenistic builders, others, when exposed, by mediaeval residents.



Fig. 69. Foundations of Old and New Bouleuterion from the Southeast

*a* = West Foundation of Old Bouleuterion; *b* = East Foundation of New Bouleuterion; *c* = Packing for Floor in Old Bouleuterion;  
*d* = Foundations of Hellenistic Metroon

#### OUTER FOUNDATIONS

The foundations form a rectangle approaching very closely a square, 23.30 m. from east to west, 23.80 m. from north to south measured on the outside. The marked downward slope of the site toward the east required that the foundations should be much deeper on the east than on the west side. On the west, indeed, a channel was cut in bedrock to receive the second course beneath the euthynteria (Fig. 69). Along the south side the foundations were carried down to bedrock and likewise in the southern part of the east side. At the northeast corner, however, they do not quite reach bedrock but rest rather



on the very firm ancient earth filling. Of the north foundation, the eastern part rested on the same earth filling, the western 4.00 m. on bedrock; the intermediate section has completely disappeared.



Fig. 70. Foundations of Old Bouleuterion, overlaid by Colonnade of Hellenistic Metroon, from the Northwest

The foundation is massively built of blocks of irregular size. Along the east side some effort was made at horizontal coursing from the bottom (Fig. 70). Toward the top, greater care was taken with the coursing and on the whole smaller blocks were used. Thus in the lower part of this section, blocks as much as 0.60 m. in height are found, whereas those of the topmost preserved course measure *ca.* 0.30 m. The two courses that remain along the west side show very careful horizontal jointing (Fig. 69). In both, the vertical jointing within the thickness of the wall is polygonal and painstakingly executed. At this point the lowest course measures 1.10 m. in width. The second course from the bottom in the northern part of the east side, where it may be measured beneath the Hellenistic colonnade, has a width of 1.50 m., the difference being due to the greater depth of the foundation in this place. The upper wall in both cases was undoubtedly of the same thickness.

The material of the upper walls was a granular yellow poros as shown by the working chips inside the southeast corner of the building. An exploratory trench cut down through the whole width of the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon near this point exposed the procedure in the construction of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 64, Section F-F, cf. Pl. VII, Section B-B). In the footing trench along the west face of its east foundation a layer of working chips is preserved at the bottom of each course. These chips are of Acropolis limestone up to the ground level as it was when work began on the building. Overlying this earlier ground level and in the footing trench at the same height the first chips of poros were found. We may suppose, therefore, that the bottom of the first poros course lay a few centimeters higher. The way in which the surface of the highest preserved course of limestone on the west side is finished would suggest that it was intended to receive the first course of squared poros blocks, which would thus begin one course higher in the west than in the east side, a reasonable arrangement in view of the higher ground level toward the west.

#### FLOOR LEVELS

The most precise clue to the floor level inside the building is given by the small area of packing for a mosaic floor just inside the well preserved stretch of polygonal foundation on the west side (Fig. 69, Pl. VII, Section B-B). The mosaic and its packing probably date from a reorganization of the building (see p. 209) but there is no reason to suppose that the floor level was altered in the reconstruction. The surface of this packing lies at a level of 56.846 m., so that, with the mosaic proper rising another 0.05 m., the floor would have covered practically the entire height of the first poros course which we have restored.<sup>1</sup> The original ground level outside the building and to the south of it was exposed in an exploratory pit sunk in that region (Fig. 71, Section H-H). There we found a firm, smooth and level floor of packed earth immediately overlying a layer (No. 12) that contained working chips of the distinctive yellow poros. This surface, lying at 56.34 m., would have been *ca.* 0.50 m. lower than the floor level of the building. We must, therefore, restore a couple of steps in front of the entrances which, as we shall find reason to believe, opened through the south wall. The ground level to the south of the building gradually rose so that in the latest days of the building it lay some 0.50 m. above the level of the floor inside. It appears that in this period the stairs had been reversed and that one stepped down to enter the building as one must do today in visiting the mediaeval churches of Athens.

#### INTERIOR FOUNDATIONS

Of the interior foundations enough remains to make their plan reasonably certain. A continuous line of bedding runs east and west across the building, centred *ca.* 6.20 m.

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that the ancient earth filling inside the building is preserved almost to its original height in the southeast corner and that the builders of the Hellenistic porch had to bring in a minimum of new filling.

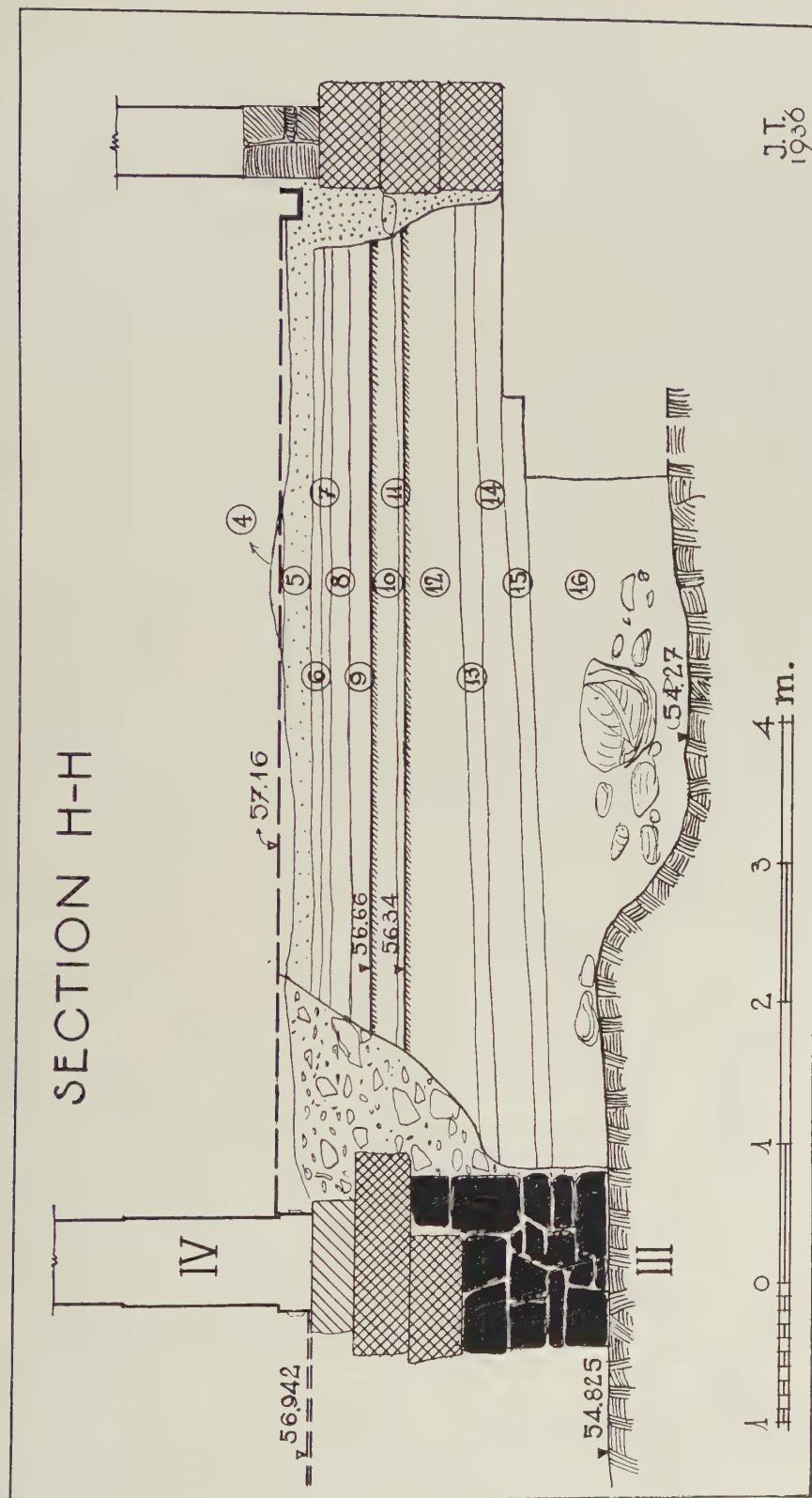


Fig. 71. Stratification to South of Metroon. See Plate VI

Layers [1-3: III II cent. B.C.; see Pl. VII, Section A. A]  
 Layer 4: late IV cent.  
 5: late IV cent.; working chips of Pentelic marble; coin of Salamis (350-318 B.C.)  
 6: mid IV cent.  
 7: mid IV cent.  
 8: chiefly first half IV cent.; coin of Cassander (?) (316-297 B.C.)  
 9: late V cent.  
 10: Third quarter of V cent.; working chips of Pentelic marble and Eleusinian limestone; ostrakon of Habron  
 11: late VI - early V cent.; ostrakon of Habron  
 12: late VI cent.; working chips of soft yellow poros  
 13: mid VI cent.  
 14: first half VI cent.  
 15: late VII - early VI cent.  
 16: prehistoric - geometric; gravel



from the south wall. In the rectangle left to the north of this cross wall, individual beddings for interior supports form a  $\Pi$ -shaped scheme, with three bases in line toward the north, two toward the east and west. The lowest stones of the middle piers on the west (Fig. 65) and north sides remain in position as also a tiny scrap of the northwest pier. The line of the east piers falls beneath the front wall of the Hellenistic Metroon by which they have been completely destroyed or concealed.

The east-west cross foundation also was much disturbed by the superimposed Hellenistic wall, so that only scattered blocks of the lowest course remain. These are bedded in part on the rock, in part on the earth, a circumstance which will sufficiently explain the complete disappearance of the continuation of the foundation within the porch of the Hellenistic building. The material consists for the most part of re-used wall blocks of granular poros, much recut for their second use and laid in a most haphazard way. The four surviving blocks at the west end of the foundation, of soft gray poros, would seem to have been cut for their present position. The two better preserved piers are likewise made of re-used poros blocks of various sizes, resting on bedrock. The middle pier of the west side measures  $1.06 \times 1.26$  m. The corresponding pier of the north series, now much disturbed by a mediaeval pit, measured originally *ca.* 1.40 m. square.

In view of the striking difference in material and workmanship, one might reasonably question the association of these inner foundations with the outer foundations of polygonal limestone work. Yet if one denies the connection, he will look in vain for any other trace of interior supports for the great square building and he will be hard put to explain the remains just described. But the combination of limestone and soft poros is not without parallel in the foundations of the archaic buildings of Attica, and indeed, we shall shortly note the same phenomenon in the Temple of the Mother within this same sanctuary.

#### SUPERSTRUCTURE

Of the superstructure of the building nothing has so far been identified with certainty. Some of the re-used blocks to be seen in the foundations of the overlying Hellenistic building probably come from the early Bouleuterion, from its walls and perhaps from its interior columns. But it has thus far been impossible to assign any of these pieces with assurance and their description will be deferred until the final publication.

#### RESTORATION

A restoration of the ground plan is suggested in Fig. 72. The continuous east-west inner foundation obviously divides the interior into an auditorium and a spacious forehall, an arrangement which requires that the building should face south. This orientation agrees with the results of the exploration to the south of the building where, as noted above, a firm and much tramped floor of packed earth came to light at the

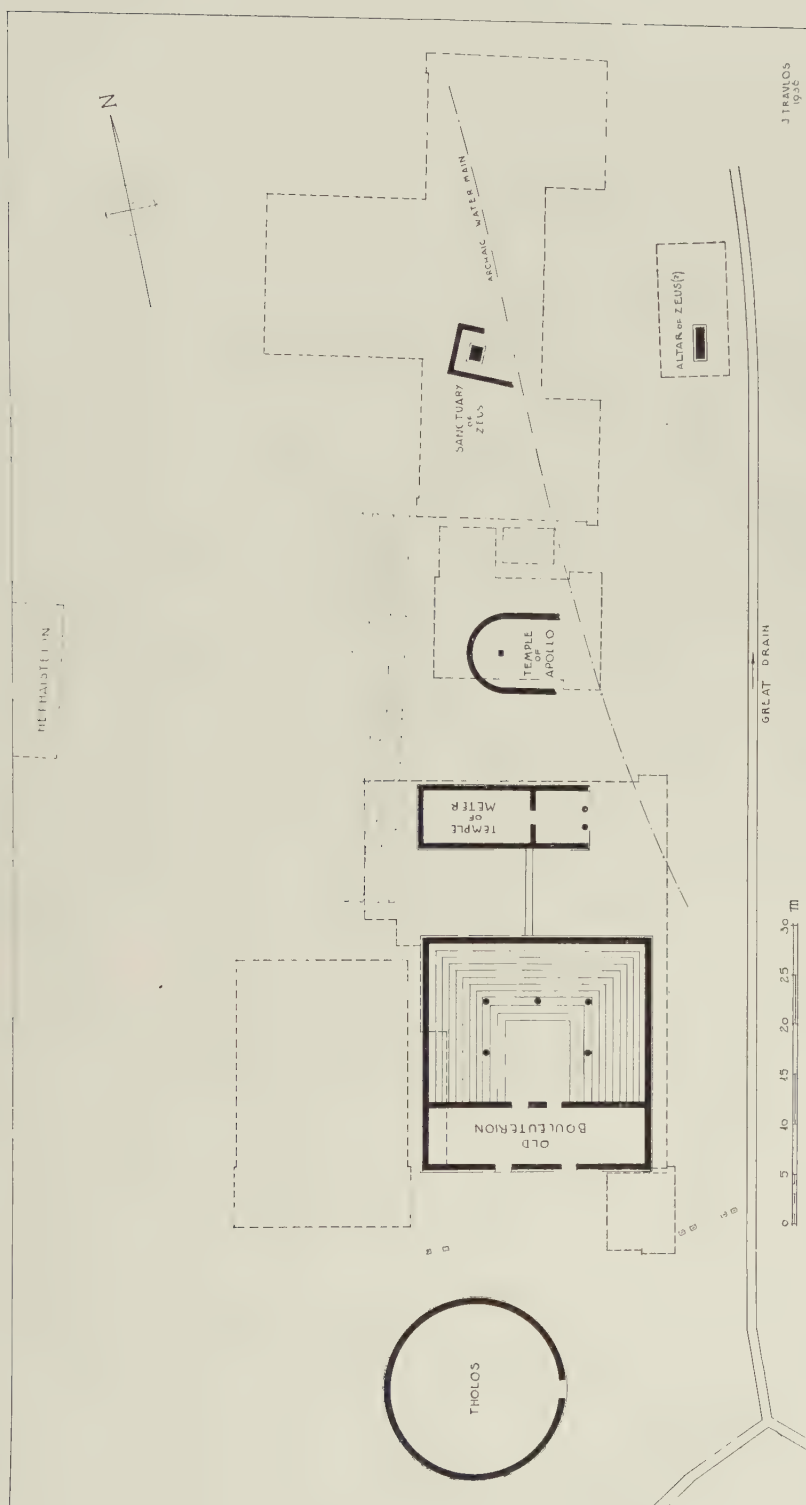


Fig. 72. Pre-Persian Buildings of the West Side

appropriate level.<sup>1</sup> The absence of any trace of beddings in the region of the seats suggests that they were not of stone but of wood and, this being the case, they may better be restored on a rectilinear rather than a curved scheme. Laid out as suggested in the sketch, the auditorium might have accommodated about seven hundred persons.

With the entrance to the building may be associated a line of post beddings which must originally have extended across its south front at an interval of perhaps 8.00 m. They probably fell precisely on the line occupied by the later retaining wall which would seem to have assumed their function in marking the southern limit of the property that went with the Bouleuterion. Four of the blocks remain in a diagonal line to the east of the Propylon of the New Bouleuterion, two others due south of the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion (Pl. VI, Figs. 72, 126). All are of soft yellow poros similar to that used in the building itself. In their tops are rectangular sinkings with the poured lead that held the posts. The eastern group is arranged in two pairs, so placed that the cuttings in the tops of each outer pair are centred 1.14 m. from one another, those in the two inner blocks 1.32 m. apart. We may suspect that the posts supported a railing and gates by which admission to the building could be controlled. (Cf. below, p. 213.)

#### DATING

For the dating of this Old Bouleuterion there is little precise external evidence. Its construction obviously involved the destruction of the second polygonal terrace wall which apparently was not built before the third quarter of the sixth century. The Old Bouleuterion is certainly later, moreover, than the Great Drain, inasmuch as its foundations are set down in the filling that is contemporary with the Drain. Since the drain may be dated with great probability in the period 527–510 B.C. (p. 4) the date of the square building is pushed close to the end of the sixth century.

Very little pottery has been found in direct association with the foundations of the building. A few potsherds have been gathered from the actual footing trenches where they have been explored along the inside of the east wall and along the outside of the south wall. But in both cases the trenches had been refilled with the earth removed from them so that the pottery was not later than that of the fillings already examined. Of the little additional filling that was required to raise the floor level of the building inside, only a few square meters in the southeast corner remained undisturbed and the filling here consisted almost exclusively of broken bedrock yielding pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries.

The combination of hard limestone in the outer foundations with soft poros in the inner recurs in several buildings of the Peisistratid period: the Temple of Athena Polias on the

<sup>1</sup> Of actual doorways no trace remains. It is conceivable that the lobby could be entered through doors in its east and west ends as well as from the south. This might account for the cutting away of a great mass of bedrock around the southwest corner of the building in the area later occupied by the New Bouleuterion.



Acropolis,<sup>1</sup> in the archaic Telesterion in Eleusis,<sup>2</sup> and in the Peisistratid Olympieion in Athens.<sup>3</sup> In those three buildings the outer foundations are exclusively of Kará limestone (save for a certain amount of Acropolis limestone in the case of the Olympieion), whereas the amount of that stone used in the Bouleuterion is negligible. This difference in material might be taken as proof of a new set of architects or of a new régime which refused patronage to the quarrymen and contractors who had supplied the Peisistratids with so many cubic meters of Kará stone. Yet the point cannot be pressed, for Kará limestone reappears in the lower steps of the earlier Parthenon,<sup>4</sup> and sporadically also in the fourth century B.C. as we have observed in the later Temple of Apollo Patroos.

In the irregularity of their coursing and in the angularity of their horizontal joints, in the working of both horizontal and vertical joints, even in the use of the little casual pry holes, the outer foundations of the Bouleuterion find a close parallel in the inner foundations of the Temple of Athena Polias.<sup>5</sup> The jointing in the Bouleuterion is on the whole not so close as that of the outer foundations of the Athena temple, nor of the Olympieion nor of the Telesterion, but it is superior to that of the Older Temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus. It would, perhaps, be dangerous in this period to attempt to determine any slight differences in date on the evidence of material and workmanship alone, but we are probably justified in concluding that the Bouleuterion stands closer in point of date to the group of buildings with which comparisons have already been drawn than to buildings such as the earlier Parthenon and the later Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, the foundations of which were built of the more tractable poros laid in more regular courses. This consideration would set a lower limit for the Bouleuterion, around the turn of the century, a point close to which we have already been driven by the relation of the Bouleuterion to the earlier buildings on the site and to the Great Drain.

#### TEMPLE OF THE MOTHER

##### FOUNDATIONS

North of the Old Bouleuterion and separated from it by an interval of 8.50 m. lie the scanty remains of a small early temple (Pl. VI, Fig. 72). The north foundation of the early building lies precisely beneath the line of the north wall of the Hellenistic; its south wall may be traced beneath the mid-part of the north room of the later building; the line of its west wall falls toward the back of the same room; the line of the front wall of its cella

<sup>1</sup> Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 48 and 54.

<sup>3</sup> Welter, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> On the date see Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 447; Kolbe, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, LI, 1936, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup> This striking similarity between the inner foundations of the Temple of Athena Polias and those of a building which is undoubtedly as late and probably some years later than the accepted date of the outside foundations of that temple should be borne in mind in the consideration of the relative dates of those inner and outer foundations. The earlier date of the inner has recently been defended by Noack (*Eleusis*, p. 57, n. 2); it continues to be questioned by Wolters (Springer-Wolters, *Die Kunst des Altertums*<sup>12</sup>, pp. 196 f.).

is given with certainty by a worked surface in the south side of its north foundation (Fig. 73) and by a corresponding bedding in the rock along the north side of its south foundation. Measured on its lowest foundations, the early building had a width of 6.90 m., a length of at least 16.50 m. and probably not more than 18.00 m. The cella measured about  $5.00 \times 10.50$  m. inside its foundations, slightly more inside its upper wall.



Fig. 73. North Foundation of Temple of Mother beneath North Foundation of Hellenistic Metroon.  
Arrows indicate Bedding for Front Wall of Cella

Foundation blocks remain in position in the eastern parts of the north and south walls and in the line of the west wall. On these three sides the foundations were carried down to bedrock. A length of 2.00 m. in the north foundation is preserved to the level at which the euthynteria rested (Fig. 73). Here the foundation shows a width of 1.15 m., a depth of *ca.* 1.40 m. Its lower part consists of a loose packing of field stones (including also a small fragment of a stuccoed poros building block) capped by a course of larger masses of Acropolis limestone. These were fitted together but they can scarcely be described as jointed, the interstices being filled by smaller fragments. The bearing surface for the euthynteria



(presumably of poros) was prepared with a single point. The joint surface for the transverse wall already noted was worked to a width of 0.70 m. and a depth of 0.25 m. on the inner face of this top course of stones. Of the west foundation, there remains in position much of the lowest course, 1.00 m. wide, 0.25 m. high, consisting again of irregular masses of Acropolis limestone loosely fitted together, their tops picked to a level bearing surface



Fig. 74. South Foundation of Temple of the Mother, from the Southeast

to receive the course above (Fig. 116). Of this second course, one small block (0.20 m. high) remains at the northwest corner. No block is left in place in the western part of the south foundation. In its eastern part, on the other hand, are preserved blocks of two courses of granular, brown poros: four and a fragmentary fifth of a first course, two fragmentary blocks of a second (Fig. 74). The lowest course rests for the most part on bedrock, elsewhere on a bedding formed of masses of Acropolis limestone laid in the same style as that of the west foundation of the building. The blocks of the first poros course are irregular in length and width but show a uniform height of *ca.* 0.25 m. Their vertical joints were prepared with no great care; their outer faces were finished with the adze;



their tops dressed with the toothed chisel for the reception of the next course above. This next course is 0.315 m. high; of its two surviving blocks one is 0.66 m. wide, the other is 0.82 m. Of neither is the full length preserved. A fragmentary block of the first poros course and another of the second were built into the north foundation of the Hellenistic building. The blocks of the second course were set back 0.10–0.15 m. from the outer edge of the first. On the top of that first course a deeply incised longitudinal setting line may be traced in places and one transverse line; on the top of the second course, one transverse line but no longitudinal line. The outer faces of the blocks of the second course were surrounded by a shallow drafted band 0.05 m. wide, within which the surface was smoothed



Fig. 75. Stylobate Block from Temple of the Mother(?) imbedded in Hellenistic Foundations

with a broad chisel. The joints were worked with broad but very low anathyrosis along the edges; the top surface again shows the marks of the toothed chisel. There is no trace of either clamps or dowels. Between the top of the second poros course on the south side and the level of the top of the limestone foundation on the north there is room for an additional course 0.205 m. high.

A stylobate block built into the north foundation of the Hellenistic building probably comes from the early temple (Fig. 75). It is of an extremely hard gray poros, many work-chips of which appear along the west foundation of the temple at a level which suggests that they came from the toichobate. The stylobate block shows a width of 0.825 m., height of 0.28 m. and a measurable length of at least 0.47 m. Of the front face, only the lower 0.105 m. was finished. The upper part of the face is merely picked and projects *ca.* 0.007 m. beyond the finished face. This projecting band is neatly bevelled at the joint edge. The exposed end of the block is finished with well cut anathyrosis. Its top is considerably

worn. Another more fragmentary block of the same series was built into the interior foundations of the north room of the Hellenistic building.<sup>1</sup>

#### RESTORATION

The restoration of the plan is certain within narrow limits. The foundations for the colonnade of the early building must have lain directly beneath the line of the front wall of the Hellenistic structure, for, though the ancient filling is preserved to a sufficient height, no trace of the earlier foundation has survived either to the east or west of the Hellenistic. One may, therefore, suppose that the euthynteria on the south side of the temple originally extended eastward by the length of one more slab, giving an east-west over all length of *ca.* 18.00 m. The absence of any widening in the eastern part of the south foundation to accommodate the return of steps along the side excludes the possibility of a prostyle arrangement and requires a porch *in antis*, undoubtedly distyle, of unknown order.

No trace remains of the base for the cult statue which must have stood within the cella. But some centimeters of the original earth filling of the cella at the critical point have disappeared, and, since the earth packing is extremely hard, there is no reason to believe that the foundation for the statue reached beneath the present surface level.

The striking difference in the appearance of the north and south foundations of the building is obviously due to a difference of ground level on the two sides: the north side being covered at least to the level of the toichobate, the south only to the bottom of the lowest step. We cannot say how the levels were adjusted around the northeast corner of the building. To the south of the Temple, a lower front area would seem to have been cut off from a higher back area by a retaining wall running between Temple and Bouleuterion, almost in line with the front cella wall of the Temple. A couple of rough limestone blocks from the lowest foundation of the wall remain in place close against the south side of the Temple and a slight cutting in bedrock

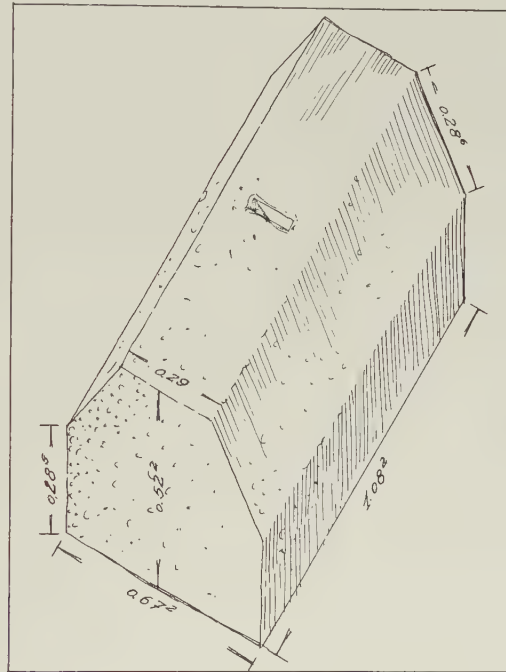


Fig. 76. Capping Block of Wall between Old Bouleuterion and Temple of the Mother (?)

<sup>1</sup> A few working chips of island marble along the outside of the south foundation would seem not to be derived from the temple since they are imbedded in the earth beneath the lowest foundation stones. They may come, rather, from the Old Bouleuterion or from the First Temple of Apollo.

indicates the further course of the wall (Pl. VI). From the way in which the blocks are set, one may conclude that the wall is contemporary with the Temple. We should, perhaps, attribute to this wall a massive capping block of hard yellow fossiliferous poros that was found, as left by the previous excavators, in the southeast corner of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (Figs. 63, 76). It may well at one time have been incorporated in these Hellenistic foundations. In its top is a lewis hole, undercut on one side only.

#### DATING

The foundations of the building were set down through an earth filling that had accumulated in three distinct layers. The pottery from the lowest of these layers, immediately overlying bedrock, was as late as the mid sixth century; that from the topmost would run down perhaps into the final quarter of that century. The precise position, orientation, and level of the building would seem to have been fixed with respect to the great square building, the Old Bouleuterion, to the south. The limestone foundations of the small building, though less carefully prepared, resemble in character those of the larger. These considerations suggest for the smaller building a date after, but very shortly after, the construction of the larger, a time, perhaps, at the very turn of the sixth and the fifth centuries.

The building would seem not to have been long lived. The Hellenistic architect must have found the greater part of the north foundation completely ruinous, otherwise he would have incorporated the whole of it in his new foundation. He apparently removed some stones from the west foundation for we found earth filling of Hellenistic times immediately overlying the remaining blocks of that foundation. An exploratory pit sunk through a damaged part of the late mosaic floor exposed the cutting, in which the blocks remained, of the south foundation. Now this cutting had become filled with firm packed earth which showed a much tramped surface obviously formed a good while before the Hellenistic reconstruction. A few sherds gathered from this earth packing appear not to be later than of the early fifth century. We need scarcely doubt that the destruction occurred in the year 480 B.C. The Temple, as such, was never rebuilt.

#### NEW BOULEUTERION

##### POSITION (Plates VI–VIII)

Immediately to the west of the Old Bouleuterion, parts remain of another, later building which may be best regarded as its successor (Fig. 77). Two periods are to be distinguished in this later structure. Its architectural scheme, taken together with literary references, proves beyond question that the building in its later period was a council house. This consideration in itself is a strong argument for supposing that the structure served the same purpose in the beginning, and the architectural remains of the earlier period tend to confirm this conclusion. We shall, therefore, refer to the building as the New Bouleuterion.





Fig. 77. Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex from the Southwest

The New Bouleuterion was set down in the shoulder of Kolonos Agoraios and an open area almost equal in size to the building itself was hewn from the same rock to the south. This space we shall refer to henceforth as the Bouleuterion Square. A broad space was left between the north wall of the building and the scarp, and a passage of lesser width along the west side of the building afforded communication between this northern area and the Square to the south. At the foot of the scarp adjoining the western passage-way a broad bench of living rock was never removed. Traces of large rectangular cisterns antedating the building may be observed in both the western and the northern scarps. The entire southeast corner of the area to be occupied by the new auditorium had already been cut down in an irregular way to the level of the Old Bouleuterion, perhaps, as noted above, to facilitate entrance to the older building. The amount of the rock to be quarried away was much reduced by the decision to establish the floor level of the new building well above that of the old. The resulting difference in levels was adjusted by a stairway that ran south from the southeast corner of the new building along the east side of the Bouleuterion Square and so facilitated communication between the Bouleuterion, the Tholos and the market square. Economy, one might have thought, would have suggested that a core of living rock could be left within the building to assist in supporting the seats. The way in which the north and west foundation trenches were cut and the way in which interior beddings to be noted below were laid indicate that little or no core was left. Its removal may have been due to the consideration that the bedrock was already much disturbed by earlier cuttings and that the seats were to be supported on wooden beams. In any case, the bedrock in this region is little harder than firm clay and is readily cut with the pick.

#### FOUNDATIONS

The foundation cuttings indicate for the building proper an over all north-south length of 22.50 m. and an east-west width of 17.50 m. The stairway bordering the Square extended some 10.50 m. south of the south line of the building. Of the structure itself, the foundations are preserved to a height of two courses in parts of the lines of the east wall, the south wall and the stairway; many of the lower blocks of the interior foundations remain in position and a few scattered blocks from the upper walls have been found nearby. Everywhere the foundations were carried down to bedrock and in most places were set down to about the depth of the first course in the soft rock. Because of the earlier cutting that had already been done, the bottom of the east foundation, and of the eastern part of the south foundation rested some 2.20 m. below that of the west and north walls. This difference in height will explain the discrepancy in width among the foundations. It is to be noted that the foundation trench for the west wall of the building was carried south to a point approximately opposite the south end of the stairway and an eastward return started. This may point to some change of plan during construction; more probably it was due to a simple blunder. In any case, the trench was not used by the builders of the New Bouleuterion who filled it with their working chips of poros and marble and in part with a large unfinished orthostate.



Turning now to the actual construction of the foundations, we may note that the eastern shows a thickness of 1.85–2.00 m., made up of one row of headers and one of stretchers in each course (Fig. 69). The lowest course consists largely of re-used wall blocks of hard, granular poros with a reddish tinge. The blocks that were cut for this place are of soft creamy poros well squared and carefully jointed with broad, shallow anathyrosis on two or three sides of each face. A carefully scratched setting line on the top of the block of the second course, 0.12 m. in from its outer end, marked the outer face of the next course, probably the euthynteria. The projecting ends of a couple of blocks of the lowest course, together with an appropriate bedding cut in the rock beyond, suggest that the



Fig. 78. Wall Block from New Bouleuterion

east foundation wall of the building continued beyond its northeast corner a distance of perhaps 4.00 m., presumably in order to serve as a retaining wall for the eastern end of the area to the north of the building. This projecting wall was subsequently disturbed and its function taken over by the back wall of the Hellenistic Metroon. The south foundation, as shown by its preserved middle part, was identical in width and construction with the east. Its surviving blocks are all of soft creamy poros, carefully set. Of the north and west foundations nothing is left but the shallow bedding trenches, 1.40 m. wide.

Of the stairway that led up to the Square a few blocks remain in the lowest course. They agree closely in material, size and workmanship with those of the east and south foundations of the building proper. A fortunate chance has also preserved in position one fragmentary block of the euthynteria so that the setting line for the next course,



0.09 m. from its outer edge, fixes the face of the first step. The euthynteria, because of its more exposed position, was cut from a poros slightly harder and more durable than that used in the lower foundations. The contemporaneity of the building proper and the stairway is indicated not only by the identity of material and workmanship but also by the precise correspondence in coursing.

#### OUTER WALLS

To the outer walls of the original building a few blocks may be assigned. Four headers and six stretchers of hard gray poros were found, some lying loose along the east

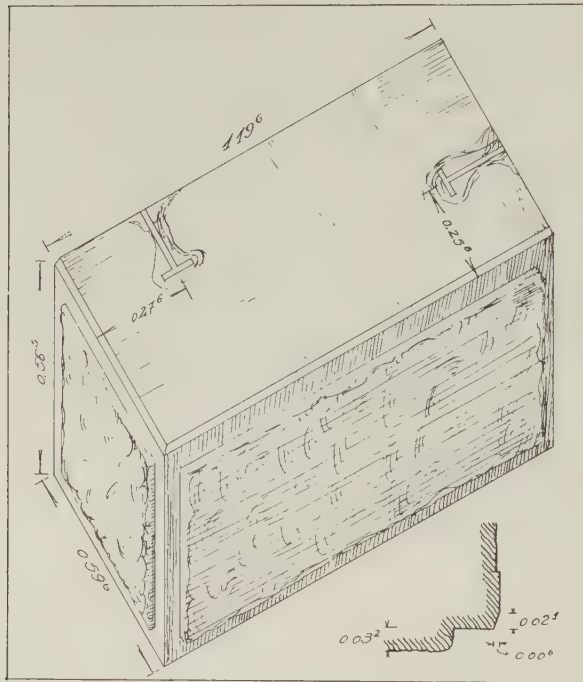


Fig. 79. Wall Block of New Bouleuterion

side of the building, most of them incorporated in mediaeval house walls in the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon (Figs. 78, 79, 116). They show a uniform height of 0.565 m. The headers are approximately square in vertical section ( $0.565 \times 0.615$  m.) and the length of the stretchers (1.20-1.35 m.) is twice the width of the headers. The depth of a stretcher from front to back is 0.55-0.60 m., of a header, 0.895 m. It may be estimated that the total thickness of the wall was at least 1.50 m. The face of each block is surrounded with a drafted band, 0.06 m. wide, leaving a rough picked middle field with a projection of 0.03-0.06 m. Each joint surface was cut with a carefully worked band of anathyrosis across its top and down its outer edge, and each was secured to its neighbor by a  $\vdash\vdash$  clamp of iron on either side. Great caution

against chipping in setting was taken by the bevelling of necessary edges. One of the blocks found in the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon is a corner piece, probably from the southeast corner of the building. It exhibits the same heavy rustication on both side and end. That these blocks come from the lower part of the east wall is shown by their close agreement in height with the blocks of the inner foundations. Enough survives to prove that inner and outer foundations coursed together, in fact were bonded together. The subfoundations of the east side, moreover, are amply wide to have carried a wall of the thickness indicated by the blocks just examined.

The unfinished orthostate (Figs. 80, 99) already referred to is of the same material and workmanship as the blocks described above and its dimensions are suitable for its association with them. One finished edge, with anathyrosis along front and top, remains, the other having been trimmed away by the third-century builders. Neither top nor bottom was finished. The face of the block was smooth dressed up to a narrow protecting surface along the vertical joint.

In the bedding for the north foundation, though not in their original position, lie two other blocks of similar stone and workmanship, illustrated in Fig. 81. Both have been split by their re-users, presumably down the middle. Since on one block the wedge mark of the re-users can be detected 0.61 m. from the preserved face, and since at the end of the other the split fell on the line of a clamp 0.58 m. from the preserved face, we may restore the original width as *ca.* 1.20 m. The preserved face of one of the pieces, presumably an outside face, is picked; the original face of the other is quite irregular. Both blocks had been joined to their neighbors with  $\vdash$  clamps, the first presumably having two in each end, the other one. These pieces may well have come from the second course beneath the orthostates.<sup>1</sup>

#### INTERIOR FOUNDATIONS

For the restoration of the interior, the evidence is almost confined to the few surviving blocks of the lowest foundations and to a few stripped beddings. Two square beddings deeply cut in the bedrock in the western part of the building were obviously intended to carry interior columns. Blocks remain of the bases for a corresponding pair of columns symmetrically placed toward the east wall. The position of the southeast column is definitely fixed by an exceptionally massive pier that still stands to the height of four courses. Only here among the surviving interior foundations is there evidence of clamps: cuttings for two of  $\vdash$  shape in the top of the highest surviving block. Of the pier for the northeast column, one block remains in position. It will be observed on the plan that running north and south from the piers for the north-

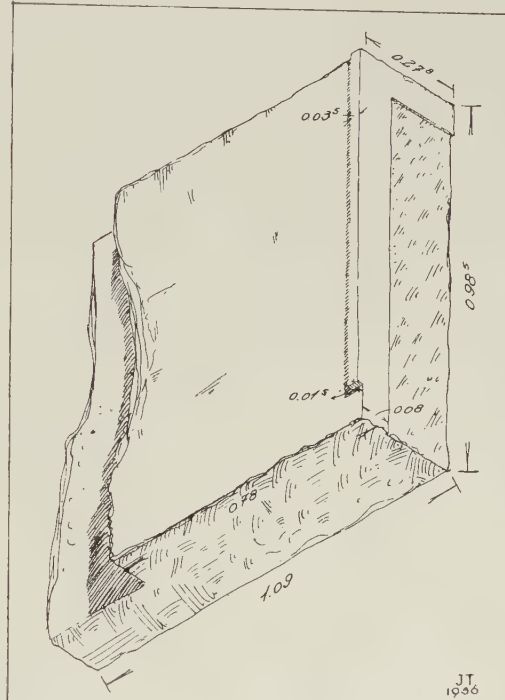


Fig. 80. Unfinished Orthostate of New Bouleuterion

<sup>1</sup> Further proof that these pieces actually come from the outer walls of this building is given by the working chips of the same distinctive poros found along the edges of the north and west foundation trenches.

east and southeast columns respectively a continuous foundation bedding was prepared that would seem to have added close on 2.00 m. to the thickness of the eastern outer wall.

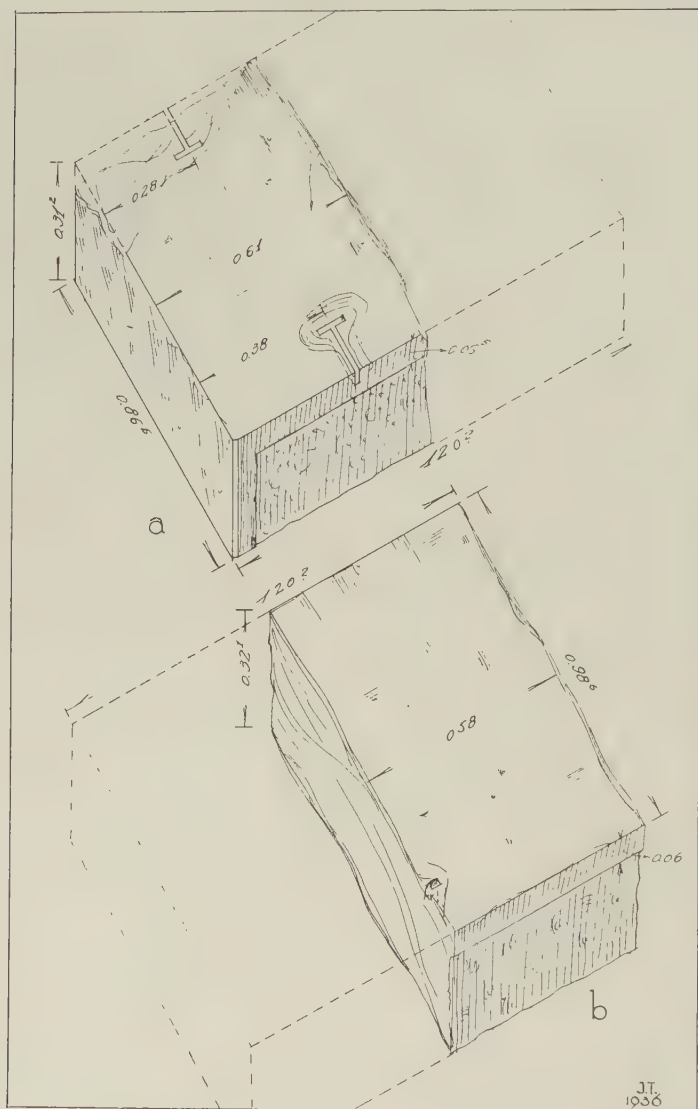


Fig. 81. Wall Blocks of New Bouleuterion

Only a couple of blocks remain in position in the northeast corner. This inner bedding in the northern part where it had to be especially prepared, is shallower by one course than that for the main wall and it is not so carefully cut. We may, therefore, conclude that it was not designed to carry so great a weight as the outer. Those parts of the interior foundations that lie toward the middle of the rectangle are still more lightly founded, resting for the most part on earth or on a loose packing of broken stone. In the northeast corner of the inner rectangle a large block ( $1.23 \times 0.66 \times 0.38$  m.) lies bedded to its full depth in the rock at an angle to the north wall. Toward the northwest corner of the room only the bedding remains for a corresponding block.

These interior foundations as preserved are of the same soft creamy poros as that used in the outer foundations and the style of working and of jointing is similar. The contemporaneity of inner and

outer parts is further confirmed by the precise correspondence in the levels of courses and by the evidence of bonding where both are preserved at a point of junction.

As additional material for the reconstruction of the building we may note here two step blocks that were found by us, as left by previous excavators, in its mid eastern part (Fig. 82). They are of hard gray poros, similar to that of the blocks already assigned



to the upper walls. This identity of material, combined with close similarity in workmanship, makes reasonably probable their association with the building. Their precise position, however, is uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

#### COLUMNS

Of the interior columns we have, perhaps, something in three fragments found by the earlier excavators and left in the area of the building (A 259). The shafts are of Pentelic marble, unfluted and finished with a toothed chisel. The lower diameter of the shaft may be reckoned at *ca.* 0.624 m. The largest fragment now stands only 1.00 m. high. The workmanship is excellent.

A tiny scrap from the echinus of an Ionic capital of Pentelic marble (A 279) found in a mediaeval pit just to the west of the later Propylon may conceivably come from one of these columns. The egg-and-dart was not carved but was first lightly incised and then painted on the curved surface in much the same way and style as on the interior capital of the Stoa of Zeus. The echinus exhibits a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.50 m.<sup>2</sup>

#### CORNICE AND EPISTYLE

There may be assigned to the building a fragmentary Ionic cornice block that now lies in the northeast corner of the Hellenistic Metroon where, pre-

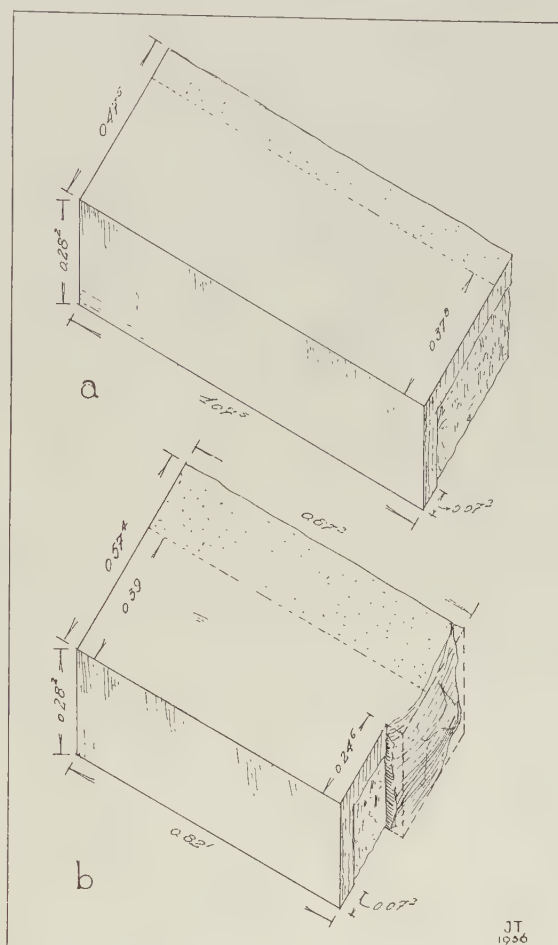


Fig. 82. Step Blocks found in Area of New Bouleuterion

<sup>1</sup> The one block shows a tread 0.378 m. wide, much worn. Its two ends are finished with well cut anathyrosis; its back face shows no anathyrosis but a flat picked surface. The other piece had a tread *ca.* 0.39 m. wide which exhibits little or no wear. Its back face and one end are finished throughout with anathyrosis. Its other end was brought to a joint surface only over the front 0.246 m., the remaining part projecting some 0.07 m. Despite the slight differences in the width of the tread and the height of the blocks, it is probable that the two come from different parts of the same course.

<sup>2</sup> Mention may also be made of a poros block that was found in the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon (Fig. 83). Its distinctive gray poros and its workmanship associate it too with the large wall blocks. Its back face is straight, its front marked by a slight concavity. The front face is rough save for a drafted band along the upper edge; the back is rough picked, the ends finished with anathyrosis, the top smooth dressed and marked by two pry holes.

sumably, it had been found by the earlier excavators (Figs. 84, 85). The block is of Pentelic marble and comes from a horizontal lateral cornice. In its top are two beddings for rafters. The preserved end retains in its top two cuttings for  $\text{H}$  clamps, and in its lower edge a dowel hole. The workmanship is excellent. Of the associated epistyle a few scraps have been found along the front of the Metroon. The most significant part preserved is the double moulding between architrave and frieze (Fig. 86).

The attribution of these members to the Bouleuterion is admittedly not certain, but it may be regarded as highly probable. In the first place, the exterior order of the building

was in all likelihood Ionic, inasmuch as the Porch that was later added to it and the Propylon that is closely associated with it were both of that order. And secondly, the quality of workmanship shown in the pieces and the profile of their mouldings are more appropriate to the period to which the Bouleuterion must be assigned than to that of the only possible rival claimant, the later Temple of Apollo. The cornice block was probably dragged off in the fifth century A.D. by the late rebuilders of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon.

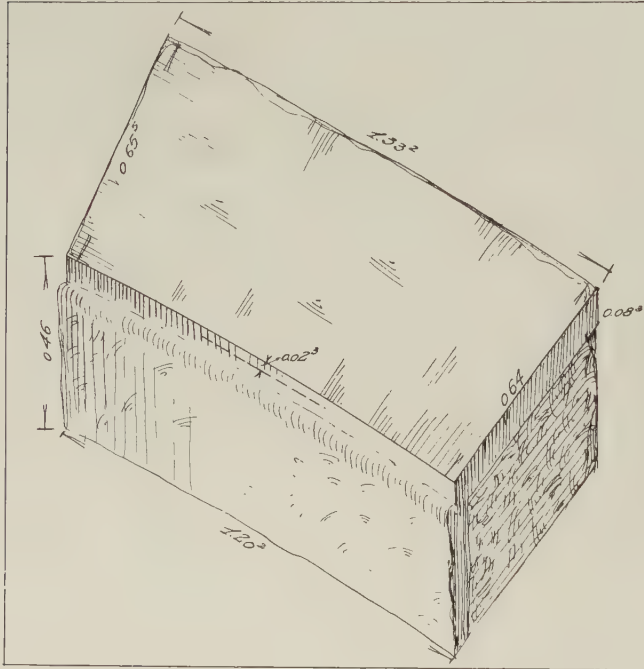


Fig. 83. Curved Block from New Bouleuterion (?)

#### RESTORATION OF PLAN

In restoring the interior arrangement of the building its orientation must first of all be

determined. A glance at the plan will show that the whole structure is symmetrical toward the east side only, for here alone do we have the supplementary bedding inside the outer wall and the interior foundations that extend on either side of the piers for the interior columns. One may note further that the dressed bedrock within the area of the building shows a gentle but regular inclination from the south, west, and north toward a point in the mid eastern part of the rectangle. This point should then fall within the "orchestra" and it results that the seats of the auditorium faced east. This established, it follows that the additional broad beddings within the eastern wall underlay the parodoi and the retaining walls that supported the wings of the auditorium. The eastern pair of interior columns will fall conveniently in the line of these retaining walls while the western, placed near the periphery of the auditorium, will cause a minimum of obstruction.



Fig. 84. (A 256) Cornice Block from New Bouleuterion (?)

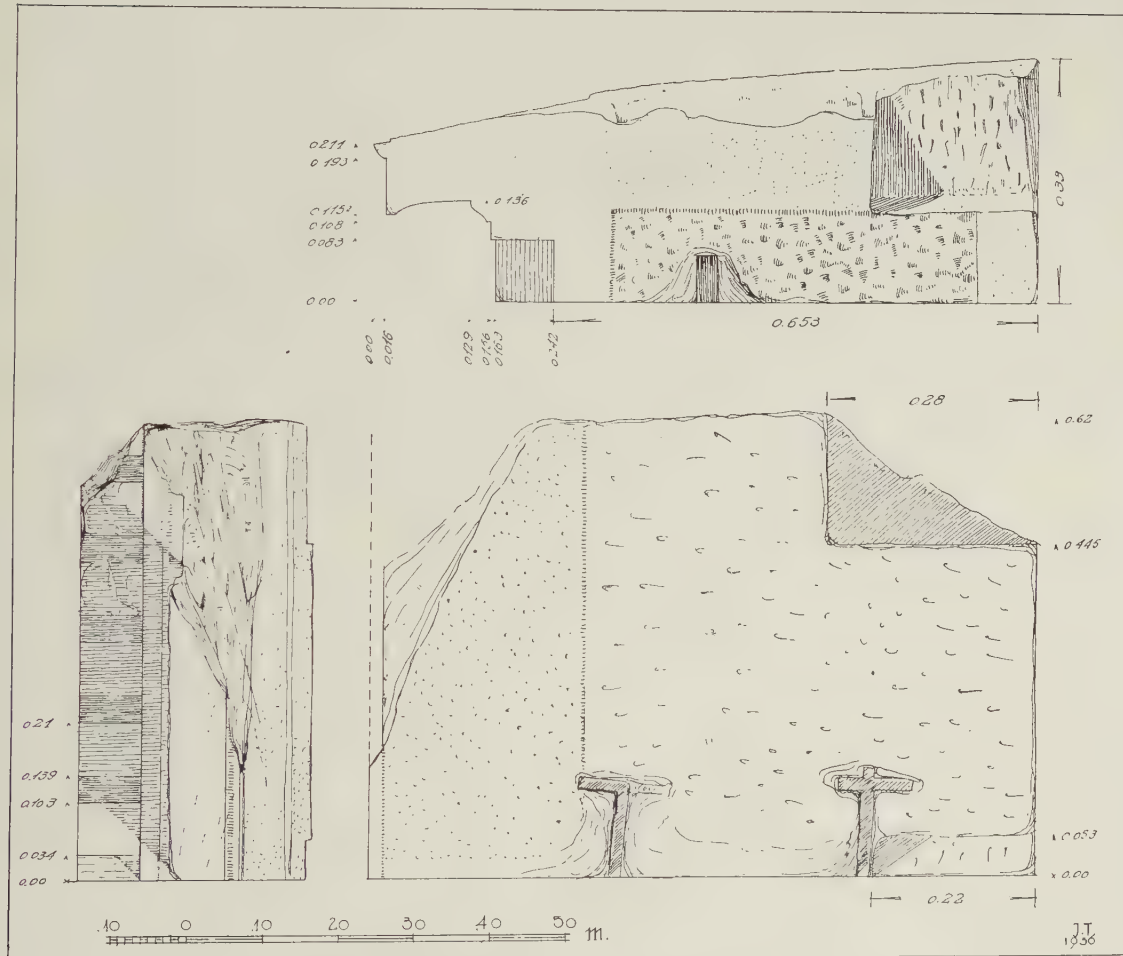


Fig. 85. (A 256) Cornice Block from New Bouleuterion (?)



One might have looked for the main entrance in the east wall directly opposite the "orchestra," and the scheme of the Hellenistic Metroon, as will be seen, suggests that from the second century onward, at any rate, there was an important entrance from this side. In the fifth century, too, some provision may have been made here for direct communication between the New Bouleuterion and its predecessor. But it is clear that in the earlier period of the new building its principal entrances opened at the ends of the parodoi in the northeast and southeast corners of the building. The existence of the northeast entrance is confirmed by the presence of the broad open area along the north side of the building, which involved an otherwise inexplicable amount of quarrying. The organic

association of the area with the building is indicated by the peculiar northward extension of the east wall for the entrance. That this entrance continued in use throughout the history of the building we may infer from the accommodating jog in the back wall of the Hellenistic Metroon and also from the stairway that was carried down in still later times over the northern scarp. In the beginning, the actual doorway might have been approached either by the passage-way that led around the west and north sides of the building, or from the north, over the poros benches on the hill side, of which more will be said below. The importance of the south entrance is sufficiently emphasized by the broad flight of stairs that led up to the Square and to the entrance.

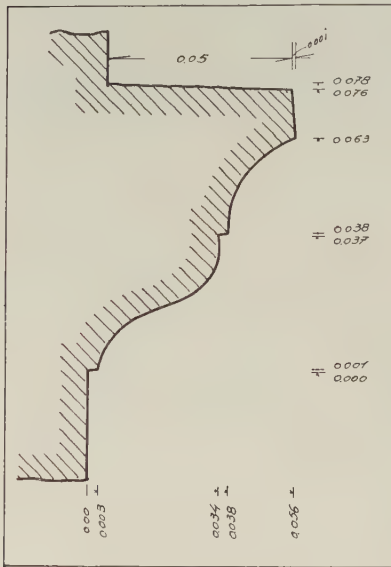


Fig. 86. (A 391) Moulding from Epistyle of New Bouleuterion (?)

surface of the dressed bedrock within the building during the present excavation, scattered pottery was found in certain undisturbed pockets of earth filling of the date to which we must assign the re-organization of the building. Had the original seats been of stone, they must have been carried on a contemporary earth filling which would have protected the bedrock from subsequent disturbance. Not a few pieces of stone seats have been found on the spot, but from their workmanship it is clear that they belong together and to a period much later than the time to which the original building must be assigned. We may presume that if the seats were of wood they were laid out on a rectilinear, possibly a polygonal scheme.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The restoration outlined above does not take into consideration the two diagonal blocks in the northern part of the building. These blocks assume a symmetrical relation to the building only if one

## ALTAR

One would expect an altar in the middle of the "orchestra" to serve as the focal point of the auditorium. We may well recognize this altar in a large fragment of Pentelic marble found just south of the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 87). The drum shows a diameter of 0.855 m. and a preserved height of 0.79 m. Though the top is



Fig. 87. (ST 71) Altar from New Bouleuterion (?)

broken away all around, the altar cannot have been much higher, for the bottom of the cutting for the fire pan is preserved at a height of 0.70 m. The base moulding is a well cut cyma reversa. In order to reduce its weight, the underside of the block was hollowed out to a height of 0.30 m. Two large shifting bosses were left on the periphery of the drum.

thinks away the inner foundation along its east side. But it seems certain that the latter foundation is contemporary with the adjacent east wall. Their material and position tell against assigning the two blocks to a later period. They conceivably indicate some change of plan in the early stages of construction or they may have served as beddings for scaffolding or cranes used in the actual construction.

Around the upper wall runs a simple but well carved wreath of laurel leaves and berries. The inscription, which presumably named the divinity, is entirely broken away, and there is left only a poor graffito scratched in the lower wall: **ZHC**. The block is large and heavy and, though sadly broken, its surfaces are fresh. Hence we may suppose that it comes from close by and that its bulk, as well as its unsatisfactory shape, discouraged late vandals. Both New Bouleuterion and Tholos may be regarded as claimants. The claim of the Bouleuterion is somewhat stronger inasmuch as the floor of its "orchestra" lies considerably higher than the place of finding, the floor of the Tholos as much lower. If it be assigned to the New Bouleuterion we are still at a loss as to which period it may belong. Its workmanship is not unworthy of the earlier period.

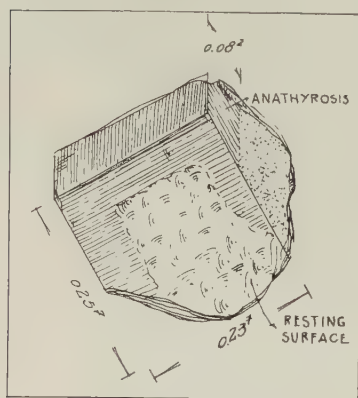


Fig. 88. (A 669) Fragmentary Orthostate of Eleusinian Limestone from remodelled Old Bouleuterion (?)

#### CONTEMPORARY ALTERATIONS IN THE OLD BOULEUTERION

On the completion of the New Bouleuterion, its predecessor was naturally converted to other uses which will be discussed later. Some record of the necessary alterations was left in the stratification to the south of the Old Bouleuterion where it was read in the exploratory pit to which reference has been made. Above the firm, smooth floor which has been taken to be the original ground level to the south of the Old Bouleuterion in its earliest days, a gradual accumulation of hard packed earth and clay was found lying in innumerable thin layers to a total depth of 0.10 to 0.20 m. (Layer 11 in Fig. 71). The next layer above (10) was rather deeper and of quite a different character: masses of dug bedrock, soft earth, working chips, broken roof tiles, all obviously deposited here at one and the same time. The new floor was surfaced with a film of clay packed smooth and level. The fragmentary roof tiles found in this layer are identical with those that came to light around the foundations of the New Bouleuterion, and the marble working chips here, as there, are exclusively of Pentelic marble. The construction débris in Layer 10 is clearly distinguished, however, by the presence of numerous working chips of gray Eleusinian limestone. Chips of this stone have not been found around the New Bouleuterion or around the Tholos. Since the level at which they lie precludes their association with the later Porch and Propylon of the New Bouleuterion, we may safely attribute them and the accompanying débris to the reorganization of the Old Bouleuterion.

It is not impossible that a fragment of one of the blocks of Eleusinian limestone from which the working chips are derived is to be recognized in a piece found by us, as left by previous excavators, at the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 88). The piece would seem to come from an orthostate of which the one narrow face preserved and one



of the broad faces were exposed; the other broad face is finished with anathyrosis along its front edge. Despite its battered and weathered condition, the fragment is evidently of excellent workmanship and its tooling recalls the worked surfaces preserved on some of the chips.

For the date of the construction or reconstruction represented by this material, we must turn to the pottery found in association with it in Layer 10. This agrees so precisely with that gathered from around the foundations of the New Bouleuterion as to indicate that both undertakings were parts of a common program. We shall, then, consider together the evidence bearing on the date of the whole program.

#### DATING

In considering the date of the program, it may be noted that the combination of soft and hard poros observed in the foundations of the New Bouleuterion, the style of the jointing and setting, the sparing use of  $\vdash$  clamps, all find close parallels in the Stoa of Zeus and in contemporary buildings of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. The treatment of the faces and joints of the wall blocks of the Bouleuterion is likewise best paralleled in Attic walls of the same period.<sup>1</sup> The profile of the mouldings and the quality of workmanship observed in the Ionic cornice block, which has been tentatively assigned to the building, are also worthy of a place in the late fifth century. And finally, the use of Eleusinian limestone, when finished in the admirable technique exhibited by the chips and the block associated with the reorganization of the New Bouleuterion, may safely be attributed to the time of the Propylaia and the Erechtheion.

Confirmation of such a date and somewhat greater precision may be secured from the pottery and small objects found among the débris of construction. In this respect, the most fruitful locality was the unused foundation trench running south from the southwest corner of the New Bouleuterion, that part of it, naturally, which was not utilized in the construction of the later porch. In this channel were found masses of working chips and dust of both hard gray poros and of Pentelic marble; the bottom of a coarse pot still containing a little of the red miltos used by the workmen for daubing their straight-edges and their setting lines; fragments of the roof tiles that were broken in transport or laying; the ashes of the fires on which the workmen had heated their lunches; the broken jars in which they had kept their drinking water and the plain little dishes in which they carried their midday beans and olives. The filling of the trench proper was readily distinguishable from the overlying accumulation so that it may be regarded as sealed and safe evidence. A certain amount of broken pottery was extracted also from the foundation filling in the angle formed by the south wall of the building and the stairway, here too in association with working chips of Pentelic marble and poros. A little undisturbed filling left by the

<sup>1</sup> Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, no. 49: retaining wall of the Tomb of the Lacedaemonians by the Dipylon, 403 B.C.; no. 50: a tower by the Sacred Gate, assigned to the time of Konon. For the jointing, see Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 185, pl. 12: Round Tower M 1 of the Periclean peribolos.

mediaeval plunderers and modern excavators around the foundations at the northeast corner of the building produced more broken pottery and roof tiles. We have already referred to the material found in Layer 10 to the south of the Old Bouleuterion. The simple pottery found in these places, some of the pieces, as has been suggested above, having been used by the workmen during the actual construction, may be regarded as precisely contemporary with the work or as very slightly earlier. Since the vases, lamps, etc., from the various deposits are closely similar, we may regard all the material as of one group and shall illustrate only a few of the representative and obviously latest pieces (Figs. 89, 90).



Fig. 89. Vases associated with Construction of New Bouleuterion

- a. P 8092. Cup-kotyle. From the unused foundation trench. H., 0.051 m.; diam., 0.105 m. The horizontal loop handles have parallel sides. On the underside of the floor, dot and ring pattern. Glaze mottled black and brown, somewhat flaky. Cf. Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 503, nos. 13–16, p. 520, no. 105, fig. 22.
- b. P 7217. One handled cup. From the same place. H., 0.028 m.; diam., 0.074 m. The handle has parallel sides and rises slightly toward the outside. Covered all over with flaky black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 507, nos. 37–42, fig. 1.
- c. L 1874. Lamp. From the same place. H., 0.035 m.; diam., 0.129 m. Very low base ring rising slightly in the middle. Flat rim, down turned. Rich glaze fired partly black, partly red. On the type, see Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 43 ff.
- d. P 5924. Stamped base of a cup-kotyle. From the same place. Diam. of base, 0.074 m. On the floor, palmettes rest on a circle of meander. On underside, dot and circle pattern. Rich black glaze. Talcott, *op. cit.*, p. 503, no. 16, fig. 21.
- e. P 8094. Stamped base of a stemless cup. From the same place. Diam. of base *ca.* 0.05 m. On the floor, looped palmettes between bands of ovules. Covered all over with firm black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 501, no. 10, fig. 5.
- f. P 8091. Stamped base of a cup-kotyle. From the foundation filling at the southeast corner of the New Bouleuterion. Diam. of base, 0.058 m. On the floor, four palmettes grouped around a small circle. Dot and ring pattern on the underside. Good black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 503, no. 12, fig. 21; p. 521, no. 110, fig. 10.
- g. P 8096. Wall fragment from a lekythos with stamped ornament. Exploratory pit to south of Old Bouleuterion, Layer 10. Diam. *ca.* 0.08 m. Around the wall, a band of looped palmettes between two bands of ovules. A trace of another loop above. Metallic black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 517 f., nos. 96, 97, fig. 12.

It will be clear from the references given under the separate pieces that the pottery illustrated here is closely contemporary with or very slightly later than the group from a fifth-century well published by Miss Talcott in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476 ff. That group was securely dated in the third quarter of the fifth century. Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 44) concluded that lamps of the type represented by our *c* were in most common use in the second and third quarters of the fifth century, and his dating has been borne out by the



Fig. 90. Sherds associated with Construction of New Bouleuterion

evidence of Agora groups. A few scraps of red figure found among the construction débris will date, some of them from the third quarter of the century, others probably from the early part of the last quarter.

Another suggestive bit of evidence is furnished by ostraka bearing the name of Habron, son of Patrokles. One of these (P 8097) was found among the working chips in Layer 10 to the south of the Old Bouleuterion, another (P 5879) in the surface of the layer beneath. One is perhaps entitled to suppose that the reorganization of the Old Bouleuterion occurred shortly after an occasion when the name of Habron figured in an ostrakophoria and when the ballots were still lying about the market place.<sup>1</sup> Neither the man nor the occasion can be

<sup>1</sup> A third piece (P 3586), which may be restored H]ABPO[N] MA]PAΘ[ONIOΣ, came from the footing trench of a Hellenistic foundation that was set down on the line of the east-west cross wall of the Old Bouleuterion. Its lettering looks earlier than that of the other two. If the third piece is really



identified with certainty. From Diodoros (XI, 79), however, we learn that the archon of 458/7 was one Habron, conceivably the same man as the one under discussion.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the ostraka must antedate the cessation of the practice of ostracism in 417 B.C.

The combined archaeological evidence would suggest that the building program falls in the last quarter of the fifth century.

#### ALTERATIONS IN THE NEW BOULEUTERION

At a later date, a porch was set against the south end of the New Bouleuterion and a monumental propylon was erected at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion building. On passing through this Propylon, one made his way along a broad passage, flanked

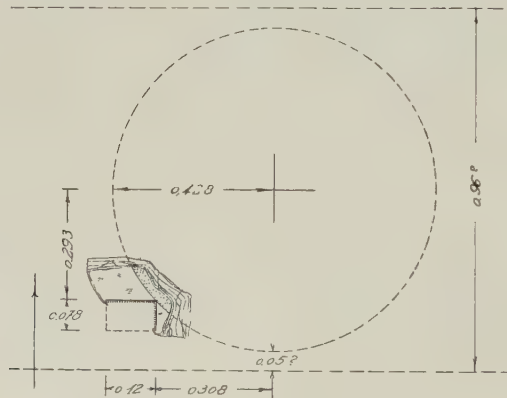


Fig. 91. (A 670) Fragment of Stylobate of Porch of New Bouleuterion (?)

on the north by that archaic building, on the south by a free standing wall, to the foot of the stairway that now gave access both to the Square alongside the Bouleuterion and to the new porch of the building. These additions were undoubtedly accompanied by certain changes in the entrance to the Tholos which will be discussed in the study of that building. However fine the new structures may have been in themselves, they destroyed the effective simplicity of the old layout. Yet the result may appear more disturbing when seen in the horizontal plane of the paper plan than it did in the three-dimensional effect of stone and marble.

#### PORCH

In constructing the porch, the architect utilized the unused foundation trench in the line of the west wall of the Bouleuterion and for its other end, a part of the old stairway that led up to the Square. He joined the two by a new foundation trench in which there still remain numerous blocks of the lowest course. They are chiefly of hard gray poros,

a ballot and if it was cast on the same occasion as the others (both doubtful points) we may suppose that some alteration was made in the cross wall at the time of the reorganization of the building.

<sup>1</sup> The name also occurs twice on sepulchral monuments of the late fifth century: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 951, col. I, 17; 964, col. I, 14.

but include also a few pieces of conglomerate.<sup>1</sup> The restoration of a colonnade rather than a solid wall on this foundation is probable on general grounds, especially as it would permit of freer communication with the auditorium from the side of the Tholos and the new Propylon. The floor of packed earth, much of which remains within the line of the foundation, would also be more appropriate to an open porch than to a closed room. The jog at the junction of Porch and building, occasioned by the utilization of the old stairway, need have caused no serious difficulty in the superstructure. The Porch was undoubtedly covered with a single-pitched roof set against the south wall of the main building at such a height as not to interfere with the windows lighting the auditorium. The narrowness

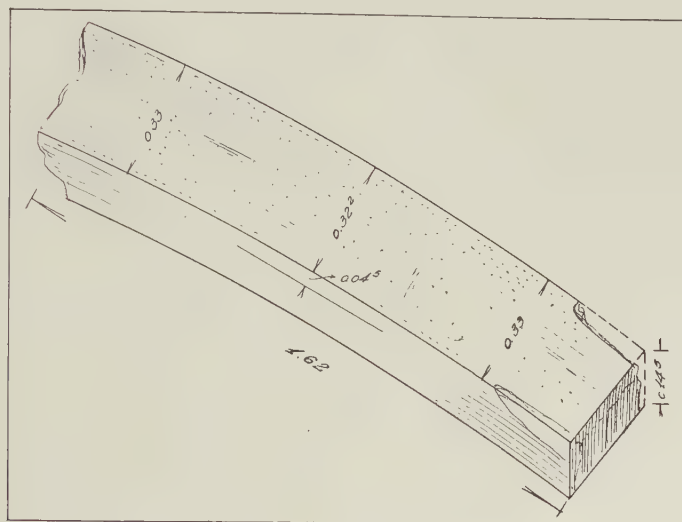


Fig. 92. Marble Bench from New Bouleuterion

of the available space and the height of the dirt floor inside combine to suggest that only one additional course, the stylobate, rested on top of the preserved blocks. Eight Ionic supports across the front, two on the side, would permit of satisfactory proportions. One may conjecture that the west side, looking toward the rough scarp, was closed by a solid wall. A square pier might perhaps appropriately replace the column at the southeast corner. Working chips found along its course show that the stylobate was of Pentelic marble. Part of it may be recognized in a small fragment of a well worked block of Pentelic marble found in a marble dump left by previous excavators in the southeast corner of the building (Fig. 91). On its surface is the scratched setting line for an Ionic base with a diameter of *ca.* 0.856 m. Close against the line of the base is a cutting for a post. The post had subsequently been removed and the mouth of the cutting was worn

<sup>1</sup> Two rows of blocks, 0.25 m. high, varying greatly in size, make up a mean width of 1.32 m. Their tops are carefully dressed but devoid of any trace of clamps or dowels. The pry holes for the succeeding course are irregularly spaced.

smooth by traffic. One will understand that it may have been found advisable to close some of the intercolumniations of the Porch with grillwork. We have supposed that in this period a bench was placed at the foot of the walls of the Porch.

That the Porch is not part of the original building but a later addition is perhaps sufficiently indicated by its unsatisfactory junction with the side walls of the building and by the disturbing manner in which it breaks the line of the old stairway. The dissociation of the two is further confirmed by the use of conglomerate in the Porch, a stone which does not appear elsewhere in the building, and by the inferior workmanship of the Porch. Additional

proof may also be derived from the observation that the surface of bedrock both inside the Porch and to the south of it is worn by traffic to a uniform smoothness and this worn surface was cut through by the foundation trench of the colonnade. No corresponding wear is to be noted within the area of the building proper. Hence this wear must have occurred at a time when the open square ran right up to the south wall of the building. Two periods of construction are also clearly indicated by the manner in which the unfinished orthostate block that must be assigned to the building proper was found buried in earth and was trimmed away by the builders of the Porch.

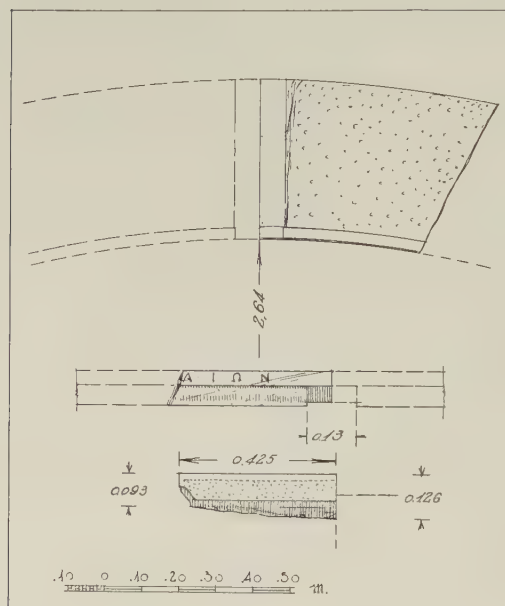


Fig. 93. (I 638) Marble Bench from New Bouleuterion (?); Plan of Underside, Front and End Elevations

#### MARBLE BENCHES

A number of fragmentary curved stone benches found, chiefly by earlier excavators, within the area of the building and its immediate vicinity prove that in its later days

the seats of the auditorium were laid out on a curved scheme and that they were of marble. The workmanship of the pieces makes quite impossible their attribution to the first period of the building. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that the alteration in the auditorium was contemporary with the addition of the porch, but this does not necessarily follow and the surviving stone benches may well be of a still later date.

A score of fragmentary benches were found, of the sort illustrated in Fig. 92. These are all of Hymettian marble, finished with the claw hammer on top and edges. The piece illustrated shows the normal width of  $0.32 + m.$  (*i. e.* 1 foot). Its preserved end has been trimmed on the underside to rest on an upright support which it shared with its neighbor. Its front face was covered with a slab of veneer, secured by iron pins, small holes for



which appear not on this but on most of the fragments. A similar hole in the end of one piece indicates that the ends of the benches adjacent to the stairways were likewise veneered. The back edges of the slabs, especially those from near stairways, show a certain amount of wear. In these pieces we clearly have to do with the actual seats, behind which presumably lay other slabs to facilitate passage and to receive the feet of those sitting above. For the detailed restoration other evidence is lacking, but such simple and economical seating arrangements are familiar from other sites.<sup>1</sup>

The diameter of the "orchestra" has been fixed on the basis of a fragmentary marble bench which may with some plausibility be assigned to the Bouleuterion. The piece was found in the Great Drain at a point just opposite the Temple of Apollo Patroos, imbedded in a gravelly filling of the fourth to fifth centuries A.D. It had presumably been used as a cover slab by some late repairer and had subsequently broken and fallen in. There remains only a fragment of a seat slab of Pentelic marble with the dimensions and profile shown in Fig. 93. The inner face forms the arc of a circle with a radius of *ca.* 2.64 m. The underside is quite rough save for a length at the preserved end which had been dressed as a bearing surface to rest on a foot. The end itself is finished with careful anathyrosis. On the front edge is preserved the end of a neatly lettered inscription:  $\text{[}\alpha\omega\nu$ , and on the top a roughly cut graffito: **MAP**. One might suspect that the bench belonged to some simple exedra. But the back edge is not jointed in the manner commonly employed for such seats. Rather, it has no proper joint surface, but shows not a little wear that would seem to have occurred while the block lay in its original position. Hence we may with more probability regard it as from the first bench of an auditorium. The only building in the vicinity of suitable type and date is the New Bouleuterion.

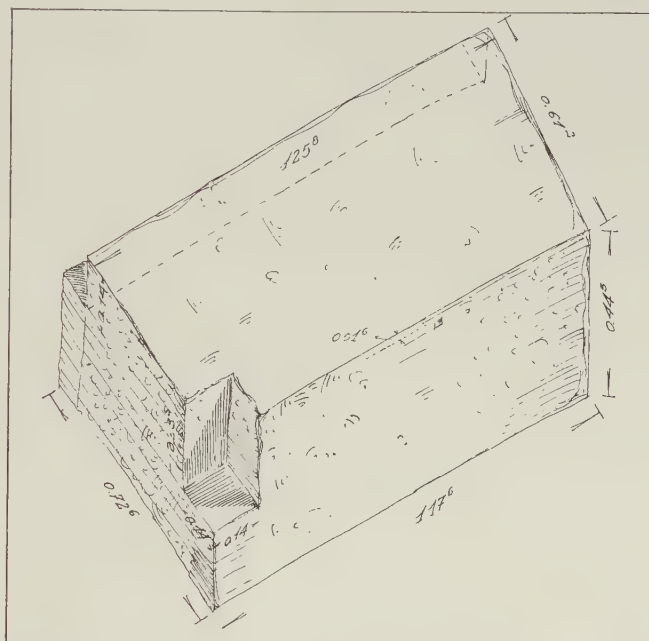


Fig. 94. Bedding Block for Bench and Stair of New Bouleuterion

<sup>1</sup> Theatre of Magnesia (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 71); of Thera (*Thera*, III, p. 256, fig. 243); of Priene (A. v. Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene*, p. 30, pls. IX, XIV, 1, 2, 4).

The poros block illustrated in Fig. 94 now lies, as it was found, in the first room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon. We may suppose that it supported the topmost row of seats, that the rabbet in its back upper edge was intended to receive the stone flagging of the back corners of the auditorium and that the cutting in its front end held a step block. A pin hole near the top of its front face suggests that it too was veneered. A couple of other blocks of similar material and concavity but without the rabbet in their backs were found in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon. They may have served a similar purpose toward the wings of the auditorium.

Supposing that the parodos walls and interior columns remained in their original places throughout the history of the building, and fixing the "orchestra" on the basis of the marble bench described above, we have proposed for the later period of the Bouleuterion the restoration illustrated on Pl. VIII. This plan will admit of 12 ranges of benches with an average width of *ca.* 0.62 m., than which they could not be less. If we assign 0.50 m. of bench to each senator, again an irreducible minimum, there will be room for just over five hundred.<sup>1</sup>

#### PROPYLON

##### EXISTING REMAINS

The remains that lie at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion lend themselves to no satisfactory restoration as a building with an independent existence, but their plan and situation alike suggest that the building which they supported served an obvious need of the New Bouleuterion, *i. e.* provided it with a monumental approach from the market square (Fig. 95). The identification is put beyond question by the polygonal wall which runs westward from the southwest corner of the foundations in question and which, together with the south wall of the Old Bouleuterion, forms a broad passage-way clearly leading back from the Propylon to the New Bouleuterion.

There remain in position much of the subfoundations and the northeast corner block of the first step. The foundations beneath the east front of the structure are the most carefully built. One course of headers of soft white poros was set down to its full depth of 0.45 m. in the existing ground level and at either end the course was returned toward the west by the width of two blocks. On top of this first course was laid the euthynteria. Along the south side the lowest course was continued westward by a ruder packing which includes a couple of conglomerate blocks, a fragment of a poros column drum and irregular masses of Acropolis limestone.<sup>2</sup> The western foundation in its lowest part consists of roughly jointed masses of Acropolis limestone making up a thickness of *ca.* 0.35 m. Only

<sup>1</sup> One might place additional seats in the upper corners. But such an arrangement would be unsatisfactory since the corner seats would be far removed from the speaker and would involve a very considerable increase in the height of the ceiling. The sharp angles, moreover, would mean much waste space.

<sup>2</sup> Two conglomerate blocks in the eastern part may well have formed a monument base of an earlier period, a circumstance which will account for their level, 0.05 m. below that of the poros blocks to the east of them, and also for the slightly irregular orientation of the south foundation.

the southern 2.80 m. of the west foundation remain. On the north side, to the west of the massive poros blocks of the lowest course, only enough survives to show that the back part, as on the south side, was made up of an inferior packing.<sup>1</sup> Only the outer foundation of the Propylon was set below the pre-existing ground level. Enough remains to suggest that inside the building a solid bedding was prepared of blocks resting on that earlier



Fig. 95. Propylon from East. Arrows indicate its Northeast and Southeast Corners

ground level. The material of the inner foundation is conglomerate supplemented with Acropolis limestone.

The euthynteria course, 0.41 m. high, preserved only across the front, consisted of two rows of stretchers, of which three in each row remain in position. The inner row was of

<sup>1</sup> It will appear from the plan that the north foundation of the new building must have slightly overlaid the south foundation of the Old Bouleuterion at least back to the east anta in the north wall of the Propylon. Just within the northeast corner of the outer foundations of the Propylon there remains undisturbed the lowest course, consisting of two blocks of soft white poros laid side by side, of another earlier monument base.



soft creamy poros, the outer of hard gray poros. The outer blocks were jointed carefully but without clamps or dowels. The width of the building across the east front measured on the euthynteria was *ca.* 8.50 m.

The first step was of Hymettian marble 0.225 m. in height. Setting and weathering lines on top of the surviving corner block indicate a width of 0.326 m. for the tread, both

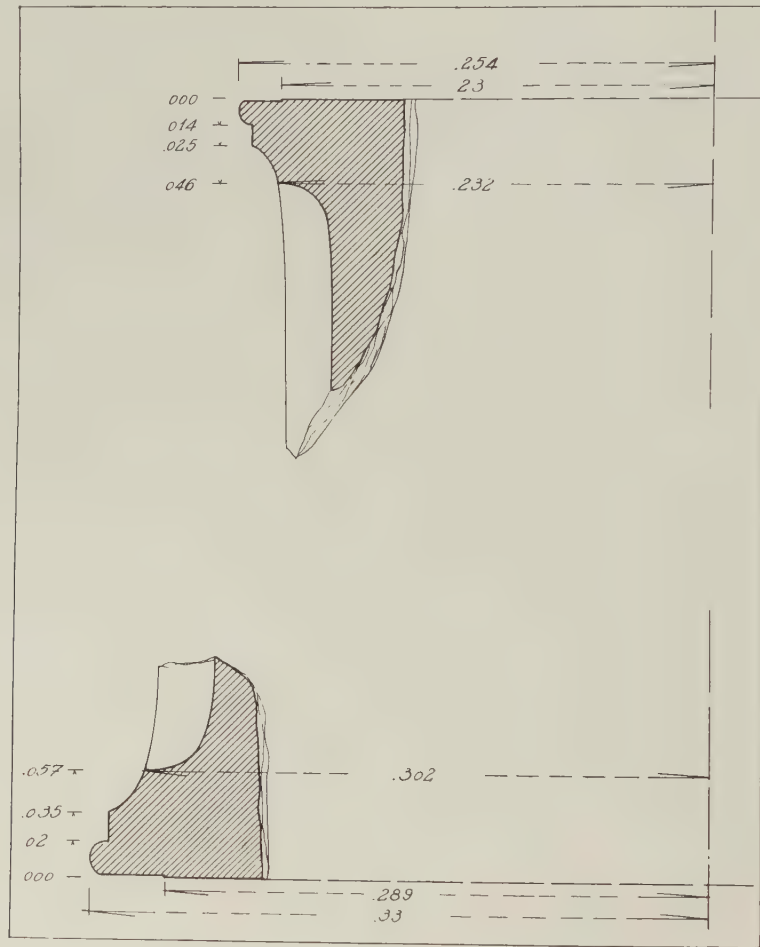


Fig. 96. (A 673) Fragments from Columns of Propylon

on the east and north sides. The lower edge of the face of the step is marked by a band of drafting, finished with a plain stop at the corner. Weathering lines show that the second step was treated in the same way. A protecting band was never removed from the outer edge of the tread. The step blocks were secured to one another and to their backers by means of  $\Pi$  clamps. Dowels were not used in setting the blocks of the first step (Figs. 107, 108).

Of the columns many small fragments were found lying on the ancient ground level to the east of the building where they had been broken up (Fig. 96). They were of Pentelic marble of a fine quality with a lower diameter of 0.604 m., an upper of 0.464 m. and were decorated with 24 flutings. The bearing surfaces toward stylobate and capital were finished with a toothed chisel and encircled by a smooth dressed relieving surface. A few scraps from the volutes of one of the Ionic capitals have also been found. The small surviving fragments of the epistyle preserve no significant dimension. Epistyle and frieze were presumably cut from a single block. The crowning moulding of the frieze, of which several fragments were found, consisted of a simple ovolo and cavetto.

#### RESTORATION OF PLAN

The plan of the surviving foundations shows clearly that the eastern porch was tetrastyle prostyle, the western distyle *in antis*. The eastern foundation, moreover, is wide enough to accommodate only two steps.<sup>1</sup> The remaining difference in level may have been provided for by a third step in the line of the cross wall (Pl. VII, Section A-A). Pry holes in the surface of the euthynteria, which indicate the position of the blocks of the steps and so presumably of the stylobate, suggest that the central intercolumniation was slightly wider than its neighbors, a reasonable arrangement for a propylon. The precise position of the cross wall is the only doubtful point in the restoration, for the continuous inner foundation is not helpful in placing it. The unhappy proximity of the Propylon to both its earlier and later neighbor to the north will be apparent from the plan. The barbarous way in which the architect of the great second-century building cut away the northern foundations of the Propylon is shown by Fig. 107.

#### WALL OF PASSAGE LEADING TO BOULEUTERION

The wall that runs westward from the southwest corner of the Propylon served not only to bound the passage-way leading to the New Bouleuterion but also, in its lower part as a terrace wall, to adjust the difference in ground level between that passage and the Tholos (Fig. 97). Its subfoundations are of conglomerate blocks laid as stretchers in single rows. Above the conglomerate rise orthostates of Acropolis limestone 0.59 m. high, worked so as to face toward the north. In places a single block makes up the entire thickness of the wall (0.50 m.); elsewhere the orthostate was supplemented with a packing of smaller stones set against its south face. At the eastern end of the wall as preserved are two blocks of soft white poros which appear to belong to the original construction. Between the limestone blocks the joints are cut invariably as straight lines and tend to be vertical or horizontal without ever being truly so. The top line shows the use of small triangular fillers already observed in the cella wall of the Temple of Apollo. The joint surfaces are

<sup>1</sup> At some later date, probably because of changing ground levels, an additional step was set against the face of the euthynteria in the mid-part of the front. The bedding blocks for this step may be distinguished in Fig. 95. Still later a fountain was erected on this step.

prepared with a rough sort of anathyrosis worked usually with a toothed, sometimes with a smooth chisel. The north face of the orthostates was finished with a single point. It retains no trace of stucco. The stratification against the north face of the wall shows clearly that the bottom line of the orthostates was set down approximately to the ground level existing when the wall was built. But it is equally clear from the stratification that the ground level was then immediately raised by 0.20–0.30 m. and that it actually remained at that height



Fig. 97. Polygonal Retaining Wall to South of Metroon, from the North

throughout classical antiquity is sufficiently proved by the marked line of weathering about half way up the faces of the orthostates. Of the upper part of the wall nothing remains.

The restored plan of the Propylon shows clearly that the polygonal wall aligns with the south wall of the building. At the west end of the wall one bedding block *ca.* 1.20 m. long is now missing. With this block the wall would seem originally to have come to an abrupt end so that one approaching from the Propylon, on reaching this point, might have continued westward to ascend the steps which led up to the Square and the Porch of the Bouleuterion or he might have turned south to enter the Tholos through a north door which we may hypothecate for that building.



## DATING

The pottery found in numerous exploratory trenches and pits leaves no doubt that the Porch of the Bouleuterion, the Propylon and the limestone wall which runs westward from the Propylon are closely contemporary, parts, that is, of a single building program. The potsherds found in the filling inside the foundations of the Propylon, in the footing trench



Fig. 98. Vases associated with Construction of Porch and Propylon

of the limestone wall, among the working chips from Propylon and Porch found to the south of the Old Bouleuterion and in the recess in the bedrock along the west side of the Square; the few fragments found in undisturbed earth in the foundation trench of the Porch and in the earth filling inside the Porch,—these various groups are completely consistent with each other. They also agree precisely with a great mass of pottery found in a well at the west side of the Square, in a connected well farther south and in a man-hole to the west of the Tholos, all of which were undoubtedly filled in on the occasion of the new building program. A few representative pieces are illustrated in Fig. 98.

- a. P 2404. Black-glazed kantharos. H., 0.13 m. The high loop handles are broken away. The glaze has been scratched from the upper and underside of the foot, exposing the miltos-covered clay.
- b. P 3559. Public Measure. Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 347. H., 0.132 m.; diam., 0.152 m. In black glaze around the upper wall: ΔΗΜΟΞΙΟΝ. The vessel was stamped on its outside, while the clay was still soft, with two of the official seals of the city; one representing the head of Athena in Attic helmet, to right, the other a double-bodied owl with  $\overset{A}{E} \odot$  and two sprays of olive in the field. Close parallels for both the Athena head and the owl occur in a series of silver coins dated to the period 365–359 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Numerous other fragments of similar measures were found in the neighboring wells and in the earth packing of the Square. They doubtless came from the nearby Tholos where a set of official weights and measures was kept.
- c. P 4443. Black-glazed kantharos with flat-topped, spurred handles. H., 0.095 m. Glaze scratched from a groove round the foot. More than a score of similar kantharoi, whole or fragmentary, came from the well, others from the footing trench of the limestone wall. Cf. E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi*, II, pl. LIII, 103; LIV, 109.
- d. P 3507. Black-glazed plate. Diam., 0.123 m. On floor, six stamped palmettes joined by loops and surrounded by a rouletted band. Numerous other such plates were found in the wells and, in fragments, in the exploratory trenches. For the fabric, cf. *Sciatbi*, II, pl. LVI, 121, 123.
- e. P 3556. Red-figured lid of lekanis. Diam., 0.138 m. On the top, two pairs of female heads, sakkos bound, facing, with tendrils between. Around the downturned rim and on top of handle, egg-and-dot pattern. Thin red wash on the reserved parts.
- f. L 1426. Lamp, Broneer's Type VII. L., 0.087 m. A pierced knob on the left side has been broken away. Covered inside and out with thin brown glaze. Cf. *Sciatbi*, II, pl. LVII, 125.
- g. L 1521. Lamp, *ca.* Broneer's Type VII a. L., 0.10 m. Vertical side wall, flat top surrounded by two shallow grooves. Flaky black glaze inside and outside. This and the preceding are the dominant types of lamps found in the wells and trenches. A few fragments similar to *f* in profile but unglazed on the outside came from lamps of Type VII b, on which see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 460 f.

It is apparent that the pottery approximates very closely to that of the first two groups published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 313 ff. For those groups a date at the turn of the fourth and third centuries was established through comparison with the earliest Attic pottery found in Alexandria. The same date may confidently be assigned as a lower limit for the mass of pottery here considered. This date may then be considered as an upper limit for the building program and, in view of the quantity of the pottery and its consistency, it may be taken as affording a rather close *terminus post quem* for that construction.


A number of coins were found in places which make them of significance for the dating of the construction. Among the marble chips found in the trench to the south of the Old Bouleuterion and to be associated with the construction of the Propylon (Fig. 71, Layer 5) lay a coin of Salamis dated in the period 350–318 B.C.<sup>2</sup> From a lower stratum (Layer 8) separated by about 0.20 m. from those working chips, comes a Macedonian coin, possibly of Cassander (316–297 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> The well at the west side of the Square yielded a number

<sup>1</sup> J. Syroinos, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 17, nos. 34–36. For the data regarding the coins considered in this section I am much indebted to Mrs. Shear.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M. Catalogue of Coins, Attica*, etc., pl. XX, nos. 8 and 9.

<sup>3</sup> See S. W. Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, II, no. 3562, pl. 132, 17.

of coins. The one foreign piece among them is a coin of Larissa, dated to 305–197 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Athenian piece is a silver tetradrachma of a type assigned by Svoronos to the period 365–359 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Two bronze pieces bearing Eleusinian symbols and the name of Eleusis may be dated to the second half of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> Another bronze Athenian piece falls in a class assigned by Svoronos to 297–255 B.C.<sup>4</sup> There are four other coins of a different type assigned by the same authority to the same period.<sup>5</sup> Four others, according to Svoronos' classification, should fall between 255 and 229 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> but it has been shown by Mrs. Shear (*loc. cit.*) that this group should be dated in 307–283. The coins, therefore, would permit of a date consistent with that suggested by the pottery, *viz.* the beginning of the third century.

The admirable workmanship of the Propylon and the use of hard and soft poros and of  clamps might suggest for it an earlier date. But the free use of conglomerate in its foundations will warn us to be on our guard and will suggest that we have to do rather with an example of conservative, perhaps archaizing construction. However this may be, the evidence of the pottery and coins found around their foundations will push the date of the Bouleuterion Porch, Propylon and limestone wall as late at least as the beginning of the third century. Additional evidence is considered below (pp. 213 f.).

#### THE PRECINCT OF THE NEW BOULEUTERION

The entire area of the Square to the south of the Bouleuterion would seem to have been prepared at the time of the construction of the original building. At any rate, no line of division can be detected between hypothetical earlier and later parts. In the southeast corner, to be sure, no actual rock cutting was necessary and the configuration of the hill side preserved scattered masses of earlier accumulation. Hence, in clearing the area, despite the disturbance caused by innumerable pits and foundations of mediaeval times, we found a certain amount of Corinthian and Attic pottery of the sixth century, a little Geometric and a few scraps of hand-made prehistoric ware. A fragmentary bronze sword (B 252) and a scrap from a Mycenaean goblet (P 5887) found in the lowest filling above bedrock, suggest that a burial had been made here in Late Helladic times.

A rectangular pit (4.00 m. north to south, 3.00 m. east to west) that opens off the west side of the Square may date from the time of the addition of the porch to the Bouleuterion (Fig. 126). Its rock-cut floor was covered with chips and dust from the working of Pentelic

<sup>1</sup> See E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, p. 101, fig. 153. The series is conjectured to have commenced "after Demetrius Poliorcetes had proclaimed the freedom of the Greek cities" (p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 17, nos. 19 and 20.

<sup>3</sup> *B. M. Catalogue of Coins, Attica*, etc., pl. XX, nos. 1 and 2; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 103, no. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 22, nos. 85–88. Dated in 330–307 by J. P. Shear in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> The precise parallels are *op. cit.*, pl. 22, nos. 35–45. These are dated in 330–300 B.C. or later by Mrs. Shear, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 24, nos. 34–57.



marble and a meter of ancient earth filling that overlay the chips yielded pottery of the fourth and early third centuries identical with that elsewhere associated with the same period of construction. The back part of the pit was subsequently closed off with a light wall of stones set in clay. We have no clue to the purpose of the cutting.

The surface of bedrock, especially in the south part of the area, was left rough and irregular by the quarrymen (Fig. 77). It never received a more pretentious paving than a thin covering of firm packed earth, which, as we learn from the sherds that it yielded, began to accumulate in the late fifth century B.C. and continued to rise down into the third century A.D. reaching a depth of 0.20-0.30 m.

For long after its cutting, the scarp both to the north and to the west of the building as well as on the west and south sides of the Square would seem to have been exposed in all its roughness. Subsequently, however, a screen wall was erected along the two scarped sides of the Square. It was, perhaps, at this same time that the passage around the Bouleuterion was closed by a cross wall at the southwest corner of the building and by another between the north wall of the building and the scarp. And with this blocking of the passage may be associated the stairway that led down over the north scarp from the north. The need for some such improvement in the approach to the north end of the building must have been felt from the time of the construction of the Hellenistic Metroon which somewhat obstructed the old entrance way. The conglomerate blocks that presumably carried the topmost marble step blocks remain in position, bedded in mortar on the shoulder of the scarp. The positions of the lower steps are indicated by slight cuttings in the living rock (Pl. VII, Section D-D). A stairway *ca.* 4.50 m. wide will centre on the end of the building and it will be observed from the plan that the uppermost of the poros benches on the hill side might well have served as a foundation for the eastern retaining wall of a broad passage which presumably led north to a monumental stairway on the axis of the Hephaisteion.

The screen wall in the Square is built of re-used blocks of Acropolis limestone, poros and conglomerate supplemented by smaller fragments of marble and poros blocks and by field stones, the whole bedded in a crumbly gray lime mortar containing a little pounded tile. Similar mortar is found in the stairway to the north of the Bouleuterion. Of the crumbly lime plaster that covered the face of the screen wall small patches remain. There is no trace of revetment. The wall still rises in places to a height of 1.50 m. above the dirt floor of the Square and must originally have been somewhat higher.

For the dating of the wall the objects found imbedded in it are of interest. Among them was a quantity of broken sculpture representing seven or eight statues, three of which, though much broken, are fairly complete.<sup>1</sup> Big and little fragments of perhaps seventeen different marble inscriptions had also been built into the wall.<sup>2</sup> None of these would seem to be later than of the second century B.C. A basketful of nondescript potsherds found in the fabric of the wall and behind it are, none of them, later than of the first

<sup>1</sup> S 462, 463, 466, 473-476, 591.

<sup>2</sup> I 1261, 1462, 1749, 1799, 1804+1870, 1858-60, 1864-69, 1960, 1997, 2014.

century B.C. These lower limits for both the inscriptions and the pottery become more significant in view of the quantities of fragmentary inscriptions and vases of a later date found in the débris overlying the Square. The probability, therefore, is great that the damage represented was done by Sulla's soldiery in 86 B.C. Yet several considerations suggest that the wall was built considerably later than 86 B.C. Some of the sculpture found in it is not only broken but battered and worn as though it had lain loose for some time. The south screen wall, moreover, overlies the foundation and implies the previous dis-



Fig. 99. Southwest Corner of Porch of New Bouleuterion. Note unfinished Orthostate and Statue Base

mantling of a large monument base which, from the style of its construction and from the inclusion in its foundations of broken inscriptions, would itself appear to postdate the Sullan sack (see below, p. 170). If the screen wall is really contemporary with the stairway to the north of the Bouleuterion and with the monumental stairway that led up to the Hephaisteion, its date will fall well along in the first century A.D., for the monumental stairway would seem to be that late (see below, p. 221).

That the Square to the south of the Bouleuterion was never popular as a place for erecting monuments is shown by the paucity of such that have come to light. The unsuitability of the area for the purpose is evidently due to its being remote from the market square and frequented by few but officials. A single statue base remains, immediately



south of the southwest corner of the Bouleuterion (Fig. 99). It is a block of Hymettian marble, stepped, that rests (now slightly askew) on an underpinning of two blocks reaching down to the bottom of the old unused foundation trench. The top of the base measures  $0.605 \times 0.573$  m. and is marked by two square dowel holes with pour channels intended for the fastening of the plinth proper which carried the statue (?). At the time when the monument was erected, some 0.20 m. of earth and rubbish had already gathered above the original ground level. The pottery from this layer extends through the third and



Fig. 100. Southeast Corner of Bouleuterion Square, from the North

second centuries B.C. and, since the foundation for the monument was clearly set down through it, the monument will not be earlier than the second century. Its workmanship suggests that it is not much later. In the absence of the inscription, we cannot say who or what was commemorated.

In the southeast part of the Square are remains of a larger monument, measuring *ca.*  $6.10 \times 7.10$  m. (Fig. 100). A solid bedding was prepared in the south part of the rectangle while its northern side would seem to have been closed by a single line of blocks less firmly bedded. The foundations, so far as they are preserved, consist entirely of re-used blocks of marble, poros and conglomerate. These are bedded in and their joints are closed by crumbly lime mortar. Fragments of two inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. (I 1750, 2968) imbedded in the foundation packing suggest a date after some disturbance.



presumably Sulla's visit in 86 B.C. A few scraps of pottery and a bit of blown glass likewise extracted from the foundation packing will be little if at all earlier than the beginning of our era. We have already observed that the screen wall of the Square was carried over the dismantled foundations of the monument, which would seem, therefore, to have been short-lived. Of the precise form or purpose of the monument we can say nothing.

The stripping of this large monument must have preceded also the construction of the rectangular room to the west of the Tholos, for this structure overlies the southeast corner of the foundation of the monument (Fig. 100). The later building measured  $5.00 \times 5.50$  m. over all. Of its foundations there remain only a couple of stones of the north and west sides. These are clearly re-used and that the structure was made in whole or in great part of second-hand material is shown by the many large fragments of old blocks of poros and of Hymettian marble included among the working chips which lay in great heaps to the north and the west of the building. Its floor level inside, as indicated by a mass of the original filling which still remains, lay high above that of the Tholos. The ground level of the terrace to the north was raised accordingly, chiefly by the mass of working chips from its construction. The room was approached probably from the side of the terrace only. Direct communication with the Tholos is precluded by the absence of any trace of steps against the inner face of the wall of the Tholos, one block of which remains in position at the critical point. One might have supposed from the relation of this building with the screen wall that the building was either contemporary with or earlier than the wall. Yet it would seem necessary to accept the *terminus post quem* given by the objects found among the working chips of the building. These included an Athenian coin of the Roman Imperial period, perhaps of the time of Augustus, and fragmentary pottery as late at least as of the third century A.D. A late date is indicated also by the height of the contemporary ground level to the north. We have thus far gotten no clue to the name or purpose of the structure.<sup>1</sup>

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE BOULEUTERION

We have no precise evidence for the date of the destruction of the building. We shall, however, find reason to believe that the neighboring Metroon suffered severely in the Herulian sack of 267 A.D. and it would seem unlikely that the Bouleuterion should have been spared. A loose accumulation of earth containing much household pottery and lamps of the third century A.D. overlay the classical floor of the Square to the south of the Bouleuterion and clearly implies that the area was abandoned as a public place during that century. The building was later reconstructed in part at least. To this reconstruction we may assign the two split wall blocks as they now lie in the foundation trench of the north wall, and two broken lengths of north-south wall in the northeast corner of the building. These late walls include, among other re-used ancient blocks, one of the curved

<sup>1</sup> The elaborate arrangements around Bouleuterion and Metroon for both running and stored water will be discussed elsewhere.

marble benches of the auditorium. They are bonded with the hard gray lime mortar characteristic of the buildings of the late fourth and fifth centuries A.D. We may suspect that the reconstruction of the Bouleuterion is contemporary with that of the north room of the Metroon, for one branch of the drain that took the water from the central court of that room was carried on to the northeast corner of the Bouleuterion. The archaeological evidence supplies no clue to the function of the building in this its last period nor to the date of its final abandonment.

#### HELLENISTIC METROON

##### SITUATION, AND PRESERVATION

We have already observed that the massive red foundations which now form so prominent a part of the west side of the market square belong to a great building of the second century B.C. that completely overlay the area once occupied by the early Temple of the Mother and by the Old Bouleuterion. It will be noted on the plans that the building consisted of four rooms set side by side and fronted by a porch of generous width that presented to the square a façade of fourteen Ionic columns standing between antae. The three southern rooms, together with their share of the porch, coincide almost exactly with the outlines of the Old Bouleuterion, whereas the great north room represents an addition. The peculiar jogs in the back wall of the building must have caused the architect serious difficulties in roofing and so require adequate justification. The explanation, as already noted, is to be found in the needs of the pre-existing New Bouleuterion. Thus the back wall of the two southernmost rooms was withdrawn from the line of the archaic foundations obviously so as to leave a passage-way between Metroon and Bouleuterion, a passage which could communicate only with an entrance in the middle of the east wall of the Bouleuterion. It will further be noted that the second room from the south is centred on the axis of the Bouleuterion and on its (hypothetical) east entrance. The peculiar plan, moreover, of the second room, which seems to have had its own inner porch, suggests that it served as a sort of propylon, providing a new and more direct monumental approach to the Bouleuterion from the market square. The jog in the southwest corner of the north room may likewise be explained by the necessity of respecting the old north entrance of the Bouleuterion. The third-century Propylon at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion still stood and the second-century architect, wishing to utilize the south foundation of the archaic building and requiring more space for his anta, was forced to trim away much of the euthynteria and first step of the Propylon. The north wall of the Hellenistic building overlies the line of the north wall of the early Temple of the Mother, so that the architect of the new building had clearly been commissioned to utilize all the area belonging to the Mother. Hence we may suspect that the round bedding with the rectangular cutting shown on the plan at the northeast corner of the building may have supported a boundary stone of the sanctuary (Fig. 101). The foundations of the new building were carried up so as actually to touch the circular bedding; the stele was then removed and the round block

was covered over by the construction débris when the new and higher ground level was established here immediately after the completion of the building.<sup>1</sup>

Of the Hellenistic building the lowest foundations are preserved throughout save for a few short gaps. In the main part of the structure, the course beneath the toichobate and the toichobate itself are preserved here and there, and in the north wall two orthostates stand in their original positions. Much of the stylobate for the inner colonnade of the



Fig. 101. Northeast Corner of Hellenistic Metroon. Note Omphaloi

north room remains in position or close by. One-half the threshold block of the south room has survived *in situ*. The base of one column of the front porch still lies in place on the one remaining block of the stylobate. Two blocks of the second step have been spared *in situ* and several more of the first have been found nearby. The southern half of the euthynteria course beneath the porch has suffered little; the northern half has disappeared,

<sup>1</sup> A small boundary stone of Pentelic marble (I 2472) found in modern filling in the middle of the market square reads  $\epsilon[\rho]ος \mid \mathcal{M}\eta\tau\rho\acute{o}\sigma(\nu)$ . From the style of the lettering and the tooling of the stone one might associate it with the Hellenistic building.



exposing the poros course beneath. For the restoration of the columns only small scraps of shafts are preserved; not a single capital has so far been identified. Of the superstructure we have recovered three epistyle and two fragmentary geison blocks and for the roof there are a few battered tiles of terracotta.

#### FOUNDATIONS

The Hellenistic builders availed themselves as far as possible of the foundations of the earlier structures on the site. Thus the south, north and west foundation walls of the Old Bouleuterion underlie in whole or in part Hellenistic walls. The foundations of the Hellenistic colonnade rest on the eastern half of the east foundation of the same early building and the division wall between the first and second Hellenistic rooms partially overlay its cross wall. A little of the north foundation of the early Temple of the Mother remained to be incorporated in the north foundation of its Hellenistic successor. And it will be observed from the plan that the outer line of orthostates in the north half of the western wall of the north room must have rested on the still surviving blocks of one of the old poros benches. The top of the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion as preserved beneath the later building are quite irregular in height and it is not clear whether more blocks were removed in some places than in others by the Hellenistic builders or whether the abstractions occurred during some interval between the destruction of the earlier and the construction of the later building.

The new material used in the Hellenistic foundations is a coarse conglomerate which contains masses of limestone imbedded in reddish sand. The blocks were cut to an average size of  $0.40 \times 0.70 \times 1.40$  m. and were laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. Numerous re-used blocks from earlier buildings, both of poros and of Acropolis limestone, appear in the Hellenistic foundations, especially deep beneath the front wall and in the interior foundations of the north room.<sup>1</sup> The foundations for the walls were regularly carried down to bedrock save at the north end of the front wall where a great depth of very firm earth was encountered. Beneath the colonnade, only four courses of conglomerate were carried unbroken throughout the length of the building but beneath each column a square pier was carried deeper, in the north part to bedrock, in the south to the top of the earlier foundations (Fig. 102).

#### WALLS

The construction of the walls, apart from the front wall, seems to have been uniform both around and between the rooms. On top of the conglomerate subfoundations rests a course of hard gray poros, 0.30–0.33 m. high, the blocks measuring on the average 0.88 m. in width. Their length varies from 0.85 to 1.55 m. They are very roughly jointed and their faces both inside and out are quite irregular. For the most part

<sup>1</sup> The description and discussion of these, so far as they have not been referred to in connection with the earlier buildings on the site, will be deferred to the final publication.

this course consisted of a single row of stretchers. Across the back of the south room, however, the blocks were laid as headers. Certain of the surviving blocks, and notably those near the intersections of walls, show cuttings for large dove-tailed clamps. On top of this course rested the toichobate proper, 0.25–0.265 m. high. So far as preserved, the toichobate consists of a single row of stretchers. The width of this course, where it is finished on both sides, is *ca.* 0.69 m., though along the north side and



Fig. 162. Foundations for Colonnade of Hellenistic Metroon, North Part, from West

the west, where the earth filling rose high, the outer face was left rough. The surviving blocks are of random length: 0.98–1.35 m. They are carefully jointed, their ends finished with anathyrosis on both sides and across the top. The floor levels show that this course was intended to be fully exposed within the building. In the north room, where several blocks of the course are preserved, their inner faces are hammer dressed and retain their shifting bosses. The surviving blocks of the first and third rooms from the south present a picked surface toward the interior. In the top of the underlying poros course, so far as preserved, there are dowel cuttings for the toichobate only between the first and second





Fig. 103. North Wall of Hellenistic Metroon, from the Southwest



rooms from the south and across the back of the second room. These cuttings are exclusively for dowels to be leaded through pour-channels. They show great irregularity in placing; some blocks had two dowels, both on the same side, others had two dowels set on opposite sides, others were held by a single dowel, and still others, in the same wall, by none at all.

The disposition of the orthostates is well illustrated by the surviving blocks in the north wall shown in Figs. 103 and 105. Two slabs of hard gray poros set face to face



Fig. 104. Front Corner of a Shop in Stoa of Attalos

gave a wall thickness of *ca.* 0.58 m.<sup>1</sup> At this point, the outer face of the outer block was left quite rough, save for a drafted band on all four sides to facilitate the working and setting of the stone. The inner face of the wall was picked to receive stucco, which has completely vanished. Dove-tailed cuttings in their tops show that the two surviving blocks were secured to each other by two clamps and each to each of its now missing neighbors by a single clamp. There is no clue to the coursing of the upper wall. Slight as the wall

<sup>1</sup> The worked bedding on the toichobate shows that the thickness of the outer west wall of the north room was less, *ca.* 0.48 m.

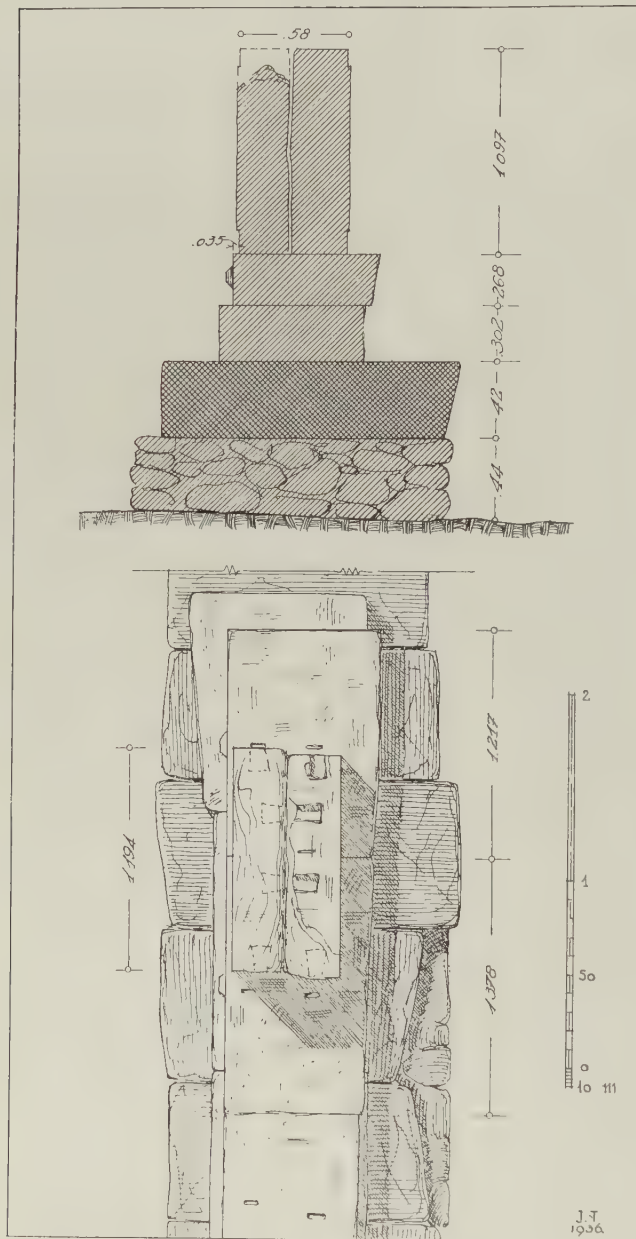


Fig. 105. Detail of North Wall of Hellenistic Metroon

seems at its base, its thickness was still less at the top, as shown by the epistyle blocks to be discussed below. The change in thickness presumably occurred between the lower and upper story.

The conglomerate subfoundations for the front wall were topped with a course of hard gray poros, *ca.* 0.43 m. thick, the blocks of random size being laid irregularly as headers and stretchers. They were carefully jointed and secured to one another by  $\sqcap$  clamps. On top of this course rests the toichobate of Hymettian marble, 0.235–0.24 m. in height.<sup>1</sup> The three southernmost blocks of this course (including half the threshold for the door of the first room) remain in position, and in the cuttings on their tops they have preserved some useful information regarding the wall and doorway (Fig. 106). Here too the double row of orthostates rested on the toichobate, forming a wall 0.638 m. thick at its base. The setting lines for the one orthostate of full size in this section indicate a width of 1.418 m. The outer face of the orthostates rose 0.04 m. from the edge of the toichobate. Its setting lines indicate for the door jamb a thickness of 0.365 m. and a width of 0.676 m. and show that it projected 0.038 m. beyond the outer face of

<sup>1</sup> The one complete block of the toichobate which remains has a length of 1.615 m. and a width of 0.84 m., its outer face being finished smooth with a toothed chisel, the shifting bosses carefully removed. Its inner face was left quite rough. Cuttings in the surface of the preserved blocks of the underlying course indicate that some at least of the blocks of the toichobate were double dowelled, *i.e.* from the end and through a channel.



the wall, the inner faces of wall and jamb being flush. On the analogy of the Stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos we might restore the front wall with a double course of orthostates of Hymettian marble capped by a string course of the same material on which would have rested the courses of poros with stuccoed surfaces.

The surviving threshold block has the same height as the adjoining toichobate but is 0.98 m. wide. Both its inner and outer faces are smooth dressed. The doorway, if centred



Fig. 106. Southeast Corner of South Room of Hellenistic Metroon, from the East

on the front of the room, must have had a clear width of *ca.* 1.90 m. A similar doorway may be restored for the third room from the south. No symmetrical relation exists between the columns of the porch and the front entrances of the rooms.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A slight miscalculation on the part of the architect is betrayed by a double group of setting lines on the surviving threshold and the toichobate to the south of it. The lines which were not used would have meant placing the door jamb 0.12 m. to the south of the position which it actually occupied as proved by the dressed bedding and pry holes. His mistake cost him the trouble of cutting another dowel hole and pour channel for one of the orthostates.



The toichobate for the wall that closed the south end of the porch has completely disappeared, but its width is fixed at *ca.* 1.30 m. by the cutting in the foundations of the Propylon on the one side and the cuttings for the dowels and their pour-channels on the other.<sup>1</sup> Hence the toichobate was sufficiently wide to have carried not only the wall but also a bench set at its foot. At the north end of the porch, although nothing remains above the conglomerate subfoundations, a similar arrangement may be restored.



Fig. 107. Junction of Propylon and Hellenistic Metroon, from the Northeast

#### COLONNADE<sup>2</sup>

In planning the foundations for his colonnade, the architect was faced with the problem that constantly arose in this part of the Agora, *viz.* how to adjust his building to a marked

<sup>1</sup> In the restoration we have suggested for this place a wall of the same thickness as that indicated by the surviving orthostates in the north wall of the building, *i.e.* 0.58 m., measured through the orthostates. We shall discover that this dimension exceeds by *ca.* 0.018 m. the lower diameter of the column with which, hypothetically, the anta should have agreed. It is possible, therefore, that the thickness of the side wall between front wall and anta was actually somewhat reduced.

<sup>2</sup> For an earlier discussion of this part of the building, see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 131 ff.

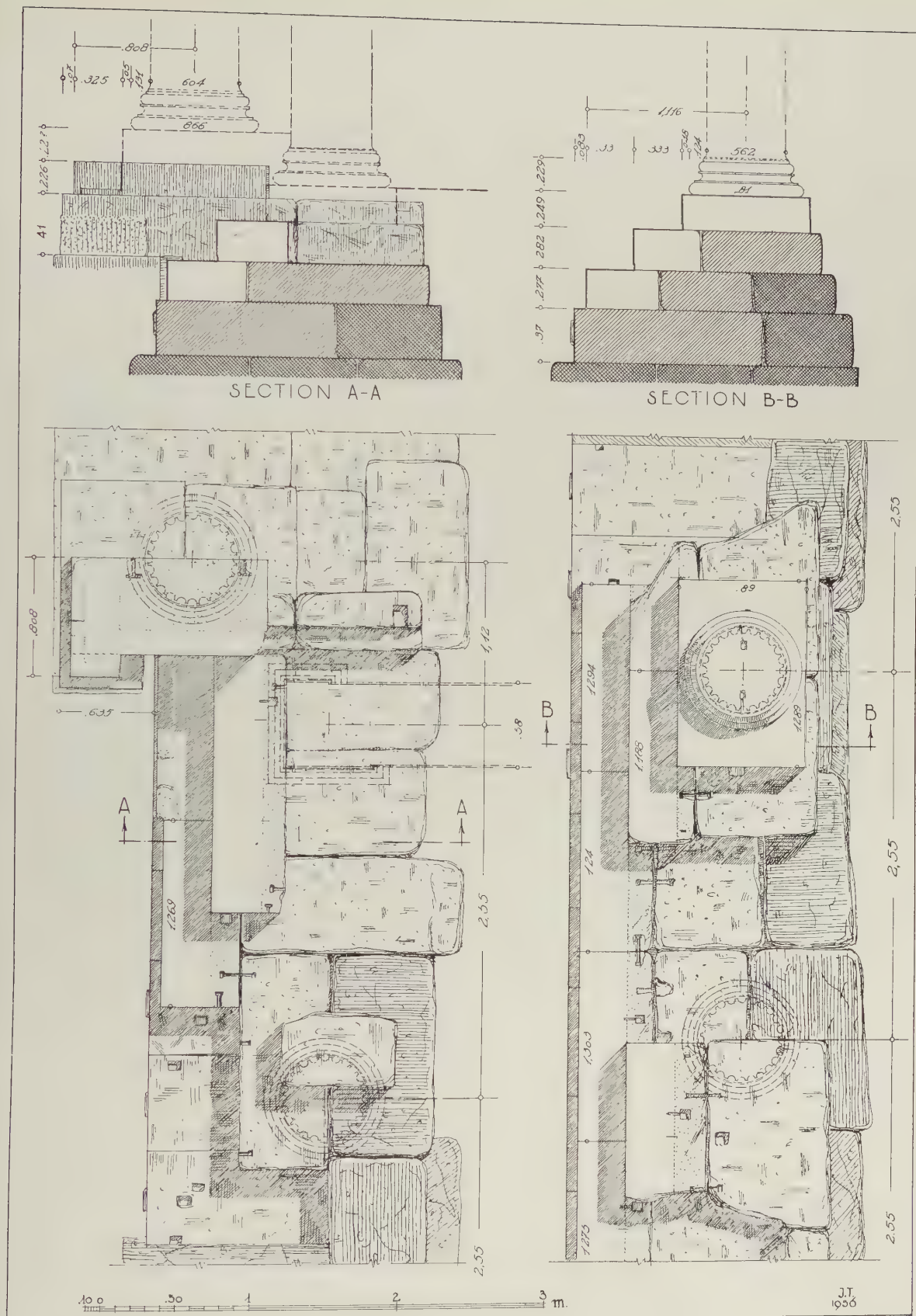



Fig. 108. Details of Colonnade of Hellenistic Metroon and Propylon



slope in ground level from south to north. He solved the problem in the usual way, by a compromise: the euthynteria at the south end of the building was set at a lower level than that suggested by the contemporary ground level; at the north end an extra course of poros blocks was inserted below the euthynteria proper and its face was dressed so as to be presentable. It will be clear from Figs. 107 and 108 that the first step of the new colonnade was set *ca.* 0.71 m. lower than the first step of the adjoining Propylon. Instead of inserting a terrace wall, as he might have done, the Hellenistic architect simply allowed his entire first marble step and much of his second to be buried in earth for a short distance at their south ends. That he did so deliberately is shown by the unfinished condition of both the face and tread of the first step at this point.

The euthynteria is of hard gray poros cut in blocks 0.37 m. high, laid as headers. The additional visible course introduced in the north part of the foundation is of the same material but 0.47 m. high. On the outer faces of many blocks of both these courses, large shifting bosses were left. No clamps or dowels appear at this level. As in the walls, poros regularly intervenes between conglomerate and marble so that the first two marble steps have each a backer of that material. The steps themselves are of Hymettian marble with the dimensions, as taken where all three survive together, shown in Fig. 108. Variations of some millimeters occur both in height and in breadth. The columns stood each in the middle of its stylobate block. A close but not precise correspondence is to be noted in the jointing of stylobate and steps, the individual blocks varying several centimeters in length. The steps were secured with great care. Every step block was bound to its backer by two  clamps and to each of its marble neighbors by a single clamp. And each marble block was double dowelled to the stone beneath: once from the open end and again by an inside dowel leaded through a pour-channel running back from the face of the block.

The one column base that remains in position (the only one thus far found) is secured to the stylobate by means of two dowels leaded through pour-channels and the base drum of the column was likewise secured by two dowels. The dimensions and the profile of the base are illustrated in Fig. 108, where the lower part of the column is restored on the basis of a few small scraps found nearby. Its lower diameter was 0.562 m. and it was cut with 24 flutings. Both base and shaft are of Pentelic marble, carefully worked.

The number of intercolumniations is fixed at 15 by the spacing of the deep foundation piers. The irregularity in the lengths of the preserved step and stylobate blocks suggests that there may have been corresponding anomalies in the actual column spacing. On our restored plan, however, we have used an ideal intercolumniation of 2.55 m. calculated from the actual distance of 38.25 m. between the axes of the north and south walls of the building. A comparison of the intercolumniation with the length of the return of the euthynteria along the north side will at once show that an *in antis* rather than a prostyle arrangement is demanded at the north end of the porch, and a symmetrical arrangement may be assumed at the south end.

The crude manner in which the first step and the euthynteria of the Propylon were cut away to accommodate the wall and steps of the new building is adequately illustrated in



Figs. 107 and 108.<sup>1</sup> From the deep wear on the corner of the abbreviated step one may conclude that not a little traffic chose this awkward but direct passage between Propylon and Metroon. The rough trimmed rear edge of the stylobate indicates that the floor of the porch was either of packed earth or of plaster.

#### EPISTYLE

Of the epistyle, three blocks have so far come to light, all of them shown, by their shortness and by the finish of their undersides and by their preserved angles, to have rested

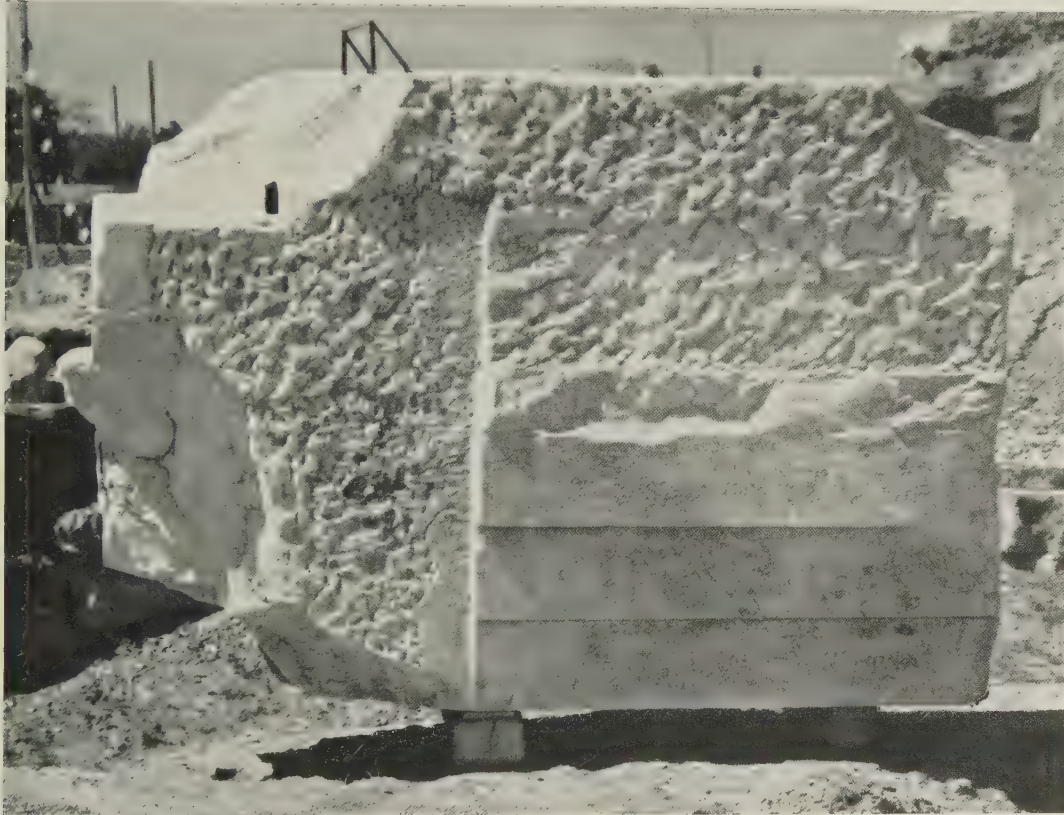


Fig. 109. (A 264) Epistyle from the Hellenistic Metroon

above outside walls. The material is Pentelic marble. The workmanship, of its period, is good: the exposed plain faces are finished with a toothed chisel but edged with a smooth band *ca.* 0.01 m. wide. The surfaces of the mouldings too are smooth dressed. The vertical joints are finished with well cut anathyrosis, the horizontal with bearing and relieving

<sup>1</sup> The northeast corner of the first step of the Propylon was saved, apparently only by an afterthought, for the scratched guide line for its cutting was carried out to the east face of the step.

surfaces. The face of the architrave toward both the inside and outside was cut with three fasciae and the architrave divided from the frieze by a simple moulding consisting of a cavetto above an ovolo. Toward the outside, the face of the frieze is smooth; toward the inside it is unfinished and was obviously concealed by the ceiling. Nothing remains of the crowning moulding of the frieze. The surviving blocks are of two thicknesses and it may be presumed that the thicker come from those walls which were left heavier in their upper parts in order to bear a greater share of the weight of the roof. No dentils appear on the

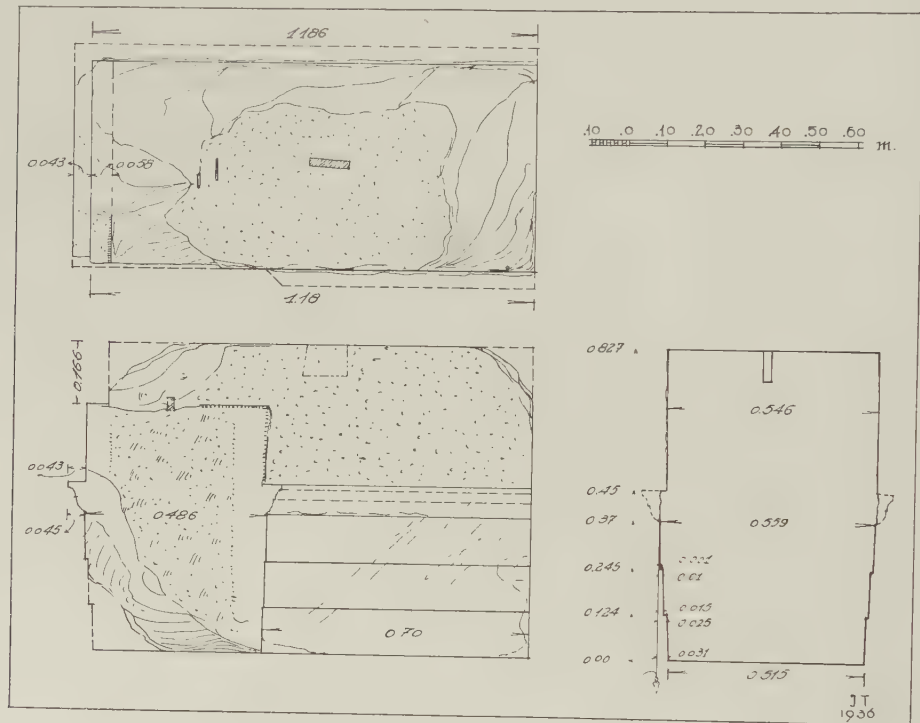


Fig. 110. (A 264) Epistyle of Hellenistic Metroon

cornice, though pieces exist from both front and lateral horizontal geisa. That dentils were used is suggested by the width of the anathyrosis on that part of the cornice which must have rested above them. Presumably they were cut in separate blocks to be inserted between epistyle and cornice. In the case of the thinner epistyle blocks, the crowning moulding of the frieze was apparently cut in the same piece with the dentils.

#### Epistyle blocks:

1. A 264. Figs. 109, 110.

Found by us, as left by previous excavators, toward the middle of the south side of the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon. Original length preserved. A corner block, 0.515 m. on under surface, cut to receive a neighboring block 0.468 m. thick. On the long side, the crowning moulding of the frieze was cut in one piece with the block but has been completely broken away; on the short side this moulding was cut on a thin facing strip and inserted in a rabbet. On the neigh-

boring block the same moulding and presumably also the dentils were cut from a separate block. The two main blocks were held together by a single clamp, the cutting for which runs down at a steep angle into the joint face of the preserved stone. In the middle of the top of the block a lewis cutting, slightly undercut on one side only. Pry holes for the next member. This block may come from the southwest corner of the room in which it was found, possibly from the northwest corner of the north room.

2. A 271. Fig. 111.

Found in a mediaeval foundation wall in front of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion. Original length preserved. The top surface is broken away, but the original height may be calculated as *ca.* 0.815 m., from the lower part of a lewis cutting that remains in the middle of the top. Calculated width of the underside, 0.52 m. Crowning moulding of frieze on outer face broken away. Inside face of frieze unfinished. In the top surface, to either side of the lewis cutting, is a trace of a broad transverse cutting, sunk in one case as deep as the lewis hole, in the other not so deep. Probably from the south side of the main building.

3. A 208. Fig. 112.


Found in a modern foundation just south of the Stoa of Attalos, immediately east of the "Valerian Wall." One end is broken away, but the original length is fixed at *ca.* 1.00 m. by the lewis cutting (similar to that in Block 1) in the top surface. A corner block, 0.449 m. wide on its underside, cut to receive a neighboring block 0.519 m. wide. Its height (0.682 m.) is approximately equal to that of the (missing) thin neighbor of Block 1. The final dressing was not completed toward the preserved end of the long side. On the inner face is a beam cutting, its bottom at the level of the top moulding between architrave and frieze. Across the top of the block, in line with the beam cutting, is a transverse channel 0.026 m. deep, preserved to a width of 0.12 m., reminiscent of the cuttings in the top of Block 2. One might assign this piece to the southwest corner of the building where its unfinished face would have been screened by the neighboring Bouleuterion.

## CORNICE


Two large and several smaller fragments of cornice found in or near the building may, from their correspondence in dimensions and workmanship, be associated with the epistyle blocks of the Hellenistic Metroon. The material, again, is Pentelic marble, the jointing and surface finish are, for the period, good.

### Cornice blocks:

1. A 257. Figs. 113, 114.

Found by us, as left by previous excavators, near the southwest corner of the Hellenistic Metroon. One end and back broken away. The end block of a horizontal front cornice preserving the spring of a tympanum. A cyma reversa for bed moulding and the same, surmounted by an ovolo (?), for the nosing of the corona. Two  clamps held the block to its neighbor of the front horizontal cornice, one of the same kind to the first block of the tympanum proper. It will be noted that the joint surface looking toward the first tympanum block has been roughly cut back 0.022 m., presumably to make room for that block which may have been cut too long on the ground. The faulty joint would not, of course, have been visible from below. The block is too small and too readily transportable for its place of finding to be taken as decisive for its position in the building.

2. A 671. Fig. 115.

Found in a mediaeval foundation above the Bouleuterion Propylon. One end and most of the corona missing. From a horizontal lateral geison. In the back are two cuttings for rafters. The block was secured to its neighbor by a  clamp. Top deeply weathered. The position of this block in the building depends, naturally, on the scheme of roofing, which is quite uncertain.



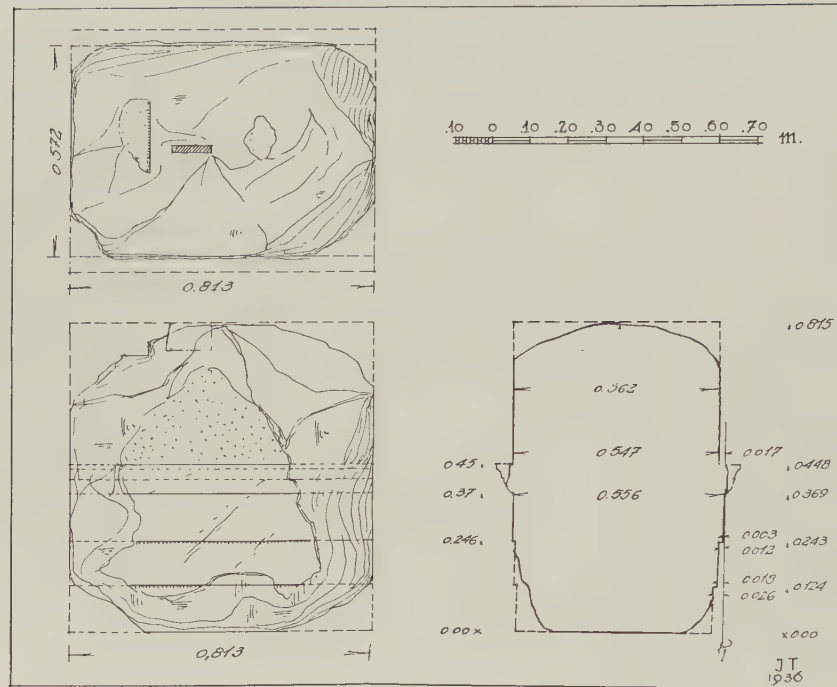


Fig. 111. (A 271) Epistyle of Hellenistic Metroon

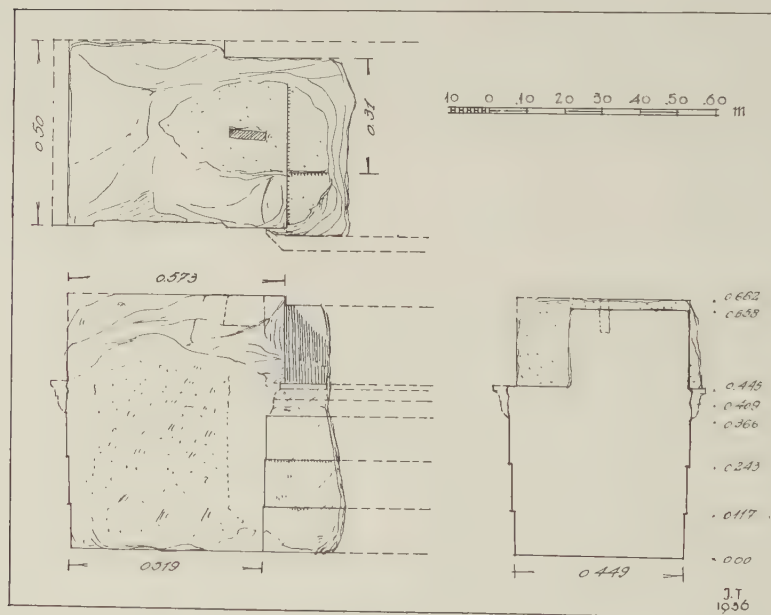


Fig. 112. (A 208) Epistyle of Hellenistic Metroon



Fig. 113. (A 257) Cornice Block from the Hellenistic Metroon

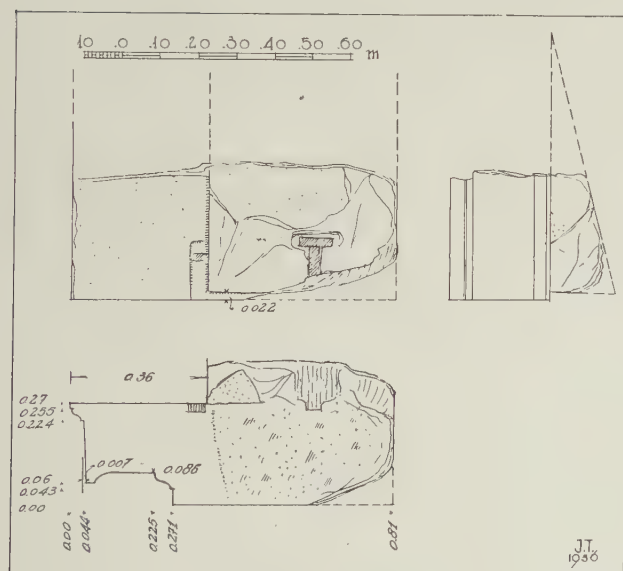


Fig. 114. (A 257) Cornice Block of Hellenistic Metroon

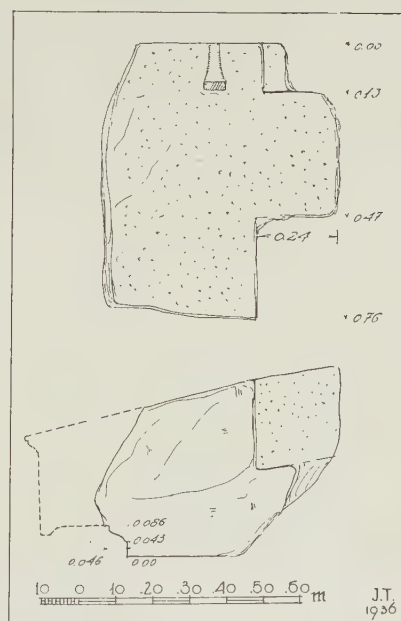


Fig. 115. (A 671) Cornice Block of Hellenistic Metroon

## PLAN OF INTERIOR

We have already observed that the whole architectural scheme and the relationship between the Hellenistic Metroon and the New Bouleuterion point to the second room from the south of the Metroon as a new approach to the Bouleuterion. And this restoration provides the simplest explanation for the interior cross foundation in the room: shown by the bonding of its blocks to be an original part of the structure. If we place the front wall of the room on this line, we shall greatly add to the monumentality of the scheme by setting a pair of columns *in antis* in the line of the main front of the building. This consideration alone must justify our restoration, for a glance at the plan will show that nothing remains of columns, stylobate or thresholds.

There is no clue to the original interior arrangement of the adjoining rooms. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that these three small rooms rose to a height of two stories as the north room certainly did. The walls of all four are of the same thickness. Stairways of wood may have completely disappeared.

That the restoration of the interior of the north room suggested in Pl. VIII represents the original arrangement may be taken as reasonably certain. This is best demonstrated by the interlocking of inner and outer foundations at one point in the northeast corner of the room (Pl. VI, Fig. 116). The particular section of the interior foundations here involved is thoroughly typical of the rest in its free use of earlier material (poros and limestone blocks) supplemented by large chips and even field stones.

We have, then, in the original arrangement a central peristyle court, a colonnaded entrance with a stairway on either side leading up to the second story, and a series of three small rooms set against the west side. Despite the impression that one might gather from the plan alone, the precise correspondence in material, workmanship and coursing leaves no doubt that this annex-like projection is contemporary with the rest of the building.

For the restoration of the entrance the evidence is scanty, but the small compartments in the front corners of the room, because of their limited size and the thinness of their walls, suggest nothing if not stairways. The existence of the inner transverse wall that joins the extremities of the stairways is demanded by a few surviving stones and by considerations of symmetry. This established, we can scarcely do other than place columns in the line of the main front wall. Some additional color is lent to such a restoration by the close correspondence in width between the front of the second room from the south and the interval between the stairways in the north room. Precisely the same arrangement of columns could have been used in both.

Of the stylobate for the peristyle some ten blocks remain, both whole and fragmentary. Many of them have been shifted and re-used in a late Roman reconstruction but two remain in position in the north side. One of these preserves the setting marks of a column from which we may gather that the peristyle numbered four columns to the side with an interaxial spacing of 2.40 m. on the north and south, 2.52 m. on the east and west. The stylobate blocks are all of Hymettian marble and resemble in their workmanship those of



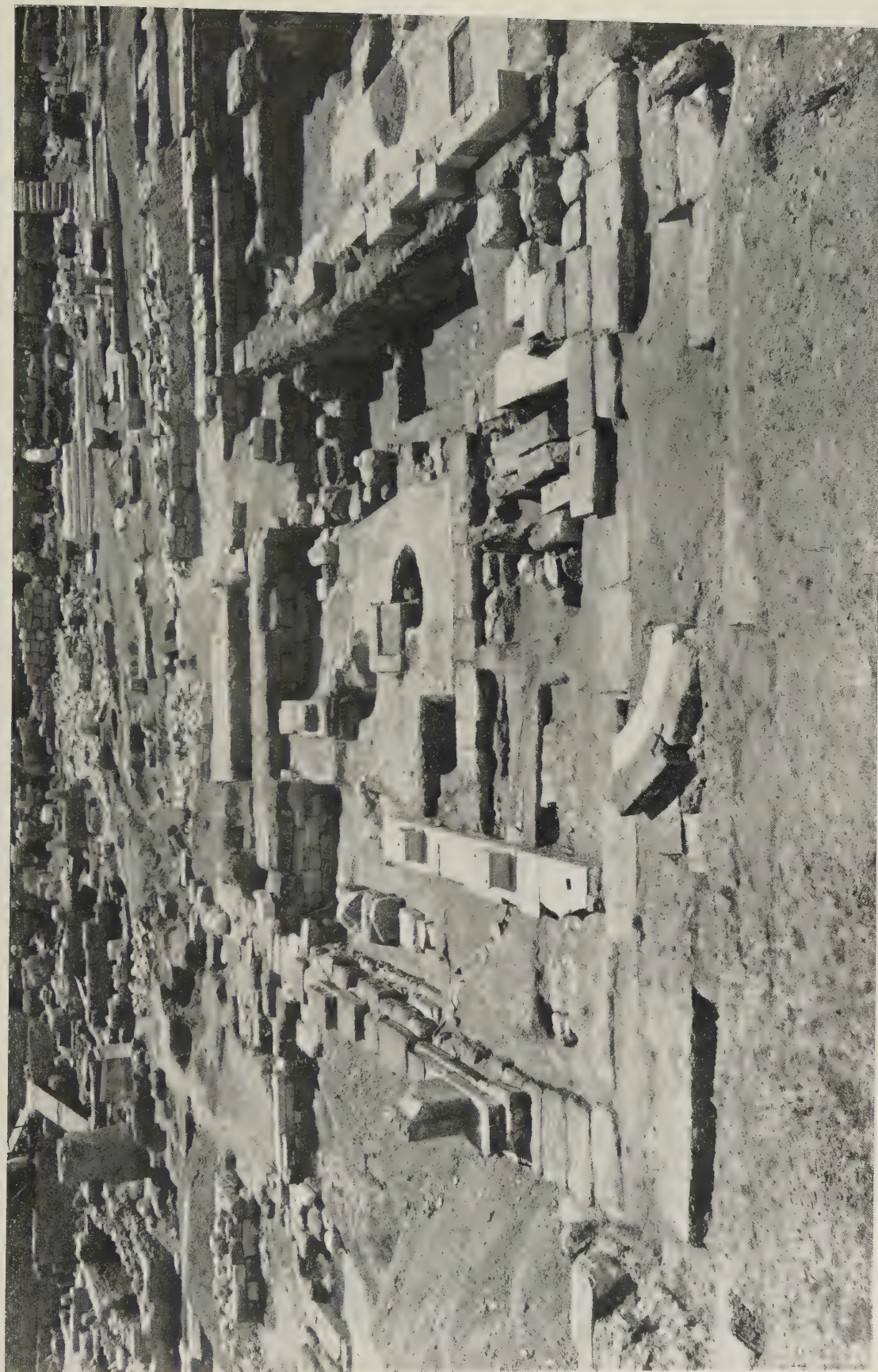


Fig. 116. North Room of Hellenistic Metroon, from the West

the front colonnade of the building.<sup>1</sup> Two corner blocks may be distinguished, both mutilated. They show, however, that the corners were turned in one piece and that both broad and narrow stylobate blocks belong to the same system, since both widths are combined in one block.<sup>2</sup> For the setting of the columns, a centre point was punched in the top of the stylobate and four short radial marks were incised in the line of the periphery. The column was secured to the stylobate by means of two dowels set in square cuttings and leaded through pour-channels with curved bottoms. The outer, exposed ends of the channels were carefully turned away from the court so as not to be visible from there. From the setting and pressure lines on the stylobate we may reckon the lower diameter of the columns at *ca.* 0.64 m. and presume that they were Doric, without bases, and unfluted at least in their lower parts. Small fragments of unfluted shafts of Hymettian marble have been found in the neighborhood but no certainly recognizable capitals nor parts of the entablature.

In the middle of the central court is a rectangular foundation ( $1.30 \times 1.67$  m.) consisting of a single course of three poros blocks of irregular size. The area between the rectangular base and the stylobate is floored with mosaic made, like the late floor in the temple of Zeus and Athena, from chips of Pentelic marble of an average length of 0.05 m. They are packed in and rest on a thin bedding of crumbly lime mortar, which, in turn, overlies a packing of stone chips. From its style and comparative freshness this mosaic would seem certainly not to be the original flooring. Of an earlier floor, however, nothing has been detected. Yet the existing mosaic must antedate the destruction of the building and its reconstruction in late Roman times, for in this last period the colonnaded court was carried farther west, but no trace of the chip mosaic is found outside the original square. The space between stylobate and outer wall must have been floored always with packed earth or possibly with a simple layer of plaster studded with pebbles. In the underside of one of the stylobate blocks that remains in position in the north side, a channel was cut, 0.15 m. wide, 0.09 m. high, with an arched top. The precision and care with which the cutting was done would seem to dissociate it from the late Roman reconstruction and the terracotta drain pipe that was then laid up to the same point in the stylobate. We may suppose, therefore, that the neatly cut opening served for the drainage of the court in its original period. Of the earlier drain pipe, however, nothing has been found.

In restoring the plan of the western part of the north room, we have in position a couple of the poros blocks of the foundation for the cross wall between the middle and

<sup>1</sup> In height they vary from 0.225 m. to 0.245 m., in length from 0.99 m. to something over 2.00 m. One group was finished on top to a width of 0.70 m., the others were not finished along their back edges and they vary in width from 0.80 to 0.93 m. Their fronts are hammer dressed above and edged below by a drafted band, 0.03 to 0.045 m. wide. The tops, especially of those that carried columns, are carelessly dressed, the hammer marks showing prominently.

<sup>2</sup> We may infer, in view of the width of those blocks that remain *in situ*, that the blocks only of the east and west sides were trimmed along their back edges, obviously because they were the more conspicuous to one traversing the room from front to back.



northern compartments, the cutting in bedrock for the corresponding wall between the middle and southern divisions. These small cells were approached from the main north room over two steps. Of these, the lower was of poros, as shown by three surviving blocks. The step was 0.285 m. high, 0.29 m. wide. From the position of the surviving blocks and from the uniformity of the subfoundation, it appears that this lower step was carried across the entire west end of the main north room. The upper step, as shown by the level of the top of the surviving block of the north division wall, must have been *ca.* 0.235 m. high, *i.e.* approximately of the same height as the stylobate of the court. Presumably it too was of Hymettian marble. The exact arrangement of the fronts of the small rooms must remain conjectural. The presence of the continuous step would suggest, however, that they were left as open as was consistent with the necessity of supporting the main west wall of the building on this line.

We have thus far taken it for granted that the central area was a court, open to the sky. The presumption would seem to be justified by the difference in level between the middle and lateral parts of the room, which would be difficult otherwise to explain, and still more by the drain channel beneath the stylobate. Satisfactory parallels for the whole scheme can be found among the contemporary houses of Delos. Our north room, indeed, with its peristyle court and its "exedrae" facing in from one side looks very much like a section lifted out of one of the more pretentious island dwellings. On Delos too one will find the most suggestive parallels for the disposition of the upper story. Definite evidence from the building itself is completely lacking. We may presume, however, from the thinness of its walls that the west part of the north room was but a single story in height and was covered with a lean-to roof set against the main west wall of the building. We may also suppose that the floor of the second story extended over the area occupied by the forehall below. It was perhaps omitted above the corresponding area to the west, *i.e.* between the west colonnade and the main west wall, so that spectators in the gallery might have an unobstructed view into the central exedra which would seem to have been the focal point of the whole scheme.

#### ROOFING

A series of stamped roof tiles, of which sixteen have thus far been recognized from their inscriptions, may be assigned to the building under discussion by reason of their collective provenance. Five have been found in the area between the front of the building and the Great Drain; one at the southeast corner of the Temple of Apollo; one above the Great Drain due east of the Bouleuterion Propylon; one in the gravel filling of the Great Drain to the southeast of the Propylon; three on the Square of the New Bouleuterion; one near the northwest corner of the "South Stoa"; one in the area of the "Fountain House" and two among the burnt debris of the Odeion. It will be apparent that our present building may well have been the centre of distribution and it is the only structure in the area indicated which could possibly answer to the description on the tiles.



None of the tiles preserves its dimensions complete. The largest fragment, from a tegula, shows a length of over 0.475 m. and width of over 0.30 m. The fragments, especially of tegulae, vary greatly in thickness: 0.02–0.04 m. A cross section of tegula and imbrex is shown in Fig. 117. The clay is either buff or pale yellow in color and contains much grit. One of the fragments shows a surfacing of fine yellow clay. The rectangular stamp ( $0.188 \times 0.038$  m.) was regularly impressed lengthwise of the tile on its upper, exposed surface (Fig. 118). The inscription, *ἱερὸν Μητρὶ Θεῶν | Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος*, presumably furnishes us with the names of the tile-makers.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence so far available is insufficient to enable us to speak with any assurance about the roofing scheme of the building. It would seem obvious, however, that the front colonnade, which was lower certainly than the north room, should have been covered as a separate unit with a lean-to roof. The western part of the north room, as noted above, would have been treated in a similar way. The main part of the north room, again, was presumably regarded as a separate unit, with a single-pitched roof sloping in from each of the four sides. We may infer from the cornice block with the spring of a tympanum that a gabled front rose above some remaining part of the building, but just where we cannot say.

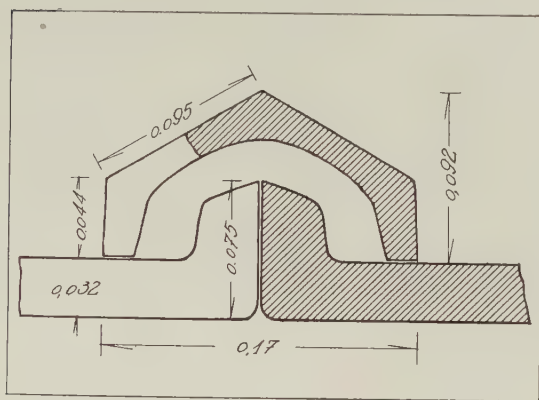


Fig. 117. (A 164, 187) Scheme of Tiles of Hellenistic Metroon

#### DATING

The study of the plan, as already observed, shows that the Hellenistic Metroon postdates both the New Bouleuterion and its Propylon and cannot therefore be earlier than the early third century. Actually, in point of construction, the building finds its closest parallel in the Stoa of Attalos II (159–138 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> With that building it shares the typically Hellenistic choice and disposition of material: conglomerate, hard gray poros, Hymettian and Pentelic marble. The two buildings show close similarity, moreover, in the working of the material: in both, marble faces are finished with a fine-toothed chisel and edged with a smooth band; the poros faces of both are picked in much the same way for the reception of stucco; lifting bosses are left in both buildings in conspicuous places; in both, horizontal

<sup>1</sup> Two tiles bearing the same inscription were found long ago above a burial on the Mouseion Hill (*I. G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 4870). We cannot say whether these were taken from the sanctuary in the Agora or from another property of the Mother marked by a rock-cut inscription on the west slope of that hill. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>3</sup>, p. 398. The name of Dionysios recurs on the tiles of the Odeion in the Agora. The discovery of a couple of the Mother's tiles in the debris of the Odeion would further suggest that the two buildings were being roofed or re-roofed at approximately the same time.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 137.

joint surfaces are finished with broad, shallow anathyrosis (cf. Figs. 103 and 104). The clamping and dowelling of the steps and columns are almost identical in the two buildings. One may note especially the use of face and channel dowels to secure the opposite ends of the blocks and the characteristic slightly dove-tailed cuttings for the hook clamps.<sup>1</sup> In both buildings much the same system of setting lines and of dowels was used in placing column bases and columns and the surviving threshold of the Metroon resembles in shape and workmanship those of the Stoa. The mouldings of the Metroon, though by no means

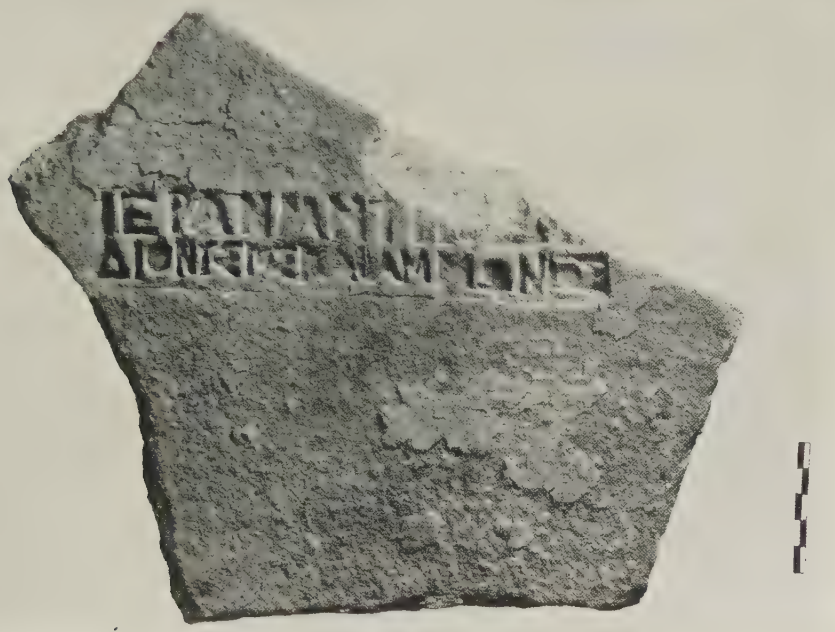


Fig. 118. (A 304) Inscribed Roof Tile from Hellenistic Metroon

identical with those of the Stoa in profile, exhibit, like those, a certain harsh angularity and slackness commonly found in the second century.

Comparison with the Tower of the Winds of the mid first century B.C. and the Market of Caesar and Augustus of the late first century will show that the Metroon, in the simplicity of its mouldings and in the quality of its workmanship is closer than they to the old classical tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Clamps were more freely used in the steps of the Metroon than in those of the Stoa and, in contrast with those of the Metroon, the Stoa walls are unclamped. In the surviving parts of the original Metroon I find no parallels for the cuttings for  $\rightarrow$  dowels to be noted in the Stoa of Attalos. In the Stoa they alternate with regular dowels in the blocks of the front steps and stylobate and they occur throughout the entablature. The dove-tailed cuttings, without vertical sinkings at the extremities, which are numerous in the poros parts of the Metroon, do not appear in the Stoa, but they are found in the marble wall blocks of the Tower of the Winds.

Further help in dating is available from the objects extracted from about the foundations of the building. The material, however, is limited in amount, since the new foundations were, for the most part, simply set down in narrow trenches cut through the existing ground level, and little or no additional filling was required. The foundations have been exposed in various exploratory trenches cut along the south and north sides of the building, along the inner side of the colonnade, and on either side of its front wall. Two Athenian bronze coins have been found in significant places which they must have reached during the construction. One is dated before 261 B.C., the other is assigned by Mrs. Shear to the period 339–297 B.C. A Knidian amphora handle (SS 5527) bears the name of a fabricant who was active during the second half of the second and early first

centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup> The other pottery from these exploratory trenches has been of two kinds. Most of it, naturally, is early, chiefly of the sixth century, from the earlier filling which was dug up and then thrown back into the footing trenches by the later builders. But scattered pieces of Hellenistic pottery also occur. Since there were no private houses in the immediate vicinity and since the city scavengers would presumably have regularly cleared away any accumulation of such rubbish as broken pottery, we may presume that the Hellenistic vases represented by our sherds came from the lunch kits of the workmen engaged on the building. Actually, the fragments from the various trenches agree precisely in fabric and profile and they come exclusively from plain plates and bowls and water jars such as those from which the modern Greek workman takes his midday

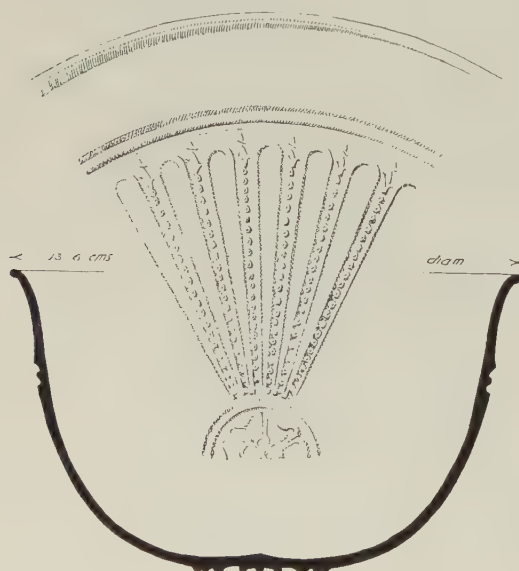


Fig. 119. Megarian Bowl from Footing Trench of Hellenistic Metroon

lunch and his water. Could we date this pottery with precision, we should have excellent evidence for the time of construction. In general, the material would seem to fall between Groups D and E published in a previous number of this Journal.<sup>2</sup> A Megarian bowl is illustrated in Fig. 119 as one of the latest pieces to be associated with the building.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀναξάνδρου, Κνιδίου (club). Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 259, nos. 164–167, p. 241. Further evidence for the dating of Anaxandros which has accumulated since 1934 has been kindly communicated to me by Miss Grace.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 369 ff., 392 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P 3661. In the medallion a double rosette from which radiate long petals separated by jewelled lines tipped with conventionalized flowers. Upper zone replaced by two grooves. No groove beneath rim. Glaze thin and metallic. Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 383, D 40.



A date around the middle of the second century B.C. was proposed for Group D referred to above, while Group E would appear to date from the end of the second and the early first century. The material from the Metroon may safely be placed in the second half of the second century. It seems to be slightly later than the pottery that has been found in extensive soundings made in the Stoa of Attalos. No fragment of a Megarian bowl of the long-petalled variety has yet come from the Stoa.

Combining the architectural evidence with that derived from the foundation filling, we may place the construction of the building in the third quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem impossible to say whether the tiles that bear the name of the Mother come from the original construction or from a repair. Neither the scheme of the tiles nor the style of lettering affords a close chronological criterion. The mosaic floor in the north room is shown, by a few sherds found in the packing beneath it, to be not earlier than the second century A.D.

For the date of the destruction of the building little evidence on the site itself has survived the residence of late Roman and mediaeval people and the activities of previous excavators. It is significant, however, that several of the roof tiles stamped with the name of the Mother have been found in the lowest débris above the old classical floor of the market place, in contexts as early as of the third century A.D. We have already observed that an epistyle block from the building has been found to the south of the Stoa of Attalos along the line of the "Valerian" wall. Beyond any reasonable doubt, it was carried off by the builders of that wall, which, as noted above, appears to date from the late third or early fourth century A.D. We may, then, safely infer that the Metroon too suffered from the Herulians in 267 A.D. and thereafter contributed its quota of blocks to the construction of the new city wall. That the damage then inflicted on the building was severe is to be inferred not only from the loss of a main epistyle block but also from the peculiar way in which subsequent rebuilders made good the lack of wall material in one of the rooms (p. 197).

#### LATE ROMAN RECONSTRUCTION

In various parts of the building are traces of repairs and rearrangements which bear the stamp of late Roman times, and which probably occurred within a fairly short space of time during the late renaissance of this part of the city.

In the north room (Fig. 116), the rebuilders opened the original square of the peristyle on its west side and carried the north and south sides westward to the wall of the main room. For these extensions they laid foundations of broken stone and old building blocks and tiles bedded in lime mortar. The old stylobate blocks were rudely trimmed to fit the new space. That the north and south foundations were now carried eastward as well is doubtful, for no trace of concrete work remains in that region. The west part of the north

<sup>1</sup> A post-Sullan date is made improbable by the almost complete absence of broken sculpture, inscriptions, etc. elsewhere observed in the foundations of structures erected soon after the sack of 86 B.C.

room would seem not to have been rebuilt. In its middle compartment, however, a series of Hellenistic exedra benches of Hymettian marble was set down and was made to open through the back wall into the central court. Of the exedra there remain two blocks of the marble bench and two of the heavy backing blocks of poros (Fig. 120).<sup>1</sup>

The precise arrangement of the interior colonnade in this period can no longer be determined. The columns would seem to have stood on top of old bases gathered from



Fig. 120. Marble Bench in North Room of Reconstructed Metroon, from the Southwest

<sup>1</sup> The bench proper was made in six sections, each of which had its own profiled foot at either end. The marble blocks rest partly on a ledge cut in the top of the bedding blocks of the old cross wall, partly on earth. The backers were cut from re-used building blocks. The two which remain were fastened to each other by means of a large dove-tailed clamp. For the setting of these backers the inner orthostate of the old west wall was partly broken away and pushed out of alignment. Nothing remains to show how the exedra was incorporated into the west wall of the room. Their workmanship and cuttings in their undersides for  $\neg$  dowels very much like those in the Stoa of Attalos suggest that the benches in their original use were perhaps contemporary with the Stoa. That the seats were not prepared for their present position is made obvious by the fact that there can have been no underlying block to support the dowel in the north end of one of the benches.

elsewhere for the purpose. Of the two that remain, one was a statue base of Hymettian marble. Across one face of the block, in letters of the second century B.C. runs the artist's signature: ΕΡΜΙΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΞΟΥΝΙΕΥΣ ΕΡΟΗΣΕΝ. This block is in position as laid by the rebuilders, for it is cemented to the stylobate by a thin layer of crumbly mortar. Its centre lies 2.80 m. from the east face of the toichobate of the main west wall of the room. The other base was found displaced.

That the central part of the room in its latest period was open to the sky is sufficiently proven by the provision for its drainage. Beneath the stylobate of the north side a drain hole was cut in the euthynteria immediately below the original drain channel and a rectangular terracotta pipe was thrust into it from the outside. This pipe made its exit from the building through a channel cut in the first course of conglomerate blocks in the north wall. As it leaves the wall it swings toward the northeast, undoubtedly to join the larger terracotta drain which ran eastward to the great stone drain (Fig. 126). Just before passing through the outer wall, the rectangular pipe is joined by another of similar size and shape of which the course may be traced through the west part of the north room to a point in the passage between the Metroon and New Bouleuterion. It was undoubtedly intended for the drainage of the late Roman reconstruction of the latter building. The way in which the pipe is carried under the lines of the late marble stylobate shows it to be contemporary with that construction.<sup>1</sup>

In the third room from the south enough remains to tell us something of its later history. In the general destruction of the building, the walls of this room too would seem to have gone down and much of their material to have disappeared. Those who came later to recondition the room, instead of providing new material to make good all their losses, found it easier to lower the floor level inside the room by 1.42 m. toward the west, 1.63 m. in the eastern part, and so to use that much of the old foundations as side walls. Toward the south edge of the room two long channels were cut side by side, partly in the soft bedrock, partly in the ancient earth filling (Pl. VI). They are *ca.* 0.55 m. wide and have a maximum depth of *ca.* 0.35 m. The southern of the two is *ca.* 6.70 m. long and the northern *ca.* 7.20 m. The walls of the trenches were covered with a crumbly lime plaster which served to bind the earth and soft stone. The westernmost 0.62 m. of the northern channel is slightly wider than the remaining part from which it is cut off by a fragment of roofing tile set on edge. The bottom and side walls of both trenches were blackened by fire. On the floor of the northern lay a mass of firm, red-burned earth. Above this came a layer of loose rubbish containing charcoal and ashes and many bones from chickens or other large birds. This in turn was overlaid by a little fire-reddened earth and the whole

<sup>1</sup> Where it passes under the northern of the two stylobates, the drain channel was protected by a tall stele of Hymettian marble (I 4266) laid lengthwise of the drain, its lettered face down and so perfectly preserved. The slab bears an honorary decree of the third century B.C., which, according to its text, was to be set up "in front of the Synhedrion." The size and perfect preservation of the stone make it probable that it was not carried far from its original place. Nor, indeed, at the time to which we must assign this late repair, would there have been any dearth of such material in the immediate vicinity.



was covered by the packing for the mosaic. The rectangular compartment at the west end showed no trace of burning on its floor but was filled with fire-reddened earth.

The simplest explanation of this arrangement would appear to be that the ruinous building had been reconditioned to accommodate a tavern or cheap eating place, the meat for which would have been broiled on spits above the long fireplaces. Comparable arrangements are common in modern Greece.



Fig. 121. Mosaic in Reconstructed Metroon, from the West

The room was subsequently improved by the laying of a mosaic floor which covered over and so put out of use the long fireplaces (Figs. 121, 122). The central part of the mosaic is a broad panel running east and west but not on the axis of the room. Quatrefoils formed by interlacing circles and punctuated by small squares fill the panel. Along its north and west sides the central panel is bordered by a band of ivy-leaf pattern and by a second band of solid circles joined by a line passing through their centres. These borders are separated from each other and from the central panel by narrow stripes. At its east end, the central panel terminated at the foot of a broad stairway which, so far as

one can now determine, provided the sole entrance to the room. Nothing remains of the stairway save a little of its mortar bedding. To the south of the stairway only the packing for the mosaic was found. At the west end the two border designs apparently continued south across the end of the room. For a distance of several meters the mosaic shows an original edge close along the south side of its broad central panel and from what remains toward the east it is clear that there was no mosaic over a space 0.55 m. wide. No satisfactory bedding for a wall remains nor is there any trace of the return of a wall either at



Fig. 122. Mosaic in Third Room from South of Reconstructed Metroon

the east or the west end. We may restore rather a long stone bench or something of the sort which could be explained only in relation to what occupied the south part of the room, now completely destroyed. The space between the central panel, the stairway and the east end of this hypothetical bench was filled by a panel of straight lines crossing diagonally with small squares set in the resulting large squares and small triangles in the lateral triangles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is obvious from the plan (Pl. VI) that the principal designs of the mosaic are far from lining with the sides of the room, nor can the divergence be justified by the irregularities of the walls. The individual tesserae vary greatly in shape and size; on an average they will be about 0.025 m. square. They are bedded in crumbly lime mortar containing much pounded brick. The ground of the mosaic is



Adequate drainage was provided by a terracotta channel leading out of the northeast corner, the point toward which the entire floor sloped. This channel, on leaving the northeast corner of the room, swerving north, passed through the limestone foundation of the sixth century Metroon (which must then have stood considerably higher than it now does) and thence made its way in a northeasterly direction through the foundations of the Hellenistic porch of the Metroon toward the great drain of the Agora.

The irregularities in the faces of the foundations, now forming the lower side walls of the rooms, were made good by stones set in mortar and the whole was covered with coarse plaster of which traces remain.

The interiors of the first and second rooms from the south have been too much disturbed for us to trace their history subsequent to the disaster of the third century A.D. That they too were reconditioned is made probable by the survival of many blocks of the toichobate and underlying course which would presumably otherwise have been removed for the reconstruction of the northern rooms. The condition of the front porch of the building in the period of these interior rearrangements is also problematic. For the tile drain which served the room with the mosaic floor, a tunnel was painstakingly pierced through the Hellenistic foundations of the colonnade. That the blocks were not rather pulled out suggests that the marble steps were still in position, but whether they continued to carry their columns or now served merely to support a terrace in front of the four rooms is uncertain.

For the date of the reconstruction the best evidence consists of a group of fourteen coins found in the red earth filling of the northern of the two channels in the third room from the south. All are of the fourth or fifth century A.D., and of those that could be identified with certainty, one bears the name of Constantius II (323–361 A.D.), one of Valens (364–378 A.D.), two of Valentinianus II (383–392 A.D.), four of Theodosius I (379–395 A.D.) and one of Arcadius (395–408 A.D.). These coins may be taken to afford a fairly close *terminus post quem* for the laying of the mosaic floor which sealed them under. Hence we may assign the laying of that floor and, in all probability, the reorganization of the north room also to the early fifth century A.D. Such a date would suit well the mosaic. Its technique and the choice and distribution of motives are typical of that century while its unpretentious simplicity and adherence to classical forms would suggest a date before the intrusion of the more ornate eastern style and motives to be noted in floors of the later fifth and early sixth centuries in Greece.<sup>1</sup>

white and is formed of Pentelic marble. All the designs are outlined with limestone, gray-blue, almost black in color and the same stone was used for the lines joining the circles in the outer border and for the stems of ivy. Blue Hymettian marble and pinkish limestone appear alternately as filling for the designs.

<sup>1</sup> For the general style and technique compare the fifth-century mosaics of St. Isidore in Chios (A. C. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, pt. II, pls. I ff.) and those of the Basilica of Eresos on Lesbos, dated from the donor's inscription to the first half of the fifth century (Orlandos, *Arch. Delt.*, XII, 1929, pp. 32 ff.). The floor of the Basilica by the Ilissos, which is to be dated probably in the second quarter of the fifth century and in which the eastern influence of Antioch has been detected, provides a striking contrast with the severe simplicity of our piece (Soteriou, *Arch. Eph.*, 1919, pp. 17 ff.). In the Basilica of St. Doumetios at Nikopolis, one will find an arrangement similar to that of ours and the same continuous



The history of the third room from the south may be traced one stage further. Interior walls were built of ancient blocks (mostly wall blocks from the New Bouleuterion) to divide the one room into three (Fig. 123). The eastern stairway would seem no longer to have existed, at any rate in its original width. The mosaic floor apparently remained in use.

The most interesting feature of this reconstruction was a press, probably for the making of olive oil, that stood in the corner of the southwest room. Most of the base stone of the press remains, though split and wrenched apart by those who in still later times dug a well in this area. It rested on an ancient building block of poros. The press stone, likewise of poros, was circular with a diameter of ca. 1.10 m. The middle part of its top was left flat, the outer part cut down so that a rim encircled the top. The bag containing the olives, already crushed somewhere in a mill, was placed on the middle of the stone and pressed either by a screw or, since there is no trace of supports for such a device, more probably by the dead weight of another stone set on top. The oil flowed toward the periphery where it gathered in a rill cut for the purpose and passed through a spout to drip into a circular basin with plastered walls, just a trace of which remains beneath the spout. To the north of the press a rectangular basin was built against the face of the east wall of the room, its floor formed of broken marble blocks plastered, its three independent walls of roughly worked marble slabs set on edge. Its depth, as given by the western side slab, was 0.40 m., its bottom lying 0.10 m. below the level of the mosaic. Little of it was left by the well builders. This pit presumably held the olives waiting to be pressed or perhaps the pressed pulp.

There is no precise evidence for fixing the time when the original room of the mosaic floor was subdivided. But that the mosaic could continue in use shows that no great

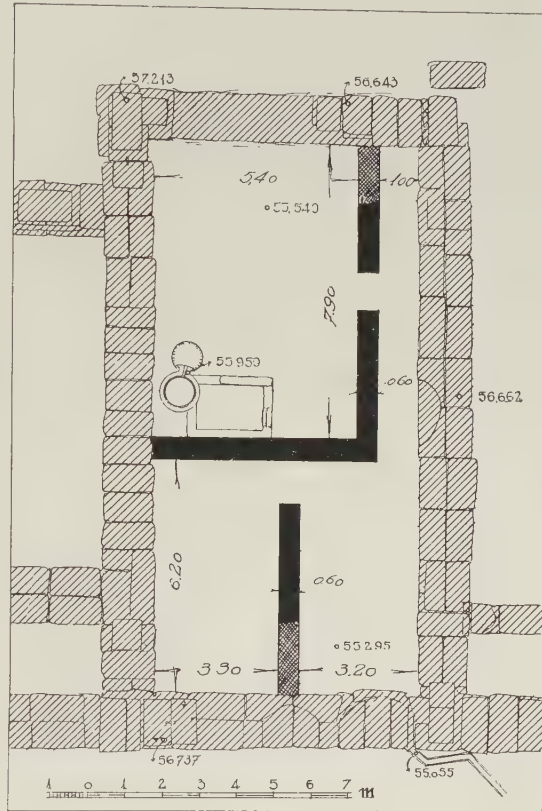


Fig. 123. Third Room from South of Reconstructed Metroon, Last Period

ivy tendrils and quatrefoils. But the whole effect has become more crowded and carpet-like. If the dedicatory inscription has been correctly interpreted, the mosaic is to be dated in 509 A.D. (Soterion, *Ἰερός Σὺνθεσμός*, 1915, pp. 21 ff.; Philadelphus, *Arch. Eph.*, 1917, pp. 48 ff.).

change in ground level had occurred and would accordingly suggest that the first period of use of the mosaic floor was brief.

Various scraps of foundation walls, built almost entirely of blocks torn from the earlier foundations beneath were found in the area of the north room and in the porch. None of these walls can be earlier than very late Roman or Byzantine times and, since nothing can be restored on the basis of them, they need delay us no longer. Nor is there anything else to suggest that the site was occupied by any building of importance in mediaeval times.

We have already noted the damage done by a late well in the third room. Other wells of the Turkish period were set down through the mosaic of the north room and in the northeast corner of the porch. Yet another late well was found to have been dug within the limits of the Hellenistic porch, in front of the third room from the south. In its curbing were incorporated many fragments of the great marble altar, the podium for which lies 30 m. to the east; literally scores of fragments, big and little, from an inscribed monument of Trebellius Rufus (I 849), as well as ancient poros building blocks and many limestone blocks from the sixth-century foundation adjoining. The period of use of this well was distinctly earlier than that of the others mentioned. Its filling produced an enormous quantity of coarse Byzantine pottery and several coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Traces were found of innumerable other storage pits of various sorts which served the mediaeval residents of the site and contributed to the very thorough destruction of the ancient remains.

#### LATE MONUMENT BASES

With the late reconstruction of the north room of the Metroon we may associate a group of carelessly built monument bases around its northeast corner (Pl. VI). The largest (*ca.*  $1.40 \times 4.88$  m.) lies midway between the Metroon and the southeast corner of the Temple of Apollo, in a line not quite north and south. The foundation was rudely put together of re-used conglomerate and poros blocks capped by marble step and stylobate blocks removed from the nearby Temple of Apollo (see p. 92). Since the base was laid over the rectangular water channel which itself runs over the ruins of the Stoa of Zeus (p. 77) and since the large terracotta channel which drained the rehabilitated Metroon was carried beneath it, we may date the base somewhere in the fourth century A.D.

The space between this long base and the Temple of Apollo was occupied by a smaller square base made of re-used conglomerate blocks bedded on typical late Roman concrete. And to the south of the long base is another foundation ( $1.30 \times 2.20$  m.) of conglomerate blocks bedded on earth, perhaps slightly earlier in date.

Still another rectangular bedding of re-used conglomerate blocks ( $1.30 \times 2.30$  m.) will be noted just north of the northeasternmost corner of the Metroon (Fig. 101). Its builders ruthlessly broke away the late Roman rectangular water line but carefully respected the Metroon drain. This monument, then, is to be dated after the reconstruction of the

Metroon, perhaps early in the fifth century A.D. Around these monuments and stretching away to the east, was a hard packed road surface, the gravel of which yielded many coins of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., the latest recognizable being of Honorius (395–423 A.D.).

These large, if shoddy, monument bases are of interest in connection with the late renaissance of the Agora. One would gladly know what they carried. It seems not improbable that their statues as well as their foundation material were plucked from the débris of other parts of the market square. We have already noted that the great statue of Apollo, certainly from the nearby temple, was found in the north room of the Metroon (p. 107), and we have suggested that Hadrian, whose torso was found in the Great Drain just to the east and Antoninus Pius whose head came to light in the excavation of the Temple of Apollo, may have migrated from an original station in front of the Stoa of Zeus (p. 68).

#### IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY FROM EXTERNAL SOURCES

(After the Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos) *ῥχοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων Βουλευτήριον, οὗ βουλευέουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις. Βουλαῖον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίον καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Αἰσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, ὃς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἦγαγε φυλάσσοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν . . . Τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστί.*

Pausanias, I, 3, 5.

#### IDENTIFICATION

The identification of the Metroon and of the Bouleuterion that is known to have been closely associated with it may now be taken as certainly established. Convincing evidence is furnished by the roof tiles, marked as sacred to the Mother, that have been found, as noted above, to the east, north and south of the building.

Further and more specific evidence is provided by an engraved stele, of which the greater part remains, that was found on the spot in 1907 during the excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 140). The inscription preserves a decree of 353/2 B.C. that regulated the disposal of the first fruits offered to the Eleusinian divinities. In the document it is specified that "the secretary of the Council shall inscribe this law beside the earlier one of Chairemonides on the stele in front of the Metroon." The "law of Chairemonides" probably dates from 403/2 B.C. and in that year presumably, the stele was first set up. The same excavations yielded, in the same place, a pedestal which, according to its inscription, had carried a statue of a priest of the Mother of the Gods.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of damaged sculpture being moved and re-erected is provided by the tripod base found in the middle of the floor of a room (probably post-Herulian in date) to the north of the "South Stoa" (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 324, 387 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Eph.*, 1910, cols. 16 ff.



Finally, in the season of 1935, there was found imbedded deep down in the foundations of the southeast corner of the third room from the south of the second-century building, a fragmentary marble plaque (Fig. 124). Only the polos-crowned head of the goddess remains, framed in a naiskos, the architrave of which is inscribed in letters of the fourth century B.C.: *Κοῖρων Μητρὶ Θεῶν* [. . . .].<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 124. Votive Relief from the Metroon

<sup>1</sup> I 2669. Pentelic marble. Preserved height, 0.164 m.; width, 0.182 m. Traces of red paint on hair, of yellow on polos. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 2.

The relief was doubtless of the same type as numerous other pieces, mostly later and uninscribed, which have been found in the present excavations and earlier. Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 400 f. It is quite possible that many of the uninscribed images come from private houses rather than from the great sanctuary. Of the marble votives, some 36 in addition to the inscribed piece have been found in various parts of the excavation. In this connection we may note also the head of a small Hellenistic figurine of terracotta (T 1004) found in a cistern on Kolonos, above the New Bouleuterion. From its top rises a narrow plaque that shows in relief the Mother seated, her lion by her left side, an attendant to her right, holding a tympanon in her left hand, a phiale in her right. A similar plaque exhibiting the goddess in

None of the objects noted above has been found strictly *in situ* and they are all so small that any of them might have been transported far from its original position. But that they should all have been gathered to this one spot at widely different times and from a distance is quite incredible. Their combined evidence may be regarded as conclusive.

For the identification of the New Bouleuterion, granted that the building is to be sought near the Metroon, sufficient evidence is provided through the discovery in and around the building, by the unsuspecting earlier excavators, of the numerous fragments of curved marble benches described above.

The account of Pausanias agrees perfectly with these identifications. He describes the Metroon immediately after the Temple of Apollo Patroos, though without any indication of the relative position of the two, then notes that the Bouleuterion stood close to the Metroon, the Tholos close to the Bouleuterion. The Tholos may now be taken as a fixed point. In its vicinity there are only two possible candidates for the other two buildings. Remembering that Pausanias was coming down from the north and that he was writing in the second century A.D., we may be certain that for him the Metroon was the great four-roomed building of the second century B.C., the Bouleuterion the building to the west of it which we have called the New Bouleuterion.

The identification of the square archaic building as the Old Bouleuterion follows inevitably, since it is the only earlier structure of suitable plan in the vicinity. Inasmuch as there is good reason to suppose that a council house had been needed in Athens long before the date to which we have assigned the Old Bouleuterion, we are probably justified in attributing the earlier foundations beneath that building to a Primitive Bouleuterion. As for the early "Temple of the Mother," we need scarcely search farther for the name of a temple-like structure immediately underlying a later building that was unquestionably a sanctuary of the Mother.

We may now consider how much additional information about these buildings and their history is to be gotten from literary and epigraphic sources. From this material it is clear, in the first place, that we have to do not with two institutions but with three: the cult place of the goddess, the meeting place of the Council of Five Hundred and the state archives.

A legend about the establishment of the Metroon has come down to us in several versions: in Julian (*Or.*, V, p. 159), in Suidas (*s. v.* Μητρογύργιον), in scholia on Aischines (III, 187) and Aristophanes (*Plut.*, 431). But the account is so garbled that we dare not trust it for details. From a combination of the various versions we may, however, infer first that sanctuary, bouleuterion and archives were closely associated from an early date and secondly, that the divinity in the beginning was identical with Demeter. The legend

the same pose (T 892) has been found on the Bouleuterion Square. These comparatively early representations should be of value in fixing the original sculptural type.

would seem to be an aetiological explanation for the association of sanctuary and Bouleuterion. If we do not take the story too seriously, we may suspect that the combination was based originally on practical convenience: the large hall needed to shelter the sacred rites of the goddess that were celebrated but once a year was perhaps utilized as well for the more frequent meetings of the Boule. One is struck by the similarity in shape and plan between the archaic Bouleuterion and the closely contemporary Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis. The public records were naturally kept as close as possible to the seat of the executive body. That they should have been placed specifically under the guardianship of the goddess is no more surprising than that the state monies should have been entrusted to Athena's keeping.

We get no clue from the legend as to the actual date of the establishment. Thucydides, however, in a well known passage referred the foundation of the state bouleuterion to Theseus and hence we may conclude that already in the fifth century B.C. the institution was regarded as very old.<sup>1</sup> And actually, though the archaeological evidence collated above would not indicate a date beyond the seventh century for the earliest structural remains on the site, yet these foundations represent the earliest substantial buildings thus far discovered in the Agora.

#### THE CULT PLACE

If we turn now to the external evidence bearing on the cult place proper, we shall find no mention in ancient authors of an actual temple (*ναός*). This is not surprising. The little structure of the late sixth century the plan of which so clearly proclaims it a temple, was undoubtedly another of the many sacred buildings fired in 480 B.C. and left in ruins thereafter, either through lack of means for rebuilding or that they might serve as memorials. But the cult persisted and, just as in the neighboring sanctuaries of Zeus and Apollo, it centred about a statue, a seated image assigned on the evidence of Pausanias (I, 3, 5) and Arrian (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9) to Pheidias, though Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 17) attributes the work to Pheidias' pupil, Agorakritos. The general features of the statue are undoubtedly preserved for us in the numerous marble and terracotta *ex votos* which represent the goddess seated with the tympanon and phiale in her hands, the lion by her side. From the style indicated by these versions of the subject, the latest student of the problem has agreed with Pliny and has assigned the original to Agorakritos.<sup>2</sup> When this cult image was designed it is clear that the goddess had already assumed the attributes of her Anatolian counterpart, Kybele. But still she retained many points in common with the Greek Demeter. The inscription already cited (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 140) which had to do with the first fruits offered to the Eleusinian divinities, but which was actually set up before the Metroon, shows that the Mother retained her official connection with Eleusis. The

<sup>1</sup> II, 15, 2. Plutarch, *Theseus*, XXIV is based on the Thucydidean notice.

<sup>2</sup> A. von Salis, "Die Göttermutter von Agorakritos," *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 1-26.



continuance of this association is suggested also by the presence in the neighborhood of the Metroon of the Altar of the Heudanemoi, an heroic family with Eleusinian relations.<sup>1</sup> On the other side, evidence of the close relations between Demeter and Kybele is given by numbers of the small marble naiskoi with the seated Kybele, similar to those described above, that have been found in the Eleusinian sanctuary. This intimate relationship persisted to the very end, for the latest figured documents bearing on the cult of the Mother in Athens, two altars, the one dedicated in 387 A.D., the other a little earlier, show the two matronly figures seated side by side.<sup>2</sup>

By virtue of these Demeter-like qualities, the Mother becomes the most suitable, indeed the only possible divinity with which to associate a mass of rubbish gathered up from a sanctuary and deposited in a large cistern to the west of the Stoa of Zeus where it was

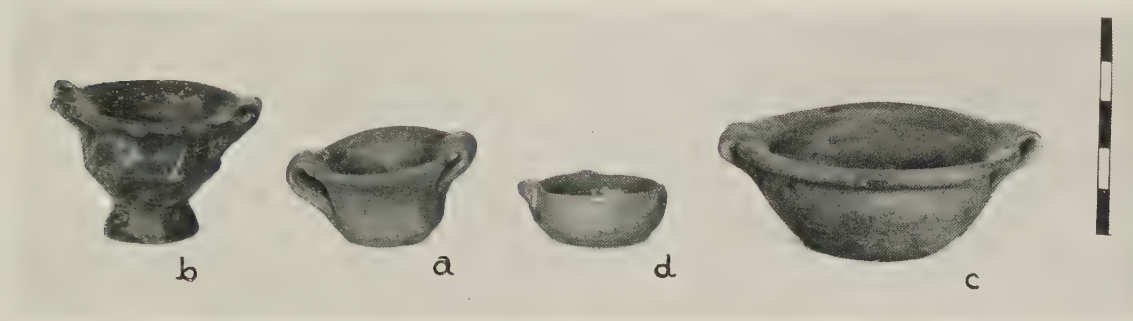


Fig. 125. Miniature Vases from a Sanctuary Dump

discovered in 1931.<sup>3</sup> The cistern had gone out of use as a water container in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. and at this time the rubbish was thrown down through its mouth. The cone, 1.75 m. high, that had formed within a short time on the floor of the reservoir consisted largely of ash and charcoal, presumably from an altar, and of quantities of tiny cups. These fall into four types of which specimens are illustrated in Fig. 125.

- a. Kantharoi. Average height, 0.023 m.; diameter, 0.035 m. Roughly turned; unglazed. Complete specimens ca. 3,240; fragmentary ca. 3,850.
- b. Kraters. Average height, 0.03 m.; diameter, 0.036 m. Covered inside and out with thin black varnish. Complete specimens 91; fragmentary 102.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, *Anab.*, III, 16, 8: καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμειῷ αἱ εἰκόνες (of the Tyrannicides) ἧ ἄνιμεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, κατασκευὴν μάλιστα τοῦ Μητροφῶν, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, οἶδε τὸν Εὐδανέμον βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα. It is quite possible that the remains of this altar are to be recognized in the splendid marble podium unearthed in 1931 some 30 m. to the east of the Metroon (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 4841, 4842, with citation of literature. For illustrations, see Svoronos, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, Athens, 1904, pl. LXXX.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128.

- c. Open Bowls. Average height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.065 m. Roughly turned; unglazed. Complete specimens 32; fragmentary *ca.* 450.
- d. Flat Bowls. Average height, 0.013 m.; diameter, 0.03 m. A lug-like handle on one side. Unvarnished. Complete specimens 14.

Apart from these miniature vases, the only object from the deposit that could be held to have ritual significance was a fragmentary kernos of the simple sort. A few pieces of black-glazed domestic ware and of degenerate red figure serve to fix the dump in the second half of the fourth century.

In Greece at this period the kernos was probably peculiar to the worship of Demeter, and that chiefly in her Eleusinian aspect.<sup>1</sup> At Eleusis, moreover, quantities of miniature vases similar to those here illustrated have been found in dumps from the sanctuary and more recently not a few have come to light on the crest of the Pnyx Hill in a sanctuary which, on other evidence, appears to be that of Demeter Thesmophoros.<sup>2</sup> Hence this material from the cistern deposit would be peculiarly appropriate to the Demeter-Mother and this dumping place the nearest available to her sanctuary.

Where did the statue stand? In the votive reliefs from all parts of the Greek world, even the earliest of them, the goddess is commonly represented in a naiskos, a tradition that may perhaps be due to her predilection for caves with rock-cut façades in her Phrygian homeland. There is reason to believe that the statue, probably naiskos and all, stood within a building. We are informed by a scholiast on Aischines' speech against Ktesiphon (187) that the Athenians made a part of the Bouleuterion the Metroon, though at the same time the Bouleuterion is described as in the sanctuary:

ἐγνωμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς διμ μέρος τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Μητροῶν. ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἔστιν, ἀνάκεινται γεγραμμένοι κ.τ.λ.

Aischines in this same speech described the Metroon as alongside the Bouleuterion:

§ 187. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητροῶ παρὰ τὸ Βουλευτήριον, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαροῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.<sup>3</sup>

Close proximity is suggested also by the notice of Lykourgos' dying wish, *viz.* that he be carried into the Metroon and the Bouleuterion there to give an account of his political activity:

[Plut.] *Vit. X Or.*, 842 E: (Lykourgos) μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν, εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν καὶ τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κομισθῆναι, βουλόμενος εὐθύναι τῶν πεπολιτευμένων.

From a passage in Deinarchos' speech against Demosthenes we gather, moreover, that the association of the goddess with the archives was very intimate:

I, 86: ἔθετο συνθήκας μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, γράψας τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, ἣ πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι δικαίων φύλαξ τῇ πόλει καθέστηκε.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff. for a discussion of the type and of the literature on it.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 179 f.

<sup>3</sup> Such, at any rate, is the reading of one respectable manuscript (C), questioned by some editors but defended by Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 324, n. 3.

The earliest surviving reference to the Metroon as such carries us back to the flourishing days of the Athenian Empire, to a time when Alcibiades was influential in the city, *i.e.* to the latter part of the fifth century but before 405 B.C. When appealed to for help in a law suit by an islander, Alcibiades, with characteristic energy, strode into the Metroon where the records of accusations were kept and, licking his finger, he erased the charge against the man.<sup>1</sup> References to the Metroon become frequent thereafter in both authors and inscriptions.

In the light of our present knowledge of the site, these literary references and indeed the whole concatenation of events become clear, clearer to us actually than to the ancient scholiast on Aischines. He had but a single building in mind and so was obviously puzzled as to how, if a part of the Bouleuterion had been made the Metroon, the Bouleuterion could still be described as in the sanctuary. The dedication of the famous statue by Agorakritos (?), the first reference to the Metroon as the place for the storage of public records, the construction of the New Bouleuterion, all three events are datable on independent evidence to one and the same time: the latter part of the fifth century. The synchronism is obviously significant. The new building is shown by its plan to have been intended as a new home for the Boule, the statue was established in a part of the Old Bouleuterion which accordingly became the "Mother's Place" and the public files were installed "beside her" in the adjoining parts of the building. The fame of the statue gave added prestige to the term "Metroon," which must soon have been applied to the entire old building and was simply handed on to its Hellenistic successor. The unqualified term "Bouleuterion" could thus be applied without possibility of confusion to the building which we have called the New Bouleuterion.

In our ignorance of just what was done in the reorganization of the Old Bouleuterion after the construction of the New, we cannot hope to say precisely how the available space was divided between the sanctuary proper and the archives. It is, however, worth recalling that a quantity of working chips of Eleusinian limestone were found to the south of the building in the layer to be associated with the reorganization. The chips were too few in quantity to suggest that the stone had been used to any extent in the architecture proper, nor could the preserved fragment of a block be fitted conveniently into the building. Both, however, may well be derived from the statue base of the goddess. One will recall that the same stone was used to set off the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias and the frieze sculptures of the Erechtheion and that it served for the orthostates and the crowning plinth of the curved base in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos.<sup>2</sup>

An altar, of course, stood in the sanctuary, and we are told that one Pittalakos about the middle of the fourth century sought refuge on it from his political foes.<sup>3</sup> It has not been identified. No more can we place the pithos of Diogenes the Cynic,<sup>4</sup> nor shall

<sup>1</sup> Chamaileon of Pontos in Athenaeus, IX, 407 C.

<sup>2</sup> Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Aischines, *contra Timarch.*, 60.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert., VI, 2, 23; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 328.



we ever know precisely where that other fourth-century philosopher, the garlic-eating Stilpon, lay.<sup>1</sup>

We have no useful information regarding the cult place or the statue of the goddess, nor have we any reason to suspect any important change in either, between the installation of the statue and the construction of the great four-roomed building in the second century. But what of the disposition of space in the Hellenistic building? A glance at the plan, as already noted, suggests that the second room from the south was intended primarily, if not exclusively, as a monumental approach to the New Bouleuterion. We are thus left with three rooms to be distributed between the archives, which, as we shall see, must have been accommodated in this building, and the cult place. Pausanias, in his reference to the building, noted only the cult place and the statue; he made no special reference to the archives. We shall probably do well, therefore, to assign the two less conspicuous rooms, which have no peculiar character, to the state records, and reserve the north room for the cult place. Thus, if our reasoning is correct, the sanctuary proper returned in the Hellenistic period to its original position.

As to the precise arrangement within this north room, we have little but internal evidence. For the cult statue, two places are available: the rectangular base in the middle of the peristyle and the central "exedra" at the back of the room. The first is recommended by its substantial construction but by little else. Its shape is inappropriate. If we suppose that the goddess was flanked by a lion, then the breadth of her image must have equalled and probably surpassed its depth. She would of course have faced toward the east and the entrance. But the east-west axis of the base in question is markedly longer than the north-south. Nor in this age, any more than in the fifth century, is it likely that such a statue would have been exposed to the weather, even in a court. The "exedra," on the other hand, would be admirably suited to the pose of the enthroned goddess which, as one may judge from the surviving replicas both large and small, was obviously calculated for a frontal view.<sup>2</sup> The architectural frame would, moreover, give the effect suggested by many of the small *ex votos* which represent the goddess seated in a naiskos.<sup>3</sup> We must

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus, X, 422 D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. von Salis, *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> If this feature of the *ex votos* is really significant and not merely a stereotyped formula, we should have to suppose that the naiskos existed both before and after the Hellenistic reconstruction of the Metroon, since it appears in both the early and the late reliefs.

In the Temple of Kybele dedicated by Philetairos on Mamurt-Kaleh near Pergamon, the remains suggest that the cult statue was covered by a naiskos set close up against the back wall of the cella; or, rather, since the statue and its base were earlier, the back wall of the temple was brought close up to the statue. *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft*, IX, 1911, pp. 28 ff., fig. 7, pl. IX, 2 and frontispiece. An arrangement comparable with ours is to be found in a building of Roman date identified, though without conclusive evidence, as the Temple of the Mother Plastene on Mt. Sipylus, mentioned by Pausanias, V, 13, 7. See Frazer's commentary *ad loc.* and also *Rev. arch.*, 16, 1890, pp. 390 ff., plan p. 393. In her temple on the Palatine the goddess, enthroned between lions, was set close against the back wall of the cella. *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 13; Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s.v. Magna Mater, aedes. For a naiskos enclosing the cult statue in a temple, one might also compare the Gymnasium Temple of the second century at Pergamon. *Pergamon*, VI, pp. 73, 77, pls. XXIV, XXVI.

admit the lack of any special cutting in the bedrock within the "exedra" for a statue base. But this negative evidence can scarcely be regarded as conclusive in view of the equally unsubstantial character of the underpinning for the colossal statue of Apollo in the neighboring temple. Here, in the Metroon, the plinth for the throne may well have rested directly on bedrock as it now appears.<sup>1</sup>

As to the purpose of the rooms that adjoin the central "exedra" we can say nothing with certainty. Apart from her relations with Demeter and Kore which we have already discussed, and the inevitable Attis, we have no certain knowledge of any associated cult.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias noted only the one cult statue.

The altar of the goddess may have been conveniently accommodated on the rectangular base in the middle of the court. The gallery, so readily accessible by the two stairways, must have increased materially the space available for those who participated in the Mysteries.<sup>3</sup>

We shall once more consult the literary and epigraphic sources in vain for help in determining the use of the building as reconstructed in late Roman times. From the altars of the fourth century A.D., to which reference has already been made, we know that the cult of the Mother was flourishing in Athens and that her Mysteries had just been enriched by the addition of the rite of the Taurobolion. But it seems more than doubtful that the old sanctuary by the market place should still have been used in her service. The Emperor Julian, who had known Athens as a University student, writes of it in the past tense.<sup>4</sup> The insertion of the marble benches in the central "exedra" shows clearly that the cult statue had disappeared, not to be replaced. The discovery of the great statue of Apollo in the north room would likewise argue against the resumption there of the worship of the Mother. We may conjecture rather that the old building had been patched up to become the residence of some citizen of the fifth century, a professor, shall we say, in the neighboring University whose interest in the past prompted him to rescue Apollo from his ruined

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat comparable architectural scheme is to be observed in the late Hellenistic Heroon at Kalydon. Dyggve, Poulsen, Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*. The cult place proper is situated in an exedra that was raised above the tomb. Across the back of the exedra extended a pedestal for statues and in front of the pedestal stood the cult table. The exedra opened through an antechamber, equipped with benches along its walls, on a peristyle court. See Dyggve's discussion of this type of sanctuary in relation to earlier and later sacred buildings, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff.

A similar disposition is suggested by the *templum a solo cum sancto suo, quod est a tergo* in an inscription from Thubursicum. Cf. Carcopino, *Rendiconti pontif. Accad. di Archeologia*, IV, 1926, pp. 238 ff. (not accessible to me); Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*<sup>4</sup>, p. 48, n. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 5015 which couples the Mother of the Gods and Artemis and which comes in all probability from our sanctuary, suggests that Artemis had some place there. This Artemis perhaps is to be equated with the Artemis Boulaia of an Agora inscription (I 2361). See p. 213, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> On the Mysteries of Kybele and Attis, see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>, IV, 1, pp. 266 ff.; Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*<sup>4</sup>, p. 48, n. 17. In the sanctuary of Men near Antioch of Pisidia, a divinity closely related to Kybele and who in this place actually shared his sanctuary with the goddess, a special building was apparently designed for the performance of the Mysteries. *B.S.A.*, XVIII, 1911-1912, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Or.*, V, p. 159B: καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ Μητρώον οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφνύλαττο τὰ γραμματεῖα.

shrine, perhaps also to re-erect in his front garden the battered statue of Hadrian that had once stood by Zeus Eleutherios. He or his family, as indeed the whole city, shortly after fell on evil days and the once splendid building passes out of history as an untidy farm house on the edge of a straggling village.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BOULEUTERION

As for the Bouleuterion, we find no reference to it either in authors or in inscriptions between the above cited passage of Thucydides regarding its foundation and the middle of the fifth century B.C. Even later the references are scattered and afford very little information about the building or its history.

We may suppose that a Boule of some sort had existed in Athens and had required a formal meeting place from the earliest times; according to Thucydides, as we have seen, from the time of Theseus. And, although the evidence is slight, there is no reason to suppose that this institution was done away with by the Tyrants. The archaeological evidence, as already observed, indicates some alteration in the earlier building about the middle of the sixth century. This activity would therefore fall within the time of the elder Peisistratos, but whether it involved an enlargement or a repair we cannot say.

The next activity on the site, the construction of the great square building, has been shown by the results of the excavation to date from the very late sixth century, in all probability from a time after the expulsion of the Tyrants. Nor indeed should we have expected, even though they had tolerated the Boule, that they would have provided it with such generous accommodation. This move we should more naturally expect to have followed on the restoration of the democracy under Kleisthenes. In the absence of more specific external evidence and in harmony with the archaeological findings, we may, then, place its construction in the closing years of the sixth century.

For the fate of the building in 480–479 B.C. there is no evidence. Nothing has been found on the site to suggest a conflagration. This may well have been one of the few buildings that were spared by the invaders for their own accommodation that winter. But even in that case they would scarcely have left it intact on their departure if we may trust the notices in Herodotos (IX, 13) and Thucydides (I, 89, 3) regarding the thoroughness of the sack. In any event, it must be assumed that the building was afterwards reconditioned and that it continued to serve the needs of the Boule for two generations longer.

Literary and epigraphic sources would seem to provide little more specific information regarding the date or the occasion of the New Bouleuterion. We can only accept the archaeological evidence, which suggests a date in the last quarter of the fifth century, and marvel once more at the courage and resources of the city in those troubled years. One is tempted to associate the building with some one of the constitutional changes of the time,

<sup>1</sup> The plan of the north room as reconstructed suggests a Christian basilica in reverse, but there is nothing to indicate that the building ever served the Christian church.



but the surprising history of the assembly place on the Pnyx, rebuilt by the Thirty in 404/3 B.C., will counsel caution where external evidence is so scanty.

There was, of course, a speaker's platform (*βῆμα*) in the auditorium (Antiphon, VI, 40). Special seats would seem to have been set apart for the prytaneis (Lysias, XIII, 36 f.). After 410/09 B.C. the councillors sat by letter fixed by lot, but the precise arrangement is not clear from literary references, nor do the existing remains help.<sup>1</sup> Admission to the building was controlled by railings (*κίχλιδες*) and gates (*δούρακτοι*) and non-members were not allowed freely to enter the auditorium.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that we have the bedding blocks for the posts of the railing in the poros slabs with cuttings in their tops to the south of the Old Bouleuterion (p. 134). The same purpose may have been served at a later time by the grillwork between the columns of the porch of the New Bouleuterion, of which one post hole has survived (p. 157). That seating accommodation was provided for visitors in the auditorium would seem impossible in view of the limited size of the auditorium and the close correspondence between its capacity and the numbers of the Boule. Antiphon, writing probably *ca.* 412 B.C. (VI, 45), mentions a sanctuary of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia in the Bouleuterion where the councillors worshipped as they entered. The altar of Zeus would seem to have been the central altar of the Bouleuterion, and of this, in all probability, the battered marble still exists (p. 151). Pausanias, in the passage quoted above, speaks also of a wooden statue of the god.<sup>3</sup> Of the Apollo by Peisias and the Demos by Lyson, also mentioned by Pausanias, we know nothing more.<sup>4</sup>

For the addition of the Porch to the Bouleuterion and for the construction of the Propylon, a *terminus post quem* at the beginning of the third century has already been fixed by the archaeological evidence. Given this, one would be inclined to associate the undertaking with the enlargement of the Boule by the addition of the two new tribes of Antigonis and Demetrias in 307 B.C. and would naturally wish to keep back the date of construction as close as possible to that event. It is not known who was directly responsible for the inception of the work. Demetrios Poliorketes himself spent relatively little

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 972; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph., *Equit.*, 640 f., 675 and schol.; Xenophon, *Hell.*, II, 3, 55; Ps. Dem., XXV, 23.

<sup>3</sup> On the sanctuary, its altar, priests and priestesses, see Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 320.

A fragmentary Hellenistic decree (I 2361) which was to be set up *ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βουλαίας* has been found where re-used as a cover slab of the Great Drain to the southeast of the Tholos. Presumably the altar stood near the Bouleuterion. The prytaneis sacrificed to Artemis Boulaia and to Apollo Prostater before the meetings of the assembly (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 916, 16; 917, 10 f.). Livia, the wife of Augustus, was also given the epithet Boulaia, as is stated on the inscribed base of a bronze statue dedicated to her by the Council of the Areopagus and found to the east of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion just beyond the Great Drain, where it was incorporated in a mediaeval wall (I 4012).

<sup>4</sup> It has been inferred that the "Fountain in the Osiers" was close by the Bouleuterion from the references to the assassination of Phrynichos in Thucydides (VIII, 92, 2) and Lykourgos (*contra Leocratem*, 112). Thucydides reports that he was murdered at the time of full market, not far from the Bouleuterion and that the assassin escaped. According to Lykourgos, he was cut down by night near the Fountain in the Osiers and his murderers, Apollodoros and Thrasyboulos, were captured. Since the two accounts differ in every other detail, we are not justified in making the equation "by the Fountain in the Osiers" equals "not far from the Bouleuterion."

time in Athens and of that time the major portion was devoted either to preparation for wars abroad or to matters less serious than public building. Nor indeed, if one may trust Plutarch's picture of Demetrios' character, would such an undertaking have appealed to the prince. The city itself, on the other hand, in the quarter century that followed on the first coming of Demetrios and Antigonos, was so pre-occupied and its treasury was so harried by the constantly recurring hostilities that it is not likely to have undertaken such a purely ornamental piece of work within that period. The earliest probable date is perhaps *ca.* 280 B.C., when Athens was cheered by the friendly gestures of the powerful Seleukos, by the discomfiture of her enemies the Macedonians and by the recovery of her island cleruchies.<sup>1</sup> The fresh outbreak of troubles in 274 B.C. makes improbable a date after that year.

A date between those two *termini* is indicated, moreover, by the painting of Olbiades' picture of Kallippos, the hero of 279 B.C., seen by Pausanias. This picture, together with the "Thesmothetes" by Protogenes, was the last thing noted by the traveller as he left the Bouleuterion to visit the Tholos. From the order of his description his route is now clear. On passing the Temple of Apollo he looked into the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon for a glance at the famous image of the Mother. Without concerning himself about the archives, he took the most direct path to the Bouleuterion, *i. e.* through the second room of the Metroon. Within the building (*ἐν αὐτῷ*) he noted the statues of Zeus, Apollo and Demos. As he left the door at the southeast corner, he turned to admire the paintings on the outside of the south wall of the building and then he found himself "close to the Tholos." A moment's reflection will convince one that no part of the building save this was suitable for a monumental painting, nor could the painting have been placed there without the protection of the Porch. Such a tribute to their general would naturally have been paid by the Athenians as soon as possible after the event. It may appropriately have been tendered in 275 or 274 B.C. when the Soteria were established to commemorate the delivery of Greece from the Gauls. Athens, justifiably, took a particular interest in the celebration of the first games.<sup>2</sup>

A later date would seem to be excluded also by the participation of Protogenes the Caunian in the decoration of (undoubtedly) the same wall. Protogenes was a contemporary, though perhaps a younger contemporary of Apelles, the painter of Alexander. Already at the time of the siege of Rhodes (306–304 B.C.) he was a famous man so that he is not likely to have been executing large commissions in foreign cities after the first quarter of the following century. We may suspect, then, that the Porch was newly finished and awaiting its decoration in the years *ca.* 280–275 B.C., if indeed it was not specially designed to receive these very pictures. Such a date fits perfectly the archaeological evidence already collated, which further indicates the contemporaneity of Porch and Propylon.

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 f.

## THE ARCHIVES

There remains the problem of precisely where records were kept in the various periods indicated by the structural remains.<sup>1</sup> We know that during the second half of the fifth century important documents inscribed on marble stelai or on tablets of other material were occasionally set up in the Bouleuterion.<sup>2</sup> In the fourth century, moreover, a few inscribed stelai were set up, as we gather from their preambles, in front of the Bouleuterion<sup>3</sup> and of the Metroon.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it is worth noting that again in the first century B.C. an occasional inscription, as stated in its preamble, was placed in the Bouleuterion. Among such were three honorary decrees that accompanied painted portraits of prytaneis.<sup>5</sup>

But only a small proportion even of public documents required to be published in stone. The great majority never got beyond the papyrus sheet but these nevertheless had to be preserved and filed so as to be available for reference. We know that such papers were deposited in the Bouleuterion itself during the third quarter of the fifth century and somewhat later.<sup>6</sup> The latest document of this sort that we know to have been deposited in the Bouleuterion was the copy of the law granting *adeia* to Andokides, passed in 415 B.C. According to the orator the record was still to be seen there in 411 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Subsequently the Metroon replaces the Bouleuterion as the filing place. The earliest reference to the Metroon as such is that quoted above (p. 209) in which Alcibiades appears as the hero. The

<sup>1</sup> For the actual procedure in the publication and recording of documents in antiquity, see the valuable essay by Wilhelm in his *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, pp. 227–299.

<sup>2</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23, 7–8 (450/49 B.C.?) ; 63, 22 ff. (425/4 B.C.) ; 76, 26 ff. (ca. 423/2 B.C.) ; 87, 40 ff. (*ante aetatem* a. 418 B.C.) ; 171 (ca. 446/5–405/4 B.C.). The law directed against anyone attempting to destroy the democracy which was passed immediately after the deposition of the Thirty was said by Andokides (I, 95) to have been set in front of the Bouleuterion ; by Lykourgos (*contra Leocratem*, 124 ff.) in the Bouleuterion. The stele may have been shifted in the interval or it may have been placed in the lobby of the building, in which case either statement would be applicable.

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 298 (*ante a.* 336/5 B.C.) ; 487 (ca. 304/3 B.C.).

<sup>4</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 140 (353/2 B.C.). A couple of stelai bearing honorary decrees of the third century B.C. were to be set up, the one (I 3238, l. 12) *πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ*, the other (I 4266) *ἐμπροσθε τοῦ συνεδρίου*. It would seem possible that the term *συνέδριον* when used thus without further definition, referred to the Bouleuterion. In Xenophon, *Hell.*, II, 4, 23, the Thirty, after their encounter with Thrasybulos, met *ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ*, i.e. apparently in the Bouleuterion for we gather that the Bouleuterion was their regular place of meeting (Lysias, XIII, 37 ; *οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὓς νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται*). The place of finding of I 4266, a complete stele, would favor this identification,—it was re-used as a drain cover in the fifth century A.D. in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (see above, p. 197). I 3238, a fragmentary stone, was found in a late Roman wall in the middle of the square.

<sup>5</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048–50 ; 1055 ; 1061.

<sup>6</sup> The deposit of a paper document in the Bouleuterion seems certain in the case of *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27, a proxeny decree of 448 B.C. (cf. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 236) and reasonably probable for *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 65, 54 ff. (425/4 B.C.) ; 85, 9 ff. (*ante a. ca.* 420 B.C.). The practice of filing documents in the Bouleuterion is attested also for Delos and Minoa on Amorgos (Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 f.).

<sup>7</sup> Andok. II, 23 : *τὸ ψήφισμα δὲ Μενέππον εἰπόντος ἐψηφίσασθε, εἶναι μοι ἄδειαν, πάλιν ἀπόδοτε . . . ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ*. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 325 ; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 237. The language is not decisive for the document's having been on paper rather than on stone, but this is the natural assumption since the measure apparently affected only a single individual.



event must have occurred before 405 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In inscriptions and authors of the fourth and later centuries, down at least into the first century A.D., the Metroon is referred to as the regular place of deposit for all public documents: copies of decrees, of the charges laid in law suits (the charge against Socrates was on record here), building accounts, records of weights and measures, official correspondence, lists of ephebes, etc. Even the will of Epicurus, which one might have regarded as a private document, reached the Metroon. There all was tended and produced on demand by a public slave (*δημόσιος*).<sup>2</sup>

The change from the Bouleuterion to the Metroon as the depository of the archives would seem, then, to fall between 411 and 405 B.C. Such a date, it will be recalled, corresponds closely with that established on archaeological evidence for the construction of the New Bouleuterion. In those years too, Agorakritos, the pupil of Pheidias, might well have been intrusted by the city with a commission so important as the statue of the Mother. There would therefore appear to be some reason for believing that the actual transfer of the meeting place to the New Bouleuterion and the conversion of the Old Bouleuterion to cult place and archives occurred at this time.

As observed above, there is no clue to the precise interior arrangement of the Old Bouleuterion, or rather, as it must now be called, the Metroon, for the following period. We can only reiterate the supposition that when the great four-roomed building was erected in the second half of the second century B.C., the archives were transferred to the first and third rooms from the south where they might still be regarded as under the protection of the goddess in the north room.

The scheme of the building as reorganized is essentially similar to the structure that has been identified with great probability as the famous Library of Pergamon.<sup>3</sup> In Pergamon, too, a series of three small rooms and one large rectangular room were entered through colonnaded doorways from (the upper story of) a broad porch. The ruinous state of the building has left uncertain the interior arrangement of the lesser rooms. But along the back wall and the rear parts of the side walls of the large room remain the lower foundations of a continuous pedestal. A projecting part at the middle of the back wall has been shown to be the right size to accommodate the colossal statue of Athena, a copy of the Parthenos, that was found in front of the room. It will be recalled that the Library and the Stoa in front of it immediately adjoin, indeed would seem to be included within the Sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros. And yet it was deemed proper and in keeping with the tradition of libraries that a special statue of the goddess should have been placed in a still more intimate relation with the books as their guardian. One is inevitably reminded of the

<sup>1</sup> It may be objected that Chamaileon, the author of the story, writing in the third or fourth century B.C. could well be guilty of an anachronism in the use of terms. But the circumstantial details of the anecdote make it ring true.

<sup>2</sup> The references are conveniently assembled by Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencycl.*, XV, 1932, cols. 1489 f. On the Metroon as the archives, cf. also Wilamowitz, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, I, 205; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 326; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> R. Bohn, *Pergamon*, II, 1885, pp. 56 ff., pls. XXXII ff.

references quoted above which name the Mother of the Gods the protectress of the Athenian records.<sup>1</sup>

The similarity between the Pergamene and the Athenian buildings, not only in the disposition of space, but in the provision of a statue of the goddess, is sufficiently striking to suggest some interdependence. The Library in Pergamon is attributed to Eumenes the Second (197–159 B.C.). We may then conjecture that the Athenian Metroon, for which a later date is indicated by the archaeological evidence, was modelled on the earlier building. It is tempting to suppose that some Pergamene prince had assisted the Athenians in their undertaking. The probability is strengthened by the consideration that the rebuilding of the Metroon is complementary to the construction of the great stoas along the south and east sides of the market square. With their erection, three sides of the square presented colonnaded fronts; the north side, we may suspect, was already from the fifth century, occupied by the Stoa Poikile. It is certain that the east stoa was built by Attalos II (159–138 B.C.). It is not impossible that the stoas on the south and the Hellenistic Metroon were other units of a single scheme and that they too bear witness to the beneficence of a prince.<sup>2</sup>

Yet we must not exclude the possibility that the undertaking was conceived and executed by Athens or Athenians. A date in the second half of the second century as suggested by the archaeological evidence provides favorable circumstances. Athens may well have felt some influence from eastern cults that were either introduced or that increased greatly in wealth and power on Delos after that island came under Athenian control in 166 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The acquisition of a dominating position on the island of Delos, combined with the greater security of the period, resulted, moreover, in a marked increase in wealth, not so much of the state as of individuals. But the tolls and liturgies expected of or exacted from wealthy holders of office made the means of individuals available for public enterprises, and inscriptions of just this time record a number of reconstructions and repairs carried out on sanctuaries and public buildings.<sup>4</sup>

No further alteration in the general arrangement of the building is attested before the disaster of 267 A.D. The Emperor Julian, writing in 362 A.D., referred to the Metroon as the place "where the Athenians used to keep all their public documents" (*Or.*, V, p. 159). We may infer that the archives, if indeed they survived the sack, were transferred from the old building in 267 A.D. and were never replaced.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A series of three small rooms set against the back of a large room so as to communicate directly with it, *i.e.* an arrangement closely similar to that of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon, appears in the Library associated with the Temple of the Deified Augustus in Rome. See C. Huelsen, *The Forum and the Palatine*, p. 40, fig. 20; Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* Augustus, Divus, Templum.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection one might recall that the Pergamene dynasty showed particular interest in the worship of Kybele and established sanctuaries in her honor both in the capital and in dependent cities. See *Realencycl.*, XI, 2, 1922, col. 2266 (*s.v.* Kybele).

<sup>3</sup> P. Roussel, *Délos, Colonie athénienne*, pp. 200 f., 250, 252, 271 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 369.

<sup>5</sup> Where the records were kept henceforth we do not know. M. A. Sisson, in his study of the Library of Hadrian, concluded that the building was designed not exclusively as a library, but also as a record

## EAST SLOPE OF KOLONOS AGORAIOIS

## BENCHES

Among the earliest and most conspicuous remains on the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraiois are the surviving blocks of four long rows of stone slabs which run north and south and cover in step-like formation the lower slopes of the hill in the area behind the Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos and the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (Figs. 36, 41 and 126). The blocks were carefully laid on the bedrock, in places set down into it for some depth. An east-west cross section shows that they are laid like broad steps, 1.55 to 1.60 m. from centre to centre, and are so arranged that the top of each row rises to the level of the bottom of the dressed (exposed) face of the row above. The configuration of the rock surface above and below the preserved blocks makes it improbable that there ever existed more than these four rows. Toward the south the end of the uppermost row is preserved, falling about 4 m. short of the northwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion. The end of the worked bedding for the second row may be detected almost directly behind the corner of that building. The rock cutting done by the Hellenistic builders of the Metroon has obliterated all trace of the lower two rows in their southern part. Toward the north the two middle rows can be followed by their beddings at least as far as the line of the south foundation of the Stoa of Zeus. Farther north the cutting away of the hillside in later times has removed all trace of the benches did they ever exist there. Much of the lowest row must have been broken away when the foot of Kolonos was cut down by the builders of the Stoa. Presumably at the time when the blocks were laid the ground level sloped down gently to the eastward from the face of the lowest row. Its approximate level farther east is given by the top of the polygonal foundation for the north wall of the Temple of the Mother.<sup>1</sup>

These stone benches were undoubtedly intended to serve a variety of purposes. Kolonos Agoraiois in this part is a mass of soft and friable sedimentary rock, in places no more than partially solidified clay. Where otherwise unprotected the sloping surface has suffered and still suffers from natural erosion. In the area covered by them, however, the stone benches have effectively retarded this destructive process. But the careful jointing and the well

office for the Province of Achaia and that it continued to serve the second purpose until the beginning of the fourth century (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, XI, 1929, pp. 64 ff.). If this duality of purpose could be proven, the Library might be supposed to have housed the Athenian records as well after 267 A.D. But the evidence is far from conclusive. See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The material of the benches is a soft gray poros which has suffered much from weathering even since it was exposed in the '90s of the last century. Its individual blocks are of random length, varying from 0.965 to 2.275 m. In width they are more uniform, most of them measuring 0.59 m. with a range from 0.56 to 0.74 m. In thickness they range from 0.33 to 0.50 m. Their faces are smooth dressed to a depth of 0.25 to 0.30 m. from the top, *i.e.* as noted above, to the ground level in front of them. All were carefully jointed, the joint surfaces when exposed showing a well worked band of anathyrosis 0.06 to 0.08 m. wide across the top and down both sides.





Fig. 126. The West Side of the Agora, Restored Plan

finished faces suggest that their builders had some further purpose in mind. The blocks are of the right height and width to provide comfortable seats. In early times, before the buildings in front of them were constructed, they commanded a splendid view across the market square. From them, we may imagine, the councillors looked down on the Pan-athenaic procession as it made its way through the square. It is possible that the benches were intended furthermore to facilitate the ascent from the market place to the top of Kolonos and the region of the Hephaisteion. But that they were intended primarily as steps is impossible: for this purpose a more durable stone would have been chosen. The fact that they did not continue higher up the slope and the irregularities in bedrock above are additional and obvious arguments against their exclusive use as steps.

The benches must clearly antedate the Hellenistic Metroon, the fourth century Temple of Apollo and the Stoa of Zeus, for these buildings both disturbed the benches and obscured the view from them. The builders of the New Bouleuterion in cutting their north scarp would seem deliberately to have respected their south ends and we have already observed that the northeast entrance to that building provided ready communication between it and the benches. The fact that the benches carry across unbroken behind the site of the Temple of the Mother indicates that the Temple was no longer standing when they were laid. It is equally clear that the southern limit of the benches was fixed by the northwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion. A glance at the general plan (Pl. VI) will show, however, that they differ in orientation from that building by several degrees. And Fig. 126 shows that they line more closely, almost exactly, in fact, with the east front of the Hephaisteion. So far as one can make out from their present state of preservation, they may well have been placed symmetrically in the north-south line with respect to the front of that building. It is tempting to suppose that the benches were set shortly after the temple was built or laid out and that they were placed in definite relation to it.

The pottery from the undisturbed filling behind the benches runs down through the second quarter of the fifth century, making them at least equally late. Their material and workmanship would agree well with a date not far removed from the middle of the century.

Back of the topmost bench the rock had at some time been cut down in an irregular fashion a width of some 4.50 m. from east to west and 28 m. from north to south so that the floor of the cutting lay slightly higher than the top of that bench and was bounded on the west by a scarp as much as 1.50 m. high. Neither the date nor the purpose of this cutting is apparent.

The north end of the cutting, however, shows special beddings for the reception of a monument that required a massive foundation measuring 5.10 m. from north to south, possibly as much as 5.50 m. from east to west. Of this foundation but a single block remains in position: of soft gray poros, 0.70 m. wide, 0.45 m. high and 1.20 m. long, though broken away at one end. The nature of the monument is not clear nor is it certain whether it faced east or west. The material of the surviving block and the quality of the workmanship on it and in the cuttings would permit a date in the fifth or fourth century B.C.

## STAIRWAY

At some later date a mass of earth filling was thrown into the large cutting behind the topmost bench to support a foundation of which several blocks remain in position.<sup>1</sup> At the same time a considerable area of the rock surface farther up and to the west was dressed obviously to receive the continuation of that same structure. The dressed surface has a north-south width of 10.50 m. and appears to be centred precisely on the axis of the passage-way between the fourth-century Temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic Metroon. It may be traced westward to a line 15 m. back of the topmost bench. The surviving blocks appear to be all re-used, of conglomerate and poros, bedded partly on the rock, partly on earth filling, the interstices between them being packed with small stones. A cross section shows clearly that they fell into four north-south rows placed in step-like sequence.

We may restore on this basis a monumental stairway leading from the market square to the top of Kolonos and the temenos of Hephaistos. This would presuppose a very considerable mass of earth filling between the Temple of Apollo and the Metroon and above the old poros benches. Though little or nothing of such a filling remained in the area as it was found at the beginning of the current excavations, yet its original existence is suggested both by the rough finish on the outside of the surviving orthostate in the north wall of the Hellenistic Metroon and from the fact that in just this area the poros benches have suffered least from wear and the zeal of late stone seekers. Had not the hypothetical earth filling shielded them, these blocks would have been in a most vulnerable position. Beyond the remains thus far described, there is little evidence to assist in the restoration which may be best left to the imagination. One may picture the stairway, about 10 m. in width, ascending in short flights of marble steps separated by broad landings. From the working of the steps many chips of marble, both Pentelic and Hymettian, remain among the surviving foundation blocks.

A broad horizontal passage would seem to have led from the south side of the monumental stairway to the lesser flight of steps that passed down over the north scarp of the New Bouleuterion on the axis of that building. Of this there remain only the few blocks on the shoulder of the scarp which have already been discussed in connection with the Bouleuterion (p. 168).

For the dating of the great stairway a *terminus post quem* is given by a few scraps of Arretine ware and other fabrics of about the Augustan period found in the earth packing beneath its surviving blocks. Greater precision is made possible by a well cut down in the bedrock within the area of the stairway. The character of the lettering on the curbing tiles of the well and the fact that much broken sculpture had been used as packing behind the curbing suggest that the well was dug shortly after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. It continued

<sup>1</sup> A short length of rudely built polygonal wall just to the south of the foundation blocks has probably no significant connection with them. It seems to be earlier and to have been covered over by the later structure. Two meters farther south is another length of wall with a slightly different orientation, built of re-used conglomerate blocks bedded in lime mortar. Its relation to the monument in question is not clear.



in use but a limited time, for, from the Arretine vases and lamps found in the filling, one may conclude that it was filled up well on in the first half of the first century A.D. The obvious occasion for its abandonment is the construction of the great stairway, which may accordingly be placed about that time. And one may, therefore, compare the Agora stairway with that which led up to the Propylaia, built perhaps in the time of Claudius<sup>1</sup> and the principal approach to the assembly place on the Pnyx as rebuilt in the second century A.D., probably by Hadrian.<sup>2</sup>

## SUMMARY

Among the monumental buildings of the area, the Bouleuterion would seem to have a good claim to the greatest antiquity. Evidence has been presented for pushing well back into the seventh century its earliest period, a large building the precise plan of which still remains obscure. This primitive Council House was altered toward the middle of the sixth century, though again we are ignorant of details. In this time, too, may well fall the establishment of the worship of Zeus in the area that was later to be overlaid by his Stoa; perhaps also the construction of the first, the apsidal Temple of Apollo. Apart from these activities, the first three quarters of the sixth century are void of building in this part of the city. Solon and the elder Peisistratos were apparently too deeply engrossed in establishing the economic stability of the country to concern themselves with its appurtenances. The younger members of the tyrant's family had at their disposal the accumulation of a generation of peaceful prosperity and they were doubtless spurred also by emulation of their fellow tyrants and the older cities of Ionia to initiate a program for the development of her public square on a scale worthy of their city. To them we may attribute with certainty the nine-spouted fountain house, the Great Drain, the Altar of the Twelve Gods. It is not impossible that they were responsible as well for the design of the Old Bouleuterion. But since the archaeological evidence pushes the date of the building very close to the end of the century, we have preferred to associate it with the reforms of Kleisthenes. The little Temple of the Mother to the north of the Bouleuterion must closely follow its neighbor. The temple is the earliest tangible evidence for the worship of the goddess on the spot. The Old Bouleuterion, facing south, calls for a contemporary Tholos. And a sixth-century Tholos may well evolve with further exploration.

The ashes of the Persian sack lay thick in the north part of the area. The three sanctuaries of the west side, of Zeus, Apollo and the Mother were undoubtedly destroyed; that of the Twelve Gods probably suffered as well. The ruined buildings were left as memorials of the disaster and the city, overjoyed at having gotten rid of the foe even at such a cost, set up statues to Apollo, the Warder off of Evil, and to Zeus, the Saviour. What damage the Bouleuterion suffered at this time we cannot say. It did, in any case, continue in use.

<sup>1</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 174 ff.

For long after 479 the market square must have presented a sadly desolate appearance. Nor was its dignity or beauty enhanced by the intrusion of petty workshops of potters and of smiths in and about the ruinous sanctuary of Zeus. But the industry of these craftsmen doubtless contributed largely to the recovery of prosperity. In honor of their patron deities, Hephaistos and Athena, the magnificent marble temple on the hilltop was begun sometime shortly after the middle of the century. About at the same time the councillors were provided with seats on the hill slope below the new temple from whence they might watch the processions pass through the square. With the growing press of administrative duties the Archon Basileus required roomier accommodation. He was handsomely provided for in the new Stoa that was to bear his name, a building designed probably in the late '30s, completed certainly by 409/8 B.C. The Stoa was erected in the closest available area in the vicinity of the administrative centre, *i.e.* the Bouleuterion and archives. Zeus Eleutherios, on whose sanctuary the new building intruded, must have been more than placated by having his statue set off to such advantage as perhaps none other in the market square and by having his name also attached to the Stoa. Now too the Boule felt the need of a more modern council house and before the end of the century they were meeting in a New Bouleuterion set close against the Old. The old building was now given over to the state archives, and the Mother of the Gods, represented by a statue, the work of Agorakritos, or perhaps of his master, was placed in the building as guardian of the records.

A long gap in building activity followed the War. Around 360 B.C. the city was able at last to have the walls of the Stoa painted, and that by a leading artist of the day, Euphranor. About the same time, or a few years later, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria were honored with a tiny temple set at the northern edge of the Sanctuary of Apollo. And within the next quarter of a century, thanks no doubt to the economical administration of Lykourgos, it was found possible to house Apollo himself, his old statue by Kalamis and a new one by Euphranor, in a worthy temple.

A porch along the south side of the New Bouleuterion, intended no doubt to shelter some new paintings, and an ornamental Propylon to the same building are among the very few examples of monumental building in Athens, attributable to the war-torn third century.

In the following century, reviving prosperity and the assistance of foreign princes permitted of the reorganization and modernization of the market square. It was undoubtedly as part of this program that the archives and the sanctuary of the Mother were provided with a new building which presented a colonnaded front to the square; this in the second half of the century. To the same time, conceivably, may be attributed the porch of the Temple of Zeus and Athena.

Early on the morning of March 1, 86 B.C., Sulla's forces broke through the city wall just to the west of the Agora, and the soldiers, infuriated by the long resistance, spared neither the citizens nor their monuments. Whether anything more than statues suffered in our particular region we cannot yet say with certainty. But we do know that for generations after that day masses of shattered sculpture and blocks from ruined buildings were available for re-use in new construction.

At about the same time, fortunately, cultured Romans began to take an active interest in the welfare of the city. We know of benefactions made by Cicero's friend Atticus, by Pompey, Caesar and Augustus. It may be that we should attribute to some lesser benefactors of the same race such undertakings of the first century A.D. as the Stoa Annex, the monumental stairway on Kolonos, the screen wall around the Bouleuterion Square. And some of the large bases datable to that time may well have carried honorary statues, the gratitude of the city. Hadrian, too, in return for his many gifts to Athens was given a place beside Zeus Eleutherios and a few years later Antoninus joined the group of "Saviours."

We know nothing more of the history of our buildings until the year 267 A.D. when a swift moving band of Germanic barbarians captured and sacked the city. It seems certain that all the buildings of the west side were damaged at the time and shortly afterward much of their material was carried off for the construction of the new defences to the east. For a century and more thereafter the old market place was occupied only by the miserable hovels of refugees who have left no monument but their broken dinner plates and clay lamps and bronze coins. Early in the fifth century the Bouleuterion and the Metroon were partially rehabilitated (though they probably no longer served their old uses) and shared the brief afterglow of the Athenian Agora. But as early, probably, as the sixth century, darkness settled again and reigned almost complete for 400 years. From the tenth through the twelfth centuries a new suburb grew up and flourished around the north foot of Kolonos and along the north edge of the old square. But by this time our buildings lay deep beneath the protecting soil.

HOMER A. THOMPSON



ADDENDUM  
ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE STOA OF ZEUS

While the above was in the press, there appeared Dr. Otto Walter's "Zeus und Königshalle der Athener Agora" in *Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1936, cols. 95–100, in which the independence of the two stoas is maintained. Dr. Walter argues that the passage of Pausanias quoted above (p. 64) is split in two by the expression *στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται* which, according to Pausanias' usage, should introduce a new building. It should, however, be borne in mind that the entire passage, both in its content and order, is such as Pausanias might be reasonably expected to apply to a single prominent building: a brief indication of the name and purpose of the building, followed by mention of striking statuary on its roof (or in its pediments), enumeration of remarkable monuments immediately in front, and finally by a description of the more noteworthy features of the interior, paintings or sculpture (cf. *inter alia*, Pausanias' description of the Propylaia, I, 22, 4 ff.; of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmos, I, 1, 7 ff.). The colorless character of the verb *ᾠκοδόμηται* is well illustrated elsewhere by its use in Pausanias' account of the Sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (IX, 10, 2 ff.). After mention of the name, of the hill which the sanctuary occupied, of the river which flowed by and of the statues by the entrance, the temple itself is introduced: *μετὰ* (*i. e.* after the statues) *ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμηται*. Then follows an account of the sculpture within the temple.

As a conclusive argument in favor of the duality of the stoas, Dr. Walter adduces Pausanias' reference to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in his mention, at Delphi, of the shield of Kydias (X, 21, 5 f.). But the account of the shield, together with the long digression on the Gauls in which it is imbedded, was clearly taken by Pausanias from a literary source. Pausanias himself had not seen the shields (which were removed by Sulla) and consequently he cannot here be regarded as a primary source. Nor can the passage be placed in the same category as its author's specific cross references in later books to Athenian buildings such as the Odeion of Herodes (VII, 20, 6) and the Bouleuterion (X, 19, 5). And certainly it cannot compensate for the periegetes' failure to name the "second" stoa on his first mention of the building.

A further argument against the combination of the two stoas is held to be a discrepancy in the data bearing on their chronology. The Stoa Basileios is arbitrarily assigned to the early fifth or possibly the sixth century on the sole evidence of the terracotta akroteria, known to Dr. Walter only from Pausanias' reference. The stoa whose remains have been described above is identified by Dr. Walter with the Stoa of Zeus and is dated by him on the evidence of the cornice and of the marble akroteria to a time shortly before 400 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This dating is supported by supposing that the battle scene represented the earlier Battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.) rather than the engagement of 362 B.C. But attention is called to Pausanias' reference to Epaminondas and Xenophon's son Gryllos in the painting. And we should be given the reasons for placing Euphranor's *floruit* "around the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries," *i. e.* a generation earlier than the date suggested by the evidence indicated on p. 103 above.

Now that the terracotta akroteria may be dated on the more tangible evidence of fabric and style the exponent of the "separatist" theory may well be embarrassed by the close chronological agreement between them and the stoa already discovered (cf. above, p. 73).

Dr. Walter rightly insists that Pausanias' *ὑπισθεν* should be taken in reference to the statues just described. The implications of this interpretation for the identification of our building have been pointed out above (pp. 68-70).

In choosing the site for a separate Stoa Basileios, Dr. Walter notes two possibilities: either the building lay in a north-south line to the north of our Stoa, or else it had an east-west orientation and presented only a short end to the market square, its long front presumably facing on the road from the Dipylon. Dr. Walter rightly ruled out the first alternative because the remoteness from the Hephaisteion which it implied for the Stoa rendered Pausanias' second reference unintelligible. He failed to observe, however, that the second alternative is equally in conflict with the whole order of Pausanias' description. After passing through the Dipylon, the traveller described three clearly separate groups of buildings and monuments: first, those in the immediate vicinity of the Gate, second, those bordering the road from the Gate to the Kerameikos, and, third, those belonging to the Kerameikos, *i.e.* the market square proper. From Pausanias' account it is obvious that the Stoa Basileios fell definitely in the third group which must surely mean that it presented its main front (in the case of a stoa one of its long sides) to the square rather than the road.

Dr. Walter's closing comment deals with Aristophanes' reference (*Eccl.* 684 ff.) to a second stoa alongside the Stoa Basileios. Walter would see in the poet's *theta* a reference to the Thesmothetion to be associated, conceivably, with the Metroon, Bouleuterion and Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos. But it is now clear that at the time of the *Ekklesiazousai* no colonnade existed in connection with those buildings and that sanctuary.

Hence, while admitting that an element of uncertainty must persist so long as the area to the north of our Stoa remains unexcavated, I can only reiterate my impression that the balance of the combined literary and archaeological evidence would seem to favor the identity of the Stoa.

Communications bearing on the material presented here and likely to be of service in the preparation of the final publication will be welcomed by the undersigned. They may be addressed to him between January and August at

The American School of Classical Studies, Athens;  
between September and December at

The University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Canada.

HOMER A. THOMPSON









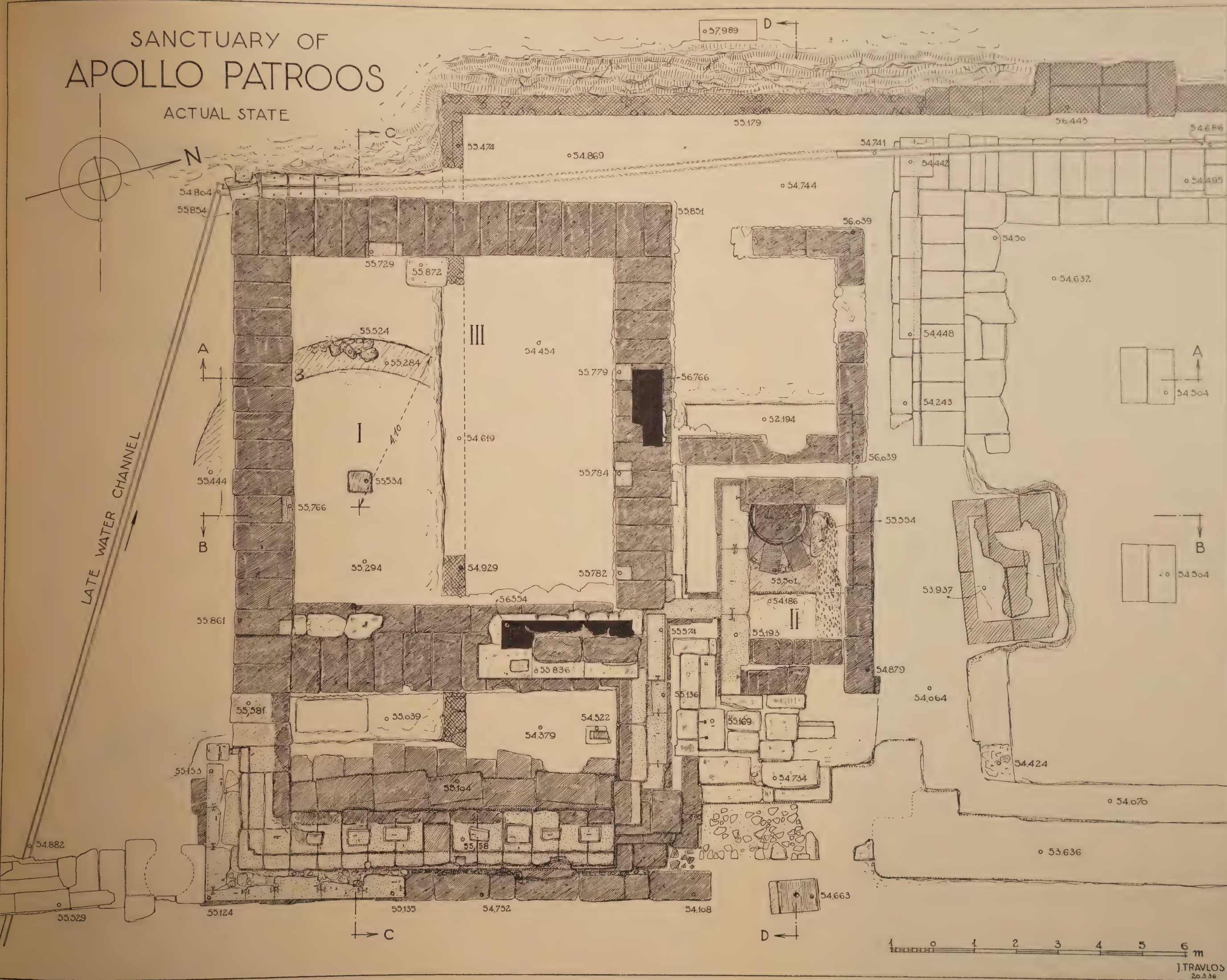






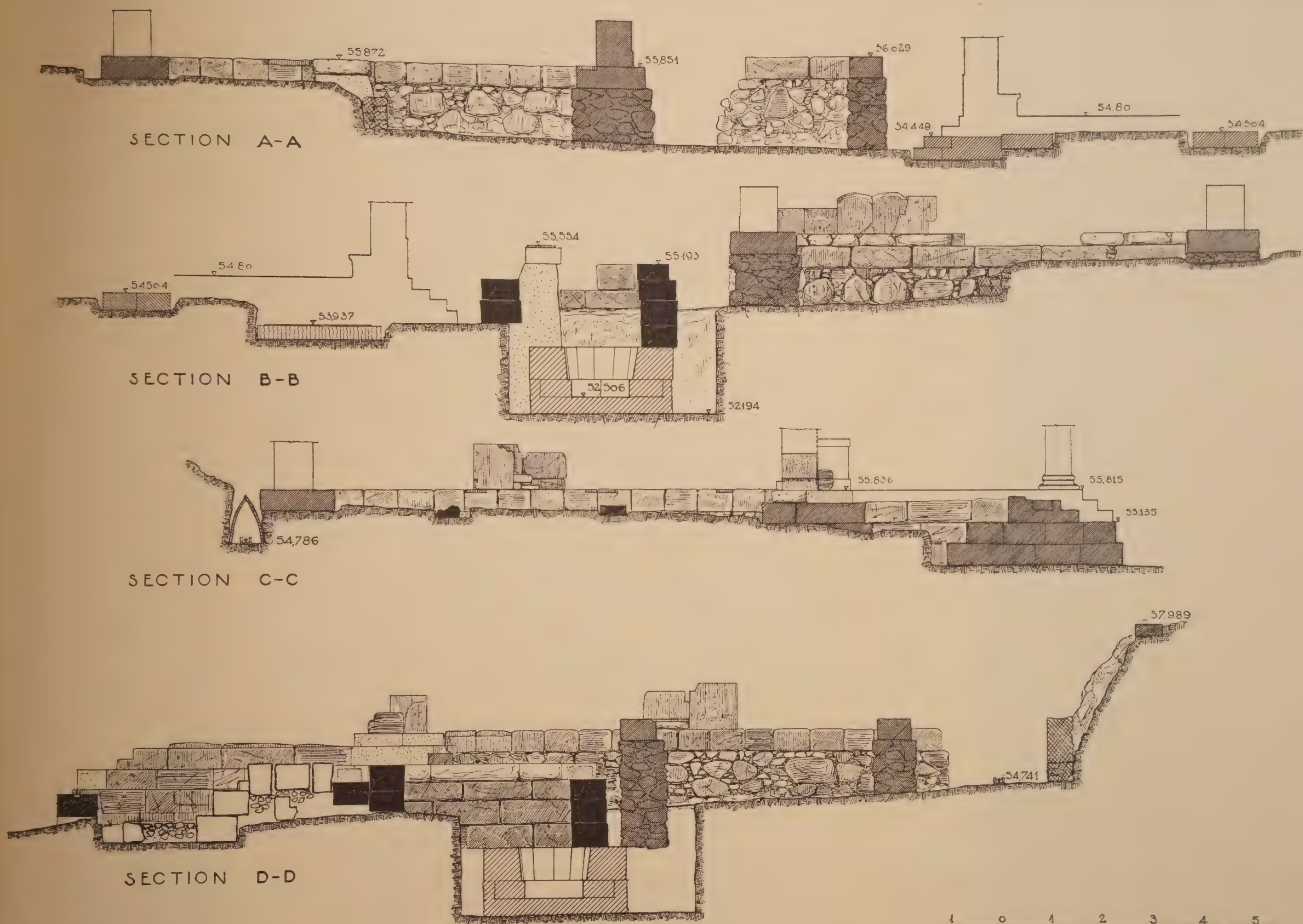
SANCTUARY OF  
APOLLO PATROOS

ACTUAL STATE







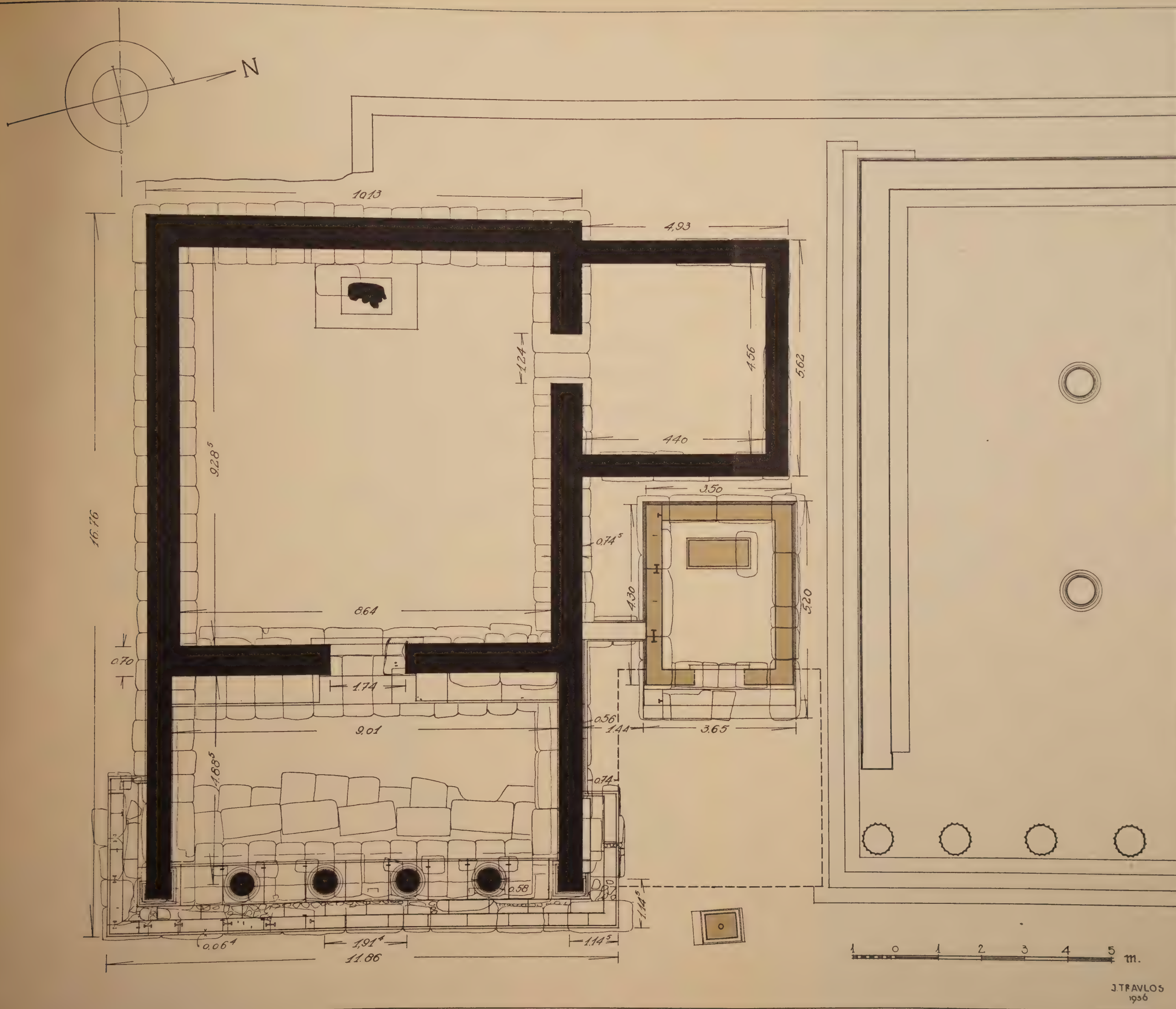


JT.  
1936

Sections through Sanctuary of Apollo. See Plate III







Temples of Apollo Patroos, Zeus and Athena. Restored Plans

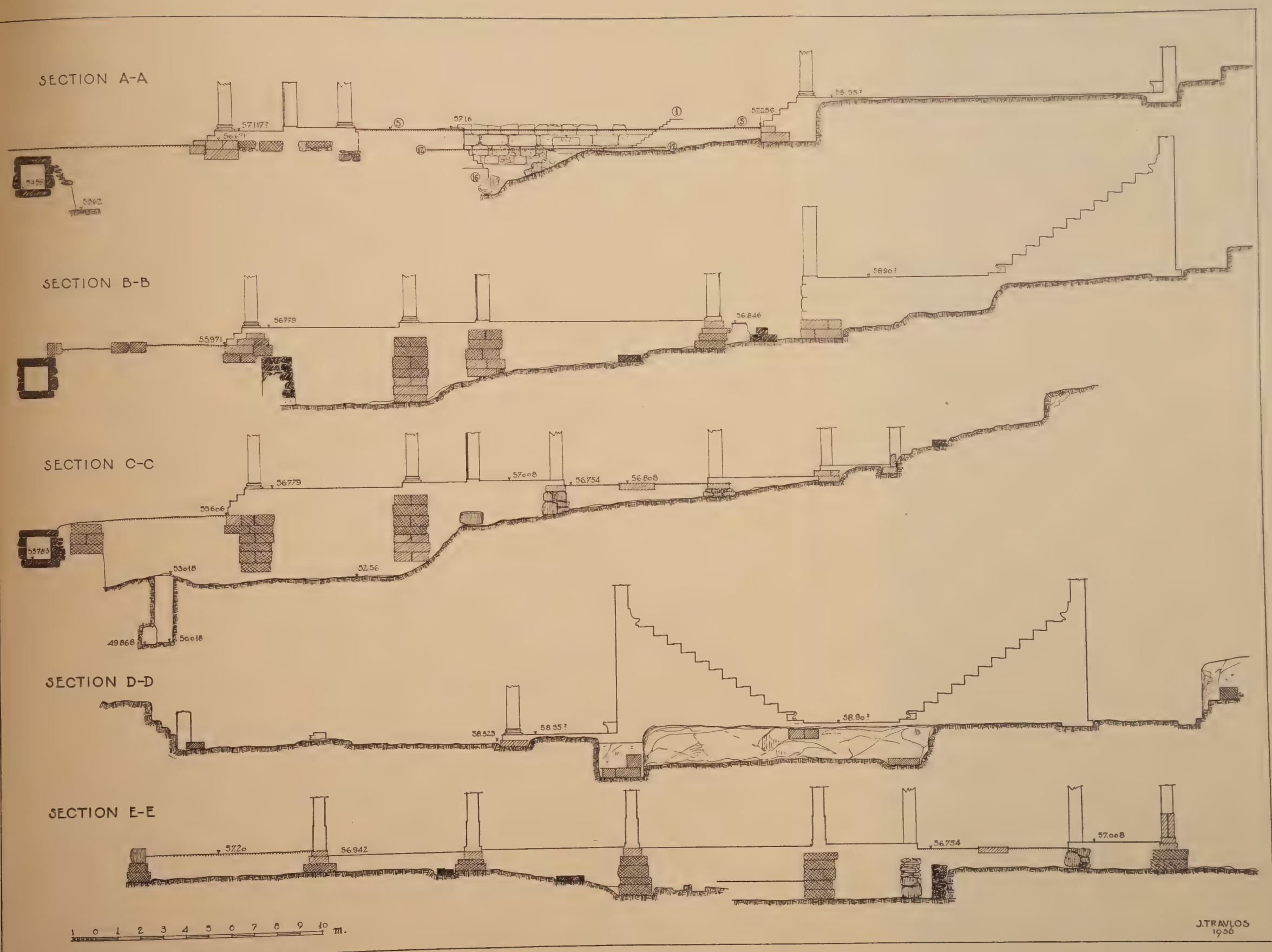










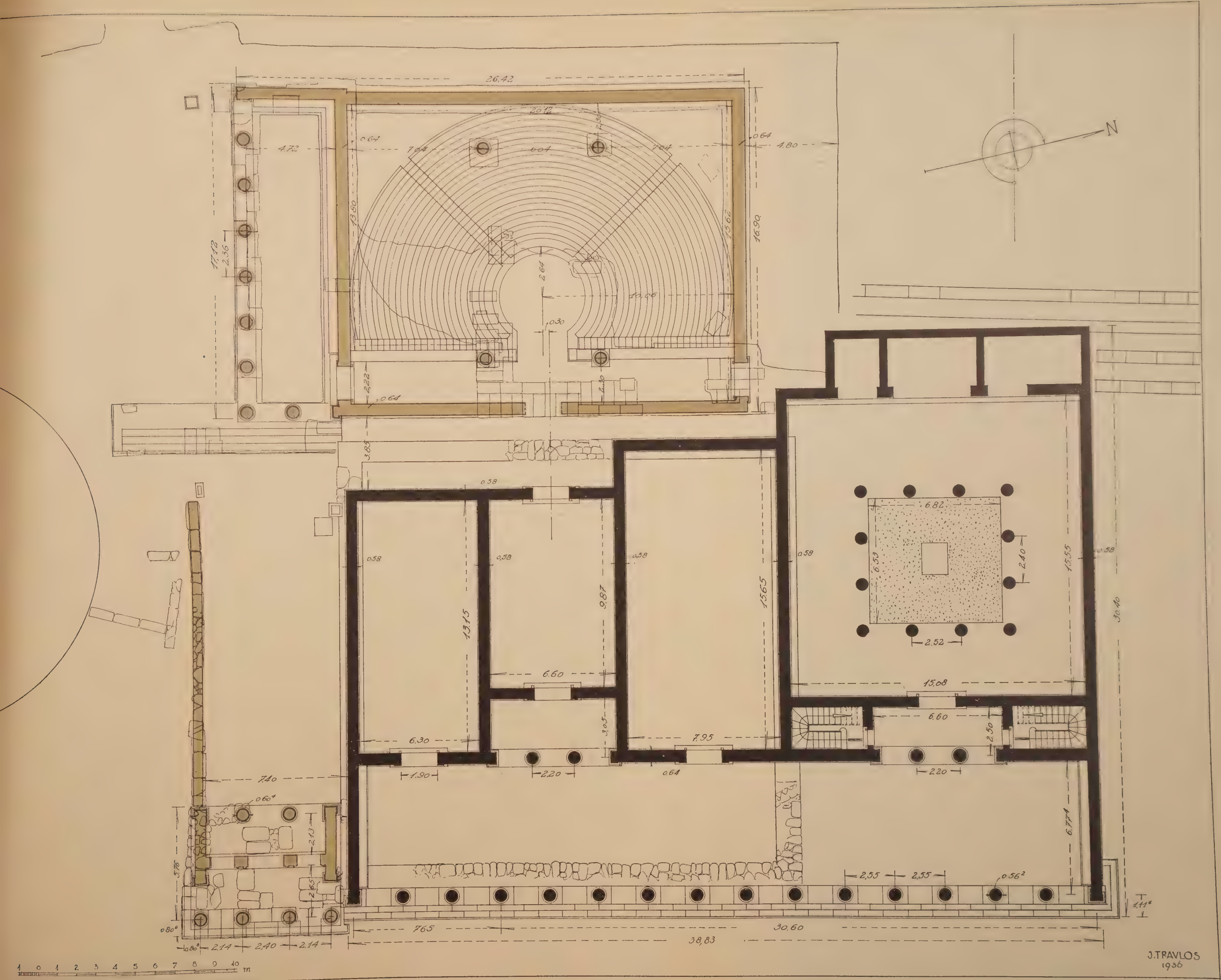


J. TRAVLOS  
1936

Sections through Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex. See Plate VI







New Bouleuterion, Propylon, Hellenistic Metroon. Restored Plan

J. TRAVLOS  
1936

of the Ister (Danube), and sent an embassy to Justinian asking to be received. The king welcomed them kindly, and bestowed upon them the right to dwell in the region of Mysia, in the city of Dorostolos, now called Dristra. Though at first without resources, they became wealthy and grew numerous. Unmindful of and ungrateful for past favors, they set out to subdue the Romans, capturing the Thracians and Macedonians, laying waste their kingdom, and freely plundering the lands round about. They also captured Sirmion, a famous city of Europe, which is in Bulgaria, and is now called Strimons. It was formerly held by the Gepaides, and handed over by them to King Justin. On account of this, ignominious agreements were made with them by the Romans, who promised to pay them a yearly tax of 80,000 gold pieces. And with these the Avars announced that they would cease from further attacks.

In the year 6090 (582 A.D.), when Maurice was in power, the Avars sent an embassy to him demanding that another 20,000 gold pieces be added to the 80,000 which they were already receiving from the Romans. The king, desiring peace, acceded to this demand. But the agreement lasted no longer than two years, for the khan, making inordinate demands on the grounds that he had been disregarded in some respect, as a pretext for starting war, broke the truce and suddenly captured Singidon, a town of Thrace. (Here follows a list of Avar invasions and conquests, which include Macedonia, part of Asia Minor, Thessaly, Epirus, Attica and Euboea.) They blockaded the Peloponnese, driving out the good Greek peoples; and destroying them, they themselves settled in the land. Those who were able to escape their murderous hands dispersed to various places. The city of Patras was established in the country of Rhegium of the Calabrians; the Argives settled in the island named Orobe. And the Corinthians migrated to the island called Aegina...

Thus the Avars held the Peloponnese and dwelled in it for 218 years, subject neither to the Roman king nor to anyone else, continuously from the 6096th year of the creation of the world, which is the sixth year of the reign of Maurice (588 A.D.), until the year 6313, which is the fourth year of the reign of the elder Nicephorus (805 A.D.)... Only the eastern part of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Cape Malea, belonging to the Slavonic people, was free, because of its ruggedness and inaccessibility, and a general of the Peloponnese was sent by the king of the Romans to this section..."

As established by the editor, the chronicle was written between the year 1340 (the date of the latest event mentioned therein) and the end of the sixteenth century (the date of the MSS.). This document is not to be regarded as an original or entirely veracious source. Undoubtedly it owes many of the facts and events related in it to Evagrius and other earlier writers; nevertheless its value can hardly be overestimated. It presents a consistent, plausible narrative of the conquest of Greece by the Avars, mentions specific dates for this invasion, and states exactly how long the Avars were in power and over what portions of the country they held sway. As far as the city of Corinth is concerned, some obscure points in her history are clarified, and we have only to investigate whether the archaeological evidence confirms the facts as presented in this narrative.

Several years ago the western wall of the city was traced from where it runs through the Potters' Quarter nearly to the upper end where it must have joined the walls of Acrocorinth.<sup>1</sup> In the course of excavating the ruins of the wall and its towers a number of graves of various periods were discovered, so many that one may assume

<sup>1</sup> Carpenter and Bon, *Corinth*, III, Part II, pp. 65-80.



with some degree of plausibility that the slopes to the west of Acrocorinth were used, when necessity arose, as a military cemetery. It would have been only natural for invaders and besieged to bury their dead upon the field of battle. They utilized convenient holes and crannies provided by the fortifications, especially the towers, which had been partially demolished by the Roman conquerors. Excavations conducted in the region about the walls might unearth still more graves in places where the soil is sufficiently deep to cover a body.

The first interments in the west wall seem to have been made during the early Imperial period.<sup>1</sup> The graves of later times have offered, in most cases, so little in the way of finds that one can only assert that they contained Christians (from the orientation), and even this may be open to doubt, since the shape and orientation of the space afforded by the construction of the wall must have restricted the position in which a body could be laid. For lack of evidence one may call these burials tentatively "Byzantine," with the exception of two discovered in a square tower not far below the fortified west entrance of Acrocorinth (Fig. 1).

This tower "is built entirely of poros blocks . . . laid as stretchers, but interrupted by occasional courses of headers to make an external casing for the tower rather more than four feet thick. Transverse ribs divided the interior into compartments and prevented the fill from shifting."<sup>2</sup> In the roughly rectangular spaces left by these transverse ribs were interred a considerable number of bodies, some of them accompanied by weapons and ornamental objects. It is these objects which have enabled us to discover the origin of their owners.

Two graves were made in the east half of the tower, Grave III utilizing the blocks of the tower for its four sides, Grave II having a row of smaller stones added to form its north side. Grave I, just south of the tower, in the adjoining wall, contained only skeletons. Grave IV, discovered in the spring of 1936 in the course of a brief supplementary excavation, lies directly south of the southeast corner of the tower, and does



Fig. 1. Foundation of Square Tower in West City-wall of Corinth, showing graves. (From Carpenter and Bon, *Corinth*, III, Part II, fig. 49)

<sup>1</sup> Carpenter and Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Carpenter and Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

not appear in figure 1. This grave, merely scooped out of the earth, was oriented more accurately east to west than the others. It contained seven poorly preserved skulls, including one of a child, and one nearly intact laid some distance above the others. The bones were confused, evidently as the result of a second burial, and nothing was found among them except a plain bronze ring, probably used as a finger-ring. (Other short trenches excavated near the tower in a search for graves—one to the south of Grave I, and another along the north side of the tower—produced no results whatsoever.)

Graves II and III alone are of interest to us. In Grave II lay six bodies, the skulls in poor condition, so that none could be preserved complete.<sup>1</sup> The teeth of all were

<sup>1</sup> Three of these skulls, the only ones sufficiently intact, were examined by Professor I. Koumares of the University of Athens. He has very kindly prepared the following report:

**Skull no. 1:**

Upper jaw (left side) preserved. The skull is that of a man, at the prime of life, but delicate. Viewed in *norma lateralis* it appears hemispherical (smooth), with projection of the inion. In *norma verticalis* it is oval. The forehead is high and slanting, without superciliary arcs. The metopic suture has fused.

Measurements:

Maximum cranial length,	17.8
Maximum cranial breadth,	12.5
Basio-bregmatic height,	11.4
Minimum frontal breadth,	9.3
Circumference,	48.5

Indices:

Cephalic index,	70.22
Length-height index,	64.04
Breadth-height index,	91.20
Fronto-parietal index,	74.40

General characteristics: dolichocephalic, hypsicephalic (or acrocephalic), and with broad forehead.

**Skull no. 2:**

Tholos alone preserved. The skull is probably that of a man at the prime of life. The forehead is straight and small. Viewed in *norma verticalis* it appears elliptical. The superciliary ridge is slightly developed.

Measurements:

From glabella to lambda,	17.5
Maximum cranial breadth,	13.0
Minimum frontal breadth,	9.4

Indices:

Cephalic index,	74.29(?)
Fronto-parietal index,	72.31

General characteristics: broad forehead and apparently dolichocephalic.

**Skull no. 3:**

Back portion alone preserved. The skull is large, of a man, with characteristic flat occiput.

Measurements:

Maximum cranial breadth,	13.8
--------------------------	------

**Observations:**

The similarity of the first two skulls is to be remarked, as to measurements and especially as to appearance. The most important characteristics recall the general Mediterranean type. As to the question of relationship with the Avars, it is difficult to answer. To be identified with them the skulls should be brachycephalic, whereas these are dolichocephalic.



Fig. 2. Objects from Grave II in Tower at Corinth



mature and in excellent condition. Beneath the bones, at the bottom of the grave, were a few Greek sherds, and finally gravel. No definite floor had been made. The objects found in this grave are the following:

**Bronze buckle** (Fig. 2, A). Length, 0.059 m. It is composed of two parts: the buckle proper and a decorative plate attached to it by a hinge. The plate is heart-shaped, its outlines emphasized by deep engraving, with a petal-shaped portion cut out on either side of the central rib. A small spherical knob finishes off the end. Three small protruding loops on the reverse of the plate are for attachment to the belt.

**Bronze chain** (Fig. 2, B). Length, *ca.* 0.14 m. It consists of one simple ring, with a large figure-eight link and thirteen similar but smaller links attached to it.

**Iron buckle** (?) (Fig. 2, C). Length, 0.055 m. It is square in section, but badly corroded, and the tongue is missing.

**Iron ornament** (Fig. 2, D). Length, 0.03 m. Roughly in the shape of a cross, one end is pointed, while the others are rounded, thicker, and slightly foliate in appearance. Possibly it was once attached to the chain.

**Iron object** (Fig. 2, E). Length, 0.024 m. It is a small fragment, approximately cylindrical, perhaps part of a handle.

**Iron spear-point** (Fig. 2, F). Length, 0.14 m. The long solid blade, circular in section, ends in a hollow cylindrical haft.

**Iron spear-point** (Fig. 2, G). Length, 0.113 m. The double-edged blade ends in two barbs (one broken off), and has a slightly defined midrib. The cylindrical haft is hollow.

**Iron spear-point** (Fig. 2, H). Length (end broken off), 0.097 m. It has a flat, leaf-shaped blade, without barbs, and a hollow, rounded haft.

**Iron axe-head** (?) (Fig. 2, J). Length, 0.119 m. The fabric has become so badly corroded that only the general outlines of the object can be distinguished. It consists of a piece of metal, now broken at both ends, which was pierced by a circular hole through the centre for the insertion of a handle.



Fig. 3. Buckle from Grave III in Tower at Corinth

In Grave III were found two skeletons, the skulls fragmentary, and the following objects:

**Bronze buckle** (Fig. 3). Length, 0.061 m. A decorative plate is attached to the buckle proper. The plate is approximately triangular, with a flat, circular knob at the lower end, and three holes, two round and one heart-shaped, as decoration. Three loops for attachment project from the reverse (one of these had been broken off and another, slightly too large, fastened on with a rivet). The buckle itself is formed from a broad flat strip of metal bent into a loop, and the tongue is made of a similar strip. This part is probably also a repair.

Three fragments of a small **bronze ring**, with a loop at one end like that of an earring.

Hardly any of these objects are of the sort customarily called Byzantine. It is true that two of the spear-heads (Fig. 2, F and H) are of types almost universal, and numerous analogies can be found for them at almost any period, but the barbed spear-head and the axe (if such it be) are distinctly uncommon. In a search for parallels one soon finds that in all Greece there are few such objects, and it is to the north that one must look for their origin. Central Europe, Hungary in particular, where excavations have been frequent and extensive, has produced hundreds of graves containing objects startlingly similar to these. Those found at Keszthely, on Lake Balaton, provide particularly sharp

and clear parallels. The graves there which contain objects similar to ours date from the early seventh century, shortly after the time mentioned by the chronicler as the period of the desertion of Corinth, a period when her native industry failed to produce anything, when commerce was dead, when, in other words, foreigners had captured the region. It is clear that these graves are not those of Corinthians who merely happened to be in possession of foreign dress and weapons. A spot so far from the lower town would be unlikely for the burial of natives, and no settlement existed on Acrocorinth so early as this period. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the actual intruders were buried here, exactly the sort of people who died and were buried during the same centuries on the shores of Lake Balaton, in Hungary. Here we cannot enter upon a discussion of the origin of these tribes nor of their wanderings in central and southern Europe. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that they have been traced as far back as southern Russia, whence they spread over central Europe and into the Balkan peninsula, conquering as they went, and that certain of them have been, rightly or wrongly, called Avars. The name is immaterial. They are known also to have subdued Hungary and to have remained in possession of it until the Magyar conquest in the ninth century. The earlier tribes which penetrated the Peloponnese, in the reign of Justinian, were probably purely Slavic, for by that time the Avars had not yet reached the plains of Hungary; while the traces of South Russian influence in the accoutrement of the invaders buried near Acrocorinth show that even though the Slavic element may still have been present, the dominant cultural influence was Avar.<sup>1</sup>

Since publications of Hungarian excavations are not universally available, we reproduce in figure 4 drawings of objects from Hampel's *Alterthümer*<sup>2</sup> which most closely resemble the Corinth finds. For the first buckle (Fig. 2, A) no identical parallel appears,<sup>3</sup> but for that from Grave III (Fig. 3) figure 4, A<sup>4</sup> offers the closest likeness that can be hoped for. The only respect in which ours differs from the Hungarian specimen is the buckle and tongue, and those, as stated above, are probably the result of a makeshift repair. A similar one has been found in the Agora of Athens,<sup>5</sup> and another in the excavations at

<sup>1</sup> Not without interest is the fact that the invasions of the Avars into Greek lands are paralleled by incursions of similar and contemporary peoples into the Italian peninsula. Excavations in Picenum have disclosed an entire "Barbarian" cemetery at Castel Trosino, near Ascoli Piceno. The weapons found there are much like those from Corinth, but the ornamental objects exhibit variations sufficient to show that the invaders were not of identical tribes, though undoubtedly they were closely related. (See *Mon. Ant.*, XII, 1902, p. 292, fig. 184.)

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*. Braunschweig, 1905. Although not the most modern source available, Hampel offers the most extensive and nearly complete array of Hungarian antiquities. Thanks are due to the Director of the Hungarian Historical Museum for permission to reproduce from Hampel the drawings of objects shown in figures 4, 7, and 8.

<sup>3</sup> A very similar one, with heart-shaped motive arranged in a slightly different manner, has been found in a grave in Salonica (Archaeological Museum, no. 588). This information was kindly furnished by the curator, Mr. Makaronas.

<sup>4</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 734 (from Keszthely).

<sup>5</sup> Inv. no. B 282. This buckle was called to my attention by Mrs. H. A. Thompson, and is mentioned here by permission of Professor T. Leslie Shear.



Fig. 4. Objects from Graves in Hungary

Aphiona on Corfu,<sup>1</sup> as well as several elsewhere in Corinth (Fig. 5). Figure 4, B<sup>2</sup> shows an iron buckle whose form suggests that our figure 2, B may be a fragment of a similar one. A spear-head very like figure 2, F, from Kotaj, is reproduced in figure 4, C.<sup>3</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 59, 1934, p. 282. See also *ibid.*, p. 226, fig. 27, a photograph of a similar buckle, found in Athens, which bears a Christian monogram.

<sup>2</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 671 (from Cziko).

<sup>3</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 444.



similar but larger weapon from the cemetery of Reichenhall<sup>1</sup> is one of many from that site which bear a close relationship to the Hungarian, and hence the Corinthian finds. In the ornaments, however, use is made of niello work, which is characteristic only of the western branch of these nomad peoples. Many double-barbed spear-heads, similar to figure 2, G, have been found at Reichenhall<sup>2</sup> as well as in Hungary (Fig. 4, D).<sup>3</sup> To figure 2, H we may compare figure 4, E<sup>4</sup> from Czikó, in Hungary, as well as its German counterpart from Reichenhall.<sup>5</sup> The axe-head (Fig. 2, J) will perhaps appear to be plausibly identified as such if compared with figure 4, F.<sup>6</sup>

Various parts of Corinth have yielded buckles and other ornaments as well as weapons which are obviously of the same origin as those found in the graves just described, but which may either have been introduced by the Avars or brought to Corinth in some indirect way. The buckles are the most characteristic.

Figure 6, A (found on Acrocorinth) is particularly interesting because of its decorative motive. The opposed horses' heads, though reduced to the simplest possible form, yet recall the splendid animal designs created by the Scythians for their metal work. Their inevitable decline reached its lowest point in such forms as this buckle, a decline for which was responsible not only the passage of centuries but also the diffusion of their art. The side view of this buckle (Fig. 6, B) shows the provisions for attachment which are customary on all the buckles here represented. Some have only two projections, but in other respects they are similar. Any number of buckles from Keszthely (Fig. 7)<sup>7</sup>

show a certain resemblance to figure 6, A, but none is identical. The buckle represented in figure 6, C (found west of the Lechaem Road) is still more conventionalized than that of figure 6, A; yet it shows traces of a naturalistic origin. A very similar pattern may be seen in figure 8, A,<sup>8</sup> a buckle from Kassa. The knob at the end of the plate seems to be characteristic of all Avar buckles, no matter what variations the design may exhibit. Figure 6, D exhibits the herring-bone and zigzag pattern, which is extremely



Fig. 5. Two Buckles from Corinth

<sup>1</sup> Max von Chlingensperg-Berg, *Das Gräberfeld von Reichenhall in Oberbayern*, Grave 309, pl. XXXV.

<sup>2</sup> von Chlingensperg-Berg, *op. cit.*, Grave 306, pl. XXXIV, *et alia passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 147, 5 (from Keszthely).

<sup>4</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 427.

<sup>5</sup> von Chlingensperg-Berg, *op. cit.*, Grave 250, pl. XXIX.

<sup>6</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 104.

<sup>7</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 160.

<sup>8</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 27, 16 a and b. See also *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, XL, 1923-26, pl. IV, no. 7.

characteristic of this art. Occasionally it is combined with the cut-out pattern, as in figure 8, B,<sup>1</sup> from Szeged. Another type of buckle is exemplified by those represented in figure 6, E and F, both without a regular plate, the former having a rectangular loop at the end for the insertion of the end of the belt. Exactly alike is figure 8, C,<sup>2</sup> from Szeghegy. The last and simplest type of buckle, figure 6, G, is paralleled by that in figure 8, D<sup>3</sup> and by another from Kenézlő.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 6. Buckles and Arrowhead from Corinth

The only weapon, besides those found in the tower, which can be definitely attributed to the Avar invasion is an iron arrowhead with three concave sides (Fig. 6, H). While unknown in Greek or Roman times, it is identical with many from Hungary, of which

<sup>1</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 93, 15. A buckle identical with our figure 6, D, from Igar, may be found in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, XLIII, 1929, pl. IX, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 497, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 770.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, XLV, 1931, p. 85.



Fig. 7. Buckles from Keszthely, Hungary

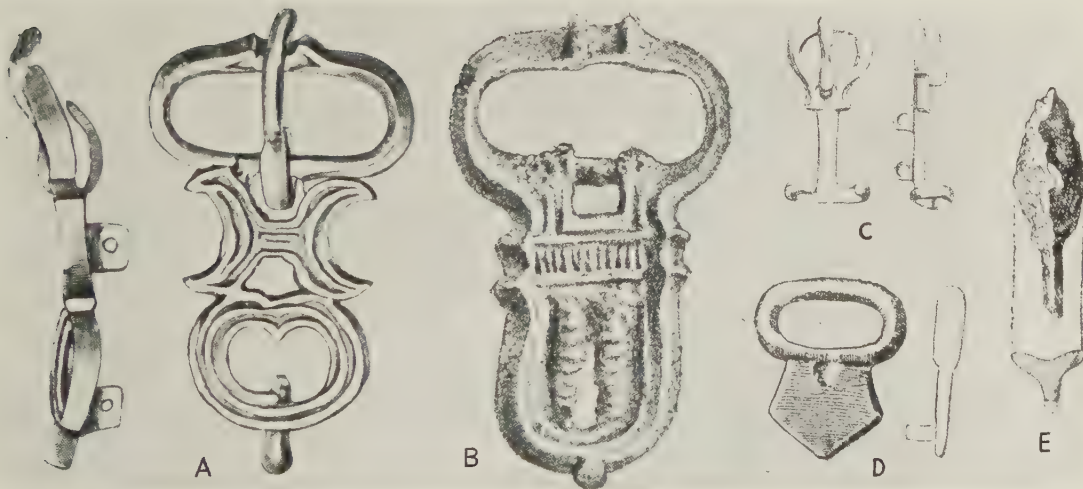


Fig. 8. Buckles and Arrowhead from Hungary



one, from Kassa, is reproduced in figure 8, E.<sup>1</sup> Other weapons discovered in the excavations at Corinth may very likely have belonged to the invaders, but are not sufficiently characteristic to be absolutely identified as such.

In addition to buckles and weapons, there is a considerable amount of jewelry from the excavations, whose motives if not provenience are distinctly "northern." Bracelets and earrings (Fig. 9) made of wire with filigree balls attached to them have been found by the thousands in southern Russia as well as in the lands directly to the north of Greece.<sup>2</sup> The presence of such jewelry at Corinth may best be explained by the evidently lengthy stay of the invading peoples at the site. The women of the tribe would doubtless soon have followed the successful army. To repeat the words of the chronicle: "The Avars held the Peloponnese and dwelled in it for 218 years . . . Only the eastern part of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Cape Malea, belonging to the Slavonic people, was



Fig. 9. Bronze Earrings from Corinth

free, because of its ruggedness and inaccessibility." Since Corinth itself and the Argolid present no rugged or inaccessible features, it is likely that the writer referred strictly to the eastern coast of the Peloponnese, beginning at Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, and including the peninsula of Acte, as well as the Laconian coast. On the other hand, if this section did in truth belong to "the Slavonic people," the jewelry could as well

have been theirs as the Avars'. The type was widespread among the northern peoples.

Numismatic evidence from the excavations at Corinth also bears out the supposition that the site was practically abandoned by the original inhabitants for a long period of time. The reigns of the eighteen emperors who ruled between the years 668 (the first year of Constantine IV) and 829 (the last year of Michael II) have yielded only sixteen coins. Coins of the emperors immediately preceding Constantine IV have been found in somewhat greater numbers.<sup>3</sup> Since these quantities, however, are still comparatively small, the evidence may be considered adequately to support the statement of the chronicler.

<sup>1</sup> Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 369. See also von Chlingensperg-Berg, *op. cit.*, Grave 140, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Kondakov, *Русские Кладби*, pls. IV, XII, XIII (from near Kiev); Hampel, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, fig. 980 (from Keszthely); *Arch. Anz.*, 1913, p. 43, fig. 18 (Hungarian).

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Tiberius: 26 coins, Phocas: 29, Heraclius: 14, Constans II: 54, Constantine IV: 2, Tiberius III: 1, Constantine V: 1, Leo IV: 2, Nicephorus I: 2, Michael I: 1, Leo V: 3, Michael II: 4. These figures are drawn partly from K. M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 165, and partly from the article entitled: *Report on the Coins found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930-1935*, in this issue of *Hesperia*, which the author kindly allowed me to see in manuscript form.

The results which have been obtained from the correlation of the none too abundant evidence relating to Corinth encourage the hope that a further study of this chronicle and of other literary sources, as well as of the available archaeological material, may clarify the history of the Peloponnese and of all Greece during this obscure period.

G. R. DAVIDSON

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In the course of the extensive excavations of the remains of the period of the migration of peoples (*Völkerwanderungszeit*) which have been conducted by Hungarian scholars more than 15,000 graves have been uncovered. Not only have these excavations awakened interest in the study of the early Middle Ages, but they have fully disclosed the great importance of the Avar Kingdom. It is only by united effort that the history and culture of this kingdom can be studied as a whole. Of great importance is the historical demarcation of its boundaries. The two graves found near Acrocorinth and the stray finds in Corinth itself are important in this respect. It is quite probable that we have here the most southerly outpost of an expanding people, which they occupied for an indeterminate period. The relatively large number of weapons (spear-heads, axe) shows that these were the graves of warriors. Negative evidence for this conclusion is the complete absence of feminine adornment. We can easily date the finds, since all are contemporary. On the analogy of finds in Hungary we must place them in the first half of the seventh century. In this period a great part of the Balkan peninsula was open to the Avar hordes, who met their first opposition in Greece.

We can, indeed, determine the date of the Corinth finds even more closely. The development of the buckle forms presented here is to be found in South Russia. There we often find objects of the Krim-goths and of the Kuturgurs (later known as the Danube Bulgars) intermingled. These two peoples often lived close together, and had a demonstrably strong influence upon each other. When the Avars conquered Hungary in the year 568 they forced a great part of the Kuturgurs to go with them. This the Greek writers confirm, and they write also of the custom which the Avars had of placing the Kuturgurs in the front ranks during battle. This is told, for instance, of a Balkan campaign.<sup>1</sup> We do not know the number of Balkan campaigns conducted by the Avars, but the Corinth finds are tangible evidence of such an expedition; the graves are those of Kuturgur warriors who fell in the vanguard. It is a generally recognized fact that the Byzantine emperors later tried to defend themselves against the Avars by settling Slavs in the Balkan peninsula. It is not likely that this attempt was successful. The tactics of the Avars were the result of hundreds of years' experience.<sup>2</sup> They were splendid

<sup>1</sup> Menander, ed. Bonn, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Leon Sophos, *Tὰ ἐν πολέμοις τακτικά*, Chap. XVIII (after the work of Maurikios, *Στρατηγικόν*, XI, 3).

riders and were equipped with excellent weapons: bows and arrows, sabres, axes, and lances. We know that the Slavs fought on foot, for the most part poorly armed, only with knives. The southern expeditions of the Avars were frustrated by the Bulgarian occupation of the year 680, which was brought about through the initiative of Byzantine policy. Now two peoples with the same military technique opposed each other. At this time the Avar Empire lost half its possessions in the East through the successful advance of the Chazars. Then begins the second period of the Empire's history, extending from 680 to the middle of the ninth century. During this period were preponderant the massive cast bronze belt ornaments, usually decorated with vines, scenes of animal combats, or griffins. The best examples of gold have been found in Vrap (Albania), together with decorated silver vessels now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Avar art had a great influence on the art of the Croats, for example the moulds from Biskupija in Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> These problems belong, however, to the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, when we are no longer on such firm ground as in the case of the Acrocorinthian and Corinthian finds.

<sup>1</sup> See Karaman, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske proslosti*, fig. 147.

TIBOR HORVÁTH



## REPORT ON THE COINS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH DURING THE YEARS 1930—1935

A report on the coins found at Corinth from the beginning of excavations on that site in 1896 to the end of 1929 was published in the *Corinth Series*<sup>1</sup> in 1932; it was in the form of a catalogue and included about ten thousand coins. During the years covered by that report much of the digging was done in trial-trenches not far below surface-level where the proportion of Byzantine coins was large; for the Roman period only the Odeum<sup>2</sup> yielded a fairly large number of coins, most of them of Constantinian times and later; Greek coins were few.

During the six years covered by the present report the work of excavation has been pushed forward rapidly at lower levels, large areas have been dug over thoroughly, important buildings have been located and much valuable archaeological material has been added to the rich stores in the museum. Of this material the coins form an important part, throwing considerable light on the periods of greater and less activity in various sections of the old city. The main excavation at the present time is continuing the earlier work in the center of the city, opening up more of the great Agora. That this was the center of the life of Corinth from the time of its refounding as a Roman colony by Julius Caesar through the Roman and Byzantine periods is clear from the coins found. They also show that its activity had periods of partial or utter stagnation, especially in Medieval times. The presence of some Greek coins indicates that it was in use during Greek times. Excavations of the next few years will, it is hoped, bring out more of the Greek material.

Three sections of the excavation are of more interest to the student of Greek Corinth than the Agora. One of them, lying just below the north slope of the temple of Apollo and excavated in 1930,<sup>3</sup> combines a Roman market and a Hellenistic stoa. From the latter came the hoard of gold coins of Philip II and Alexander and other important coins of the Hellenistic period, which provide evidence that the Macedonian occupation of Corinth did not interfere with its economic life as a Greek city and that Greek currency continued in use. Two outlying sections of the city yielded still more important results. In the Potters' Quarter, which lies along the west wall of the city and was excavated in 1930—1933,<sup>4</sup> were found seven silver coins of Corinth, some of them of very early times, and bronze coins of Corinth and other Greek states from early periods to Hellenistic times. As this section was

<sup>1</sup> *Corinth Reports*, Vol. VI, Coins.

<sup>2</sup> *Corinth Reports*, Vol. X, Odeum.

<sup>3</sup> de Waele, F. J., *The Greek Stoa North of the Temple at Corinth*, *A.J.A.*, 1931, p. 394.

<sup>4</sup> Newhall, A., *The Corinthian Kerameikos*, *A.J.A.*, 1931, p. 1.

one of work-shops and not a trading-center, the number of coins is not large but their evidence is of great value. The third site, lying along the northern edge of the city just where it drops down into the plain, contains the sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia<sup>1</sup> with the adjacent fountain of Lerna. The coins found there show that it was a great health-center in Greek times, that it was rebuilt and beautified on the re-establishment of Corinth by Julius Caesar and continued in use until the spread of new ideas about healing and of Christianity caused it to sink gradually into disuse and finally led to its abandonment some time in the fourth century. A short period of work around the east gate of the city-wall in 1932<sup>2</sup> showed by a majority of Greek coins among its total of forty-three that the wall on that side of the city was built originally by Greek Corinth, although the presence of Roman coins from Titus to Arcadius indicates that people passed through this gate to the end of Roman times.

Two Roman buildings at some distance from the Agora gave results of some interest. A small Roman bath close to the excavation house presents somewhat confusing evidence of occupation during Roman and Byzantine times. There were eight of the Greek type of Pegasos-trident, but, as this coin occurs constantly with coins of the early Roman period, it is possible that it was in use during that time. There were Roman-Corinthian coins and Roman imperial and Byzantine ones of all periods. It would seem therefore to belong to all periods of the city.

The second Roman building, in a field south of the excavation house, was excavated in 1933 and the study of its 85 coins gives us a definite date for its use and a possible purpose. The coins are as follows:

**Greek:** Corinth 7, Antigonus Gonatas 1, Phlius 2, Sicyon 1, Mantinea 1.

**Graeco-Roman:**

Corinth: under *duoviri* 2, Hadrian 1, Marcus Aurelius 2, Lucius Verus 3, Commodus 4, Septimius Severus 2, Julia Domna 1, Caracalla 3, tessera 1;

Peloponnesian Cities: Sicyon 2, Aegium 1, Asine 2, Cyparissia 1, Mothone 1, Thuria 2, Las 2, Argos 2, Hermione 1, Troezen 1, Orchomenos 1;

Cos 1; Athens 1;

**Roman Imperial** 17; **Byzantine** 17; **Frankish** 2.

The sixteen coins from the Doric states of the Peloponnesus and the one from Cos were issued during the reign of Septimius Severus when the right of coinage was granted to many Greek cities. The presence of so many in the one building suggests that it was the usual meeting-place of the Dorians who came to Corinth.

With these and a few other exceptions of no numismatic interest the excavations covered by this report have been made in the centre of the city in the southern part of the great Agora. The earlier work in the upper layers yielded large numbers of Byzantine coins, especially those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Below these came the Roman

<sup>1</sup> de Waele, F. J., The Sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia at Corinth, *A.J.A.*, 1933, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Parsons, A., *Corinth Reports*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 296.

coins, beginning with the very bad, but abundant, small currency of the fifth century, and the better and larger coins of the Constantinian period and below those a scanty showing for the third century. The latest excavations have been uncovering the market-place of the city as a Roman colony, when it was issuing its own money, at first under its own officials, the *duoviri*, and later, from Domitian to Geta, with the name of the emperor on the coin. The relatively large number of these coins indicates that there was immense activity and prosperity in Corinth during this period and that its commercial contacts reached into the whole Eastern world. It did not however reach the place it held when it was the great commercial center of Old Greece. A brief review of the several periods follows:

## COINS OF CORINTH

### Greek Period

The **silver coinage** of Corinth is represented by very few pieces, twenty-two in all. They come mostly from the few Greek sections of the city that have been uncovered, seven of them from the Potters' Quarter. Two of these are of the sixth century, two of the fifth, and the other eighteen of the fourth century, most of them from the second half. One of the staters of this period is silver-plated over a copper core.

The **bronze coins** of the Greek period are far more numerous, as was to be expected, since they were the common currency of local trade. Most of them, 1381, are of the small Pegasos-trident type, in use until the sack of the city by the Romans in 146 and probably used, if not minted, by the poor remnant of citizens who lived miserably in wretched houses among the ruins of the old city. They must have been in use when the new Roman colony was established, for the small bronze coins of the early issues are certainly copied from them. It is also significant that in the Roman Agora now being excavated the number of Pegasos-trident coins already found is 630 as compared with 148 of the *duoviri* coins, the official currency for the years 44 B.C.—69 A.D. These larger coins probably represent a higher denomination while the smaller ones continued in use as small change. An attempt to arrange these little bronze coins in a chronological sequence based on the symbols has been only partly successful but will be resumed when the complete results of the excavations are at hand. The presence of a Macedonian helmet on a few pieces indicates that they were minted during the Macedonian occupation of the city. One coin has for symbol a small, but excellent, copy of the Zeus with thunderbolt in lowered left hand and long staff in right (Corinth Coins, no. 14). It was probably minted at the same time as the larger coin, shortly before the Roman conquest of Corinth. This coin (no. 14) and the similar one with Apollo on the obverse instead of Athena (no. 15) occur respectively five and seven times; adding these to the six recorded in the earlier report gives a total of eighteen and makes it certain that these must be reckoned as Corinthian coins.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Corinth Reports*, Vol. VI, Coins, pp. 3-4; p. 16, nos. 14 and 15.



For the period of Macedonian control of Corinth the evidence is still scanty. The Hellenistic stoa next to the Roman market is fixed by the gold hoard as belonging to this period. Here the number of Pegasos-trident coins, (170), is much larger than the total number of bronze coins of the Macedonian kings, (10). Only one coin with the full name ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ has been reported and this, as well as the types with head of Athena, Poseidon or Herakles on the obverse and Pegasos on the reverse, must be ascribed to the latter part of the Macedonian period.<sup>1</sup>

The Achaean League makes no great showing, even in a section which is more Greek than any previously excavated. Only five cities are represented by coins of the League: Lacedaemon (2), Megara, Sicyon, Pheneus and an uncertain city, not Corinth.

### Roman Colonial Period

Coins issued under the *duoviri* of Corinth in the early years of its existence as a Roman colony are appearing in relatively large numbers in the parts of the Agora now under excavation, with a good representation of the earlier classes. Class V, with M. Antonius Theophilus and P. Aebutius as *duoviri*, is represented by seven examples, five of sub-class *a* and two of sub-class *c*.<sup>2</sup> Among the seven additional examples of class IX *b*, athlete—race—torch, are some so well preserved that it is possible to read the complete inscription on the obverse to left and right of the athlete as <sup>II VIR</sup><sub>COR IN</sub>.<sup>3</sup> In class XXIV two new combinations of the usual obverse and reverse not recorded by Fox have been found. A copy of the much-disputed coin of the *duoviri* Capito and Cithero, who held office under Claudius, was found in the Roman bath in 1932. This coin was credited to Corinth by Head (B. M. C., Cor., no. 540) but was given to Crete by Fox.<sup>4</sup> Although the name of the city is absent, the general appearance of the coin, including the point in the center, is similar to other Corinthian coins of this period. While provenance cannot be given too much weight as evidence, the presence of the coin in Corinth where Cretan coins are very scarce is in favor of its Corinthian origin. To this may be added the fact that an imperial coin of Claudius was found on the same site. The name C. Virgilius C. f., Capito appears in an inscription from Corinth which indicates that the family lived there.<sup>5</sup>

The anonymous coins of Corinth occur in increasing numbers in the sections of the early Roman city now being excavated. No. 1 of Fox's list<sup>6</sup> (CREATOR and one-handled vase on obverse, <sup>CO</sup><sub>RIN</sub> in pine-wreath on reverse) appears in twelve examples and also one with dolphin on obverse, wreath and no inscription on the reverse (Fox, no. 2).<sup>6</sup> There is also one of the type described in the Fox list as no. 32, Aphrodite-Triptolemus. A new athlete

<sup>1</sup> B. M. C., Corinth, p. xxxii; 57.

<sup>2</sup> Corinth Coins, p. 5; nos. 22, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Corinth Coins, p. 4; no. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Fox, Earle, The Duoviri of Corinth, *J. I. A. N.*, Vol. 2, pp. 89–116.

<sup>5</sup> *Corinth Reports*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 88; C. I. L., III, 7277.

<sup>6</sup> Fox, Earle, Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus, *J. I. A. N.*, Vol. 6, pp. 1–16.

type represents a runner to left with round shield on left arm. A coin listed as a tessera by Cohen (Vol. VIII, p. 272, no. 58) should be placed in the anonymous group.<sup>1</sup> The obverse type is a ship with sail and oarsmen and the reverse shows a typical Corinthian dolphin. There is no inscription but the general appearance is consistent with its attribution to Corinth at this period and the presence of a type on both sides distinguishes it from the Corinthian tesserae, which are struck on one side only.

### COINS OF OTHER GREEK STATES

These occur singly or in small groups in all parts of the excavation. Their total is about half that of the coins of Corinth and over half of them are from the Peloponnesus. The small hoard from the Asklepieion, to be described below, gives us a group of coins from Sparta, Elis and Corcyra at the beginning of the Roman period. The group of coins from Peloponnesian cities in the time of Septimius Severus has been already described. As in the previous report, Sicyon stands at the head of the list with 321 coins, of which the greater number belong to the Hellenistic period. They afford some material for the much needed study of the bronze coinage of Sicyon as a whole. The most common type of our coins, dove and wreath, has Σ in the wreath but Σ is not scarce; ΔΗ also occurs, pointing to the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and ΑΡ, Θ, ΘΕΥ, ΘΕΥΦ, and ΜΕ are found.<sup>2</sup> The ΑΡ may very well stand for Aratus. No coin with ΕΥ in wreath has turned up so far but the letters Ε and Υ appear to left and right of the tripod-in-wreath on the reverse of a coin found with others of the period from 323 to 251. This cannot be referred to the Tyrant Euphron, but must stand for the name of an official of the time of Aratus or thereabouts, of whom there are several. On one coin of the same type the tripod is replaced by a Corinthian trident. I have not seen this coin reported previously. It must be rare. It belongs to the period of Aratus when relations between the two cities were somewhat mixed.

### ROMAN COINAGE

Only a few coins of the Roman Republic remained in the soil of the Roman agora of Corinth and most of those are of the period just before and after the founding of the Roman colony. Of the imperial coinage up to the time of Geta, when Corinth was deprived of the right of coinage, most of the money in use was from the Corinthian mint although scattering examples of the imperial coinage do appear. The emperors between Geta and Gallienus are represented by still fewer coins but after the time of the latter there is a gradual increase in numbers. Not until the time of the Constantinians are there enough coins to indicate that the city was active and prosperous. The coinage of the fifth century will be discussed under the description of the "shop-find."

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Circular*, June 1930, no. 97016; cf. Belfort, A. de, *Annuaire de la société française de numismatique*, 1891, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> B.M.C. (Pel.), p. xxxiv; Cousinéry, *Les Monnaies d'argent de la ligue Achéenne*.

## BYZANTINE COINAGE

The conclusion arrived at from the coins found in earlier excavations at Corinth is confirmed by the later evidence. The period of a century and a half from the reign of Constans II (641–668) to that of Theophilus (829–842) is represented by only six coins. Economic life for that period must have been at a low ebb. Whether this was due to earthquakes, or to incursions of barbarians from the north, or to the general stagnation of trade throughout the whole of the Eastern empire is not clear. Perhaps it resulted from a combination of all three causes. From Leo VI (886–912) until the fall of the Byzantine empire large numbers of coins appear with a maximum of 2318 for the reign of Manuel I (1143–1180).

## HOARDS

In the excavation of cities which have been occupied by the same people for many centuries the finding of hoards is not frequent. Only thirteen hoards have been found in these excavations at Corinth and, with one exception, they are quite small. Some of them are not hoards in the strictest sense. The process of collection would seem to be, in some cases at least, not a gradual hoarding up of savings, but the hasty hiding of money on hand at a time of hurried flight. Such times would be, for instance, the sack of Corinth by Mummius in 146, by Alaric in 395 A.D. and, possibly, the occupation of the city by a Macedonian garrison in 338, although this event seems to have been political, with little or no effect on "business." Another cause of flight and the hiding of money was earthquake. There have been several times in its history when the city was shaken into ruins and had to be evacuated in a hurry. The people, expecting to come back as soon as the danger was over, hid their valuables in any convenient place, tied up in a bag or cloth. The hoard-pot is absent from the hoards of Corinth except in the case of the "gold hoard." These hoards, to use the word in the broadest sense, are sometimes more instructive than the "savings" hoards, since they represent the small change actually in use in the city at the time of deposit and so furnish the most accurate information for dating coins found together. The thirteen hoards found in Corinth are about evenly divided among three periods, Greek, Roman and Byzantine.

Of the Greek hoards the **Gold Hoard** was the first to be found and is the most valuable of all, although not the most important, perhaps, from the numismatic point of view. It was found in the Hellenistic Stoa, next to the Roman North Market, on March 23, 1930. It was hidden in a drain just where it entered a wall and was covered with a flat dish. It consisted of fifty-one gold staters, forty-one of Philip II and ten of Alexander. They showed few signs of use and with them was a delicate and beautifully-made gold necklace, quite new. This was evidently a treasure hidden in a safe-deposit vault of the owner's choosing, probably on his own property. A complete report of the hoard has not



been published but a preliminary report was made by the excavator.<sup>1</sup> The date of hiding cannot be far from the end of the Macedonian period.

During the excavation of the Asklepieion two important hoards of Greek coins were found. The **Abaton Hoard** was uncovered on April 21, 1932 at the base of the west foundation-wall of the east Lerna wing of the sanctuary. Of the fifty-seven legible coins which it contained three were Corinthian silver coins, two drachmae and one obol, of the period immediately preceding 338, fifty-two were the common Corinthian bronze coins of the Pegasos-trident type, one was a coin of Phlius of the years 431-370 (B. M. C., Pel., p. 34), and one a coin of Tegea with head of Athena and owl, dated by Gardner (B. M. C., Pel., p. 200, no. 8) as before 370, by Grose<sup>2</sup> as after that date. The coin is broken and shows long use but its presence in this place is in favor of the later date. The question of how long bronze coins continue in use in Greek cities is not fully answered by our finds but the evidence seems to indicate that they continued in circulation long after their issue, even when later issues were in use.

The other Greek hoard from the Asklepieion, found May 13, 1931, was named by the excavator the **Offertory-box Hoard**. The container was a large stone, hollowed out above and below, with a small opening from the upper to the lower cavity. It contained a lamp, some small porous stones, "fragments" and eleven coins as follows:

- Lacedaemon 3, Lycurgus—club-caduceus, with the letters ΑΗ, ΔΙ·Φ, [Φ]Ι·ΔΙ,
- 3, Apollo—eagle, with Α, Φ[ ],
- 1, Portrait of Atratinus—eagle;
- Elis 2, Apollo—Zeus with thunderbolt;
- Corcyra 1, Herakles—forepart of galley and name ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ,
- 1, Herakles—Corcyra and name ΦΙΛΩΝ.

All the Spartan coins belong to the period 146-32, when Sparta, under the authority of Rome, was putting out a number of new issues.<sup>3</sup> The coin with the head of Atratinus was issued at the end of that period, in 32 or soon afterwards. The hoard must have been hidden within a year or two of that date since no coins of the time of Augustus are included. The coins of Elis were minted after 191<sup>3</sup> and the ones from Corcyra between 229 and 48.<sup>3</sup> Coins of Corcyra are rare in Corinth and these apparently came by way of Sparta. Another Corcyrean coin of the same issue was found later under the east portico of Lerna and another of the same period from Sparta in the same area. The deposit may have been made by some wandering Spartan of those unsettled times.

While not a hoard, a little collection of three bronze coins found together in the foundation for the foot of a libation-table in Lerna Square is of interest. With one Pegasos-trident coin of Corinth and one dated 300-243 by Head (B. M. C., Cor., no. 476) was one of the common type of Sicyon, dove—ΣΙ in wreath, a collocation which argues for the later date (323-251) of this coin.

<sup>1</sup> de Waele, F. J., *The Greek Stoa at Corinth*, *A. J. A.*, 1931, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> Grose, S. W., *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 1923-1929, II, p. 481, no. 7021.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. C. (Pel.), p. XLIX, 123, 129; B. M. C. (Pel.), p. 74, no. 147; B. M. C. (Thes.), p. 150, nos. 531, 536.

A small hoard of sixteen Greek bronze coins was found Nov. 3, 1933 just under the edge of the pavement, below the gutter-curb of the Lechaëum Road opposite the Peribolus of Apollo. The coins were as follows: Corinth 400–146, 1; Corinth 300–243 (B.M.C., no. 476), 1; Antigonos Gonatas, 1; Sicyon 323–251, 7; Sicyon 251–146, 5; Chios 190–146, 1. The chief importance of this hoard is for the dating of the coin of Chios; the magistrate's name on the reverse is ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗ[Σ] and it was dated by Mavrogordato<sup>1</sup> as "probably of the latter part of the period" 133–84. Its presence here shows that it comes from the first half of the century since the pavement under which it was hidden had not been disturbed after the destruction of the city in 146 until the recent excavation.

The **Roman Hoards** all belong to the later periods of the empire. A small one was found in the southeastern section of the Agora on May 11, 1933, "close together in a mass" but without a container. It consisted of thirty-five coins as follows: Valentinian II, 9; Theodosius I, 8; Arcadius, 12; and 6 small coins of the same period on which the name of the emperor is illegible. The absence of coins of Theodosius II indicates that the hoard was hidden before he became emperor, probably toward the end of the reign of Arcadius.

On April 4, 1930 another hoard of late Roman coins was found in the North Market. These coins were very badly worn but 202 were legible. Of these, 3 were of Constantine I, 6 of Constantius II, 1 of Constans I, 12 either Constantius II or Constans, 9 House of Constantine, 1 Valentinian I, 3 Valens, 5 Valentinian II, 9 House of Valentinian, 16 Theodosius I, 1 Flacilla, 1 Magnus Maximus, from the mint of Aquileia, 24 Honorius, 1 Johannes, from the mint of Ravenna, 1 Valentinian III, 8 Arcadius, 53 of Theodosius II, 29 of the House of Theodosius and 19 of uncertain emperor with the usual reverse types of the period. The hoarding must have been in the time of Theodosius II.

A third Roman hoard, found May 18, 1930 in a trial-trench two meters above what was later named "Lerna Square," consisted of thirteen coins of the same period and was probably hidden at about the same time. The coins were 2 of Constantius II, 6 of Honorius, 2 of Arcadius, 2 of Theodosius II and 1 illegible. The presence of coins of Constantius II with a hoard of much later date is not surprising as many coins of his enormous mintage continued in use in Greece until the end of the Roman period.

On June 13, 1930 during the excavation of a wall which ran across the plain east of the city, called at the time "Justinian's Wall," a hoard of 742 small coins was found east of, i.e., outside of the wall, "within the ploughed level so that the coins and bones of a skull have been scattered." Of the number found many disintegrated or broke into small pieces so that the final count of legible coins was 336; of these one was early, a coin of Claudius II, one was an older Roman coin cut into quarters and one an old Greek coin of Messene cut down to the size of the rest; the others are as follows: 1 of Constans I, 1 of Valens, 21 of Theodosius I, 1 of Honorius, 7 of Arcadius, 28 of Theodosius II, 15 of Marcian, 32 of Leo, 38 of Zeno and 40 of uncertain emperor, all with the four common reverse types, Victory with captive, Victory with wreath, emperor standing and camp-gate; there are

<sup>1</sup> Mavrogordato, J., *A Chronological Arrangement of the Coins of Chios*, p. 165, no. 67; p. 194.

148 small coins of Anastasius with his monogram on the reverse and one with the monogram of Baduila. It seems probable that the hoard was left where it was found in the reign of Anastasius, since no coins of Justinian are in the group. In that case it is difficult to account for the presence of the coin of Baduila. It may be that it should be regarded as an "intruder" that has slipped down from a higher level in some subsequent ploughing of the field. The skull-bones suggest that this is not a hoard of savings but that the owner of the money, trying to escape from one of the earthquakes which devastated Corinth during this period, lost his life just after he had got safely out of the city; perhaps the wall fell on him.

I include with the hoards a "find" of small coins from one of the shops of the South-western Agora, found May 9, 1933. They were scattered on the pavement at one end of the shop, where they had fallen seemingly from some receptacle above. The excavators of the Agora believe that this whole section was destroyed by an earthquake and abandoned in haste. The proprietor then fled in a panic, leaving his money in the money-drawer, from which it fell with the upper structure of the shop and was scattered on the floor below. The inference is clear. This is a collection of the money used in a small shop in Corinth in the first part of the sixth century. Nine hundred coins were reported by the excavator but many of them were in scraps as found and many more were disintegrated in cleaning so that only four hundred and sixty came to the cataloguer in 1935. Of these two hundred and forty-five are illegible and two, coins of Alexius I and Isaac II, must be regarded as "intruders," having dropped down with the disturbance of the earth during excavations. The remaining 213 are as follows:

Of Roman coins: Constantine I, 1; Constantius II, 1; Valentinian II, 1; Theodosius I, 1; Valentinian III, 1; Arcadius, 6; Theodosius II, 7; Marcian, 4; Aelia Zenonis, wife of Basiliscus, 1; uncertain emperors of the fifth century, Victory with wreath or palm, 15; palm-tree, 5.

Four old Greek coins, cut down to about 10 millimeters, 2 of the Pegasos-trident type of Corinth, 1 of Sicyon, dove and ΣΙ in wreath, and 1 of Rhodes (B. M. C., Caria, no. 70).

Byzantine coins: Anastasius, 70, of which 66 are small coins with his monogram on the reverse and 4 are € coins from the Antioch mint; Justin I, 18, 2 of the Tyche of Antioch, 16 with the ⚡ on the reverse; Justinian, 63, 26 € coins, 11 I coins and 26 with his monogram, Ɱ or VOT in wreath.

Vandal coin: Huneric, 1 (?).

Ostrogothic coins: Theodoric, 1; Athalaric, 1; Theodahad, 1; Baduila, 11. Few of these coins have legible mint-marks but some of them with CON, SMNA or TES show extremely poor and crude work. They are not, however, "barbarous imitations" of Roman coins but are certainly the recognized official currency of the country at a time when the mints, at least in the East, had completely broken down and almost anything in the way of a small piece of bronze would be accepted as money by a merchant of Corinth in his daily transactions. These small pieces, *minimi* and *minissimi*, must have remained in circulation, along with the larger pieces introduced by Anastasius, through the reign of Justinian. This



currency will be discussed in a later paper and some material from outside of Corinth will be studied with it.

Of the three **Byzantine Hoards**, two are of no special interest. One of them found "stuck together in a Byzantine grave" in the excavation of Temple E on May 31, 1932 consists of 27 coins, all of Manuel I.

Another, found in the Agora "under a tile" on May 15, 1934, consists of 110 coins of Romanus I; they are interesting only because they show the haste with which Romanus usurped the imperial rights of his son-in-law, Constantine VII. More than half of them are carelessly restruck on coins of earlier emperors and all show poor workmanship.

The third Byzantine hoard, from the Agora Southwest, found February 22, 1934, consisted of 87 coins "firmly stuck together with traces of cloth in a close mass of earth." They consist of 1 coin of Leo VI, 1 of Theodora, and 74 of Alexius I; 11 are of the type with bust of Alexius on the obverse and bust of Virgin on the reverse (Corinth Coins, no. 126); 25 are the anonymous coins described in Corinth Coins in nos. 127-130. Some of these are restruck on coins of Nicephorus III and one over another coin of Alexius, of type 9 with letters in angles of a square cross; this is in favor of Bellinger's attribution of them to Alexius.<sup>1</sup>

The only hoard of Western coins is the **Crusader's Hoard** found in the Agora May 8, 1934 and left there about the middle of the thirteenth century. With 387 French and Venetian denarii and English pennies was one gold nomisma of John I Ducas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicea 1222-1254. Of the French denarii 30 were coins of Philip Augustus, 42 of Louis VIII, 192 of Louis IX; 66 were from St. Martin of Tours; 30 were of Alphonse "comes," 2 of Poitou, 2 of Toulouse, 21 of Provence, 5 of Riom; 9 were of Charles I of Anjou of Provence and 1 of the comte of Champagne; the Venetian coins were of their Colonial Levantine coinage, issued by the Doges Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249), 3 coins Marino Morosini (1249-1252) 1 coin, and Raniero Zeno (1253-1268) 3 coins; the 10 pennies of the short-cross coinage of England, 1184-1247, were from the mints of Canterbury, 2, London, 7, and Winchester, 1. The coins were found "all stuck together in a crowded cluster as if they had been in a bag"—or perhaps in the pocket of a Crusader who never came home again.

A list of coins found during the years 1930-1935 is appended to the report; the totals are as follows:

Greek,	
Corinth . . . . .	2003
Other Greek States . . . . .	1057
Roman . . . . .	4850
Byzantine . . . . .	7042
Foreign . . . . .	1020
Total	15972

<sup>1</sup> Bellinger, A. R., *Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 35.

## SUMMARY OF COINS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH 1930-1935

COINAGE OF CORINTH			Macedonia .....		
<b>Silver</b> .....		22	<b>Kings</b>		167
Sixth Century		2	Philip II	43	
Stater	1		Alexander III	14	
Drachma	1		Cassander	16	
Fifth Century		2	Demetrius Poliorcetes	26	
Fourth Century		18	Antigonus Gonatas	43	
Staters (1 plated)	4		Philip V	15	
Drachmas	7		Uncertain king	4	
Fractional pieces	7		<b>Cities</b>		
<b>Bronze</b>			Amphipolis (Augustus)	1	
Greek Period			Philippi	1	
400-146, Pegasos-			Pella	1	
trident .....		1381	Dium (Roman)	1	
400-300 (or later) .....		2	Stobi (Roman)	1	
Babelon, no. 60			Thessalonica	1	
B.M.C., no. 472			<b>Thrace</b> .....		4
300-243 .....		51	Mesembria	1	
Second Century B.C. ...		12	Olbia	2	
Corinth Coins, no. 14	5		Viminacium (Gordian III)	1	
Corinth Coins, no. 15	7		<b>Thessaly</b> .....		10
<b>Roman Period</b>			Cierium	1	
Under <i>duoviri</i> .....		254	Crannon	1	
Anonymous .....		57	Halys	2	
With name of emperor ..		183	Larissa	1	
Tesserae .....		35	Federal	4	
Uncertain .....		6	Thessaly (Augustus)	1	
		2003	<b>Northwest Greece</b> .....		19
<b>OTHER GREEK STATES</b>			Illyricum, Apollonia	2	
<b>Italy</b>			Epirus	2	
Paestum (Tiberius) .....		1	Corcyra	7	
<b>Sicily</b>			Acarnania	6	
Syracuse .....		3	Federal	1	
			Leucas	2	
			Thyrrheum	3	
			Aetolia	2	

<b>Central Greece</b>			Cephalenia.....		2
Locri Opuntii .....		10	Pale	1	
Phocis.....		8	Same	1	
Anticyra.....		1	Ithaca.....		2
Delphi .....		2	Zacynthus .....		2
Boeotia.....		41	Messenia .....		16
Federal	21		Messene	10	
Orchomenus	1		Asine	2	
Tanagra	1		Cyparissia	1	
Thebes	4		Mothone	1	
Thespieae (Domitian)	14		Thuria	2	
Euboea.....		20	Laconia .....		21
Carystus	2		Lacedaemon	18	
Chalcis	12		Gytheium	1	
Eretria	2		Las	2	
Histiaea	4		Cythera .....		1
Athens .....		67	Argolis.....		102
Eleusis .....		2	Argos	83	
Salamis .....		2	Cleonae	4	
Megaris.....		20	Epidaurus	6	
Megara	18		Hermione	2	
Pagae	2		Methana	2	
Aegina .....		17	Tiryns	1	
			Troezen	4	
<b>Peloponnesus</b>			Arcadia .....		21
Phlius.....		44	Federal	7	
Sicyon .....		321	Cleitor	1	
Achaea.....		19	Heraea	2	
Aegira	1		Mantineia	1	
Aegium	2		Orchomenus	2	
Dyme	1		Pheneus	3	
Patrae	9		Stymphalus	1	
Pellene	6		Tegea	2	
Achaean League .....		6	Thelpusa	1	
Megara	1		Uncertain city (Cara-		
Lacedaemon	2		calla)	1	
Sicyon	1				
Pheneus	1		<b>Crete .....</b>		3
Uncertain city	1		Cnossus	2	
Elis.....		6	Crete as Roman province	1	



<b>Aegean Islands</b> .....		3	Cities		2	
Ceos	1		Alexandria	2		
Melos	2		Augustus, Hadrian			
<b>Asia Minor &amp; Adjacent Islands</b>			<b>Uncertain Greek States</b> .....			13
Pontus		3				1057
Amisus	3					
Bithynia		1	<b>ROMAN COINAGE</b>			
Bithynium	1		<b>Republican</b> .....			18
Mysia		2	Third Century	4		
Lampsacus	1		Second Century	2		
Pergamum	1		Ca. 90-31	12		
Troas		1	<b>Imperial</b>			
Alexandria Troas	1		Augustus.....			4
Ionia		6	Agrippa.....			1
Clazomenae	2		Tiberius.....			1
Colophon	1		Claudius.....			4
Ephesus	1		Vespasian.....			3
Erythrae	1		Titus.....			2
Phocaea	1		Domitian.....			2
Chios		4	Nerva.....			1
Samos		2	Trajan.....			7
Caria		1	Hadrian.....			4
Bargylia	1		Antoninus Pius.....			10
Cos		2	Marcus Aurelius.....			4
Rhodes		4	Faustina II.....			5
Cappadocia		1	M. Aurelius and L. Verus			1
Caesaraea	1		Lucilla....			2
Syria		5	Commodus.....			6
Seleucid Kings			Septimius Severus.....			2
Antiochus I	2		Julia Domna.....			2
Antiochus III	1		Caracalla.....			1
Antioch on Orontes	1		Severus Alexander.....			6
(Augustus)			Mamaea.....			2
Judaea (Augustus)	1		Pupienus.....			1
<b>Egypt</b> .....		49	Gordian III.....			6
Ptolemaic Kings	47		Philip I.....			4
Ptolemy I	1		Philip II.....			1
Ptolemy III	45		Trajanus Decius.....			2
Ptolemy XIII (as King			Trebonianus Gallus.....			1
of Cyprus)	1		Valusian.....			1

Valerian .....	4	Johannes .....	2
Gallienus .....	21	Valentinian III.....	18
Salonina .....	4	Arcadius .....	417
Saloninus .....	1	Theodosius II .....	238
Macrianus II .....	1	House of Theodosius .....	73
Tetricus (I or II) .....	1	Marcian.....	48
Claudius II.....	7	Leo I .....	62
Aurelian .....	31	Zeno .....	46
Probus .....	16	Zenonis, wife of Basiliscus	1
Carus .....	1		
Numerian .....	2	FIFTH CENTURY COINAGE,	
Diocletian.....	13	EMPEROR UNCERTAIN	
Maximian Hercules .....	23	Reverse types of con-	
Constantius Chlorus .....	5	temporary or earlier	
Galerius Maximian.....	10	emperors	
Maximinus II.....	2	Victory with captive ...	68
Licinius I.....	14	Victory with wreath...	73
Licinius II.....	2	Two Victories .....	3
Constantine I .....	204	Emperor standing .....	18
Fausta .....	1	Emperor with Victory..	1
Crispus .....	5	Two emperors .....	2
Constantine II.....	30	Three emperors.....	1
Constantius II.....	727	Two soldiers and	
Constans I.....	151	standard.....	2
Constantius II or Constans I	39	Camp-gate .....	6
Vetranio .....	1	VOT . . in wreath.....	11
Constantius Gallus.....	37	Old Greek coins cut down	8
Julian II.....	67	Old Roman coins cut into	
House of Constantine ....	14	halves or quarters.....	10
Jovianus.....	1	Non-Roman coins used as	
Valentinian I.....	75	currency in Corinth in	
Valens .....	232	the last half of the Fifth	
Valentinian I or Valens..	4	and the first half of the	
Procopius.....	2	Sixth Century	
Gratianus.....	58	Vandal .....	3
Valentinian II.....	197	Huneric	2
House of Valentinian.....	21	Gelimer	1
Theodosius I .....	478	Ostrogothic.....	22
Magnus Maximus .....	2	Theodoric	3
Eugenius .....	16	Athalaric	1
Honorius.....	164		

Theodahad	1	Nicephorus III .....	381
Baduila	17	Alexius I .....	1528
Of uncertain origin.....	12	John II .....	170
Palm-tree	11	Manuel I .....	2318
Monogram $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}$	1	Andronicus I .....	18
Coins unstamped or		Isaac II .....	31
illegible.....	917	Alexius III .....	19
	4850	Andronicus II .....	1
BYZANTINE COINAGE		Late Byzantine, an-	
Imperial		onymous .....	2
Anastasius .....	274	Late Byzantine, uncertain	
Justin I .....	38	emperor .....	20
Justin and Justinian .....	1	Non-imperial	
Justinian .....	140	Emperors of Thessalonica	3
Justin II .....	55	Theodore Angelus Com-	
Tiberius II .....	10	nenus	1
Maurice Tiberius .....	17	Manuel Angelus Com-	
Phocas .....	11	nenus	1
Heraclius .....	5	John Angelus	1
Constans II .....	17	Emperors of Nicaea .....	9
Constantine IV .....	1	Theodore I Lascaris	7
Tiberius III .....	1	John I Ducas Vatatzes	2
Leo V .....	3	Despots of Epirus .....	1
Michael II .....	2	Michael II	1
Theophilus .....	38		7042
Michael III .....	4	FOREIGN	
Basil I .....	37	Byzantine Period, Eastern	
Leo VI .....	173	Rulers .....	6
Constantine VII and family	497	Princes of Antioch	
Nicephorus II .....	38	Tancred 1104-1112	4
John I Zimisces and suc-		Counts of Edessa	
cessors .....	650	Baldwin I 1098-1100	1
Michael IV .....	146	Counts of Tripoli	
Constantine IX .....	103	Raimond II 1152-1187	1
Theodora .....	10	Kings of Armenia .....	2
Michael VI .....	68	Leo II 1185-1218	1
Isaac I .....	89	Héthun 1226-1270	1
Constantine X .....	20	Seljuk Kings .....	1
Romanus IV .....	13	Khasrum II 1236-1248	1
Michael VII .....	80		



<b>Frankish</b>			Provence, Charles I of Anjou	16	
Princes of Achaea .....		438			426
Wm. Villehardouin	383				
Charles I of Anjou	6		<b>Italo-Sicilian</b> .....		5
Charles II of Anjou	12		Henry II 1004-1024	1	
Florent of Hainaut	4		Roger II 1130-1154	2	
Isabelle Villehardouin	11		Charles I of Anjou	1	
Philip of Savoy	12		Uncertain ruler	1	
Philip of Tarentum	6		<b>Venetian</b> .....		68
John of Gravina	3		State Coinage	9	
Uncertain prince	1		Jacopo Tiepolo	4	
Dukes of Athens .....		33	Raniero Zeno	3	
Wm. de la Roche	23		Lorenzo Tiepolo	1	
Guy II de la Roche	10		Marino Morosini	1	
Triarch of Euboea .....		2	Colonial Coinage		59
Wm. Villehardouin	2		Levantine		
Despots of Epirus .....		20	Andreas Dandolo	1	
Philip of Tarentum	19		Andreas Contarini	7	
John II Orsini	1		Michele Morosini	1	
Uncertain Frankish .....		2	Antonio Venerio	11	
		495	Tomaso Mocenigo	4	
<b>French</b>			Agostino Barbarigo	20	
Kings of France .....		294	Leonardo Loredano	2	
Philip Augustus	35		Uncertain Doge	11	
Louis VIII	46		Zara	1	
Louis IX	213		Trau	1	
Seigneurial Coinage .....		132	<b>Ancona, autonomous</b> .....		1
St. Martin of Tours	77		<b>English</b> .....		16
Bishops of Valence	3		Short-cross Coinage	15	
Bishops du Puy	1		Mint-London	9	
Comte de Champagne	2		Canterbury	3	
Comte de Limoges	1		Winchester	1	
Comte de Poitou	2		Uncertain	2	
Alfonse Comes	30		Long-cross Coinage		1
Poitou	2		Mint-Canterbury	1	
Provence	21				1020
Riom	5				
Toulouse	2				

## A WELL OF THE LATE FIFTH CENTURY AT CORINTH

The objects described in this catalogue were found in a well<sup>1</sup> excavated in the southwestern part of the Agora at Corinth in the autumn of 1934: a closed deposit which included Attic pottery and which therefore could be placed with some exactness in the years 460–420 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Thrown in at one time,<sup>3</sup> the filling contained, besides certain curiosities and chance finds, a quantity of Attic and Corinthian pottery interesting and homogeneous enough to warrant the publication of the whole collection.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by R. Stillwell, *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 41–42, fig. 20. Agora Southwest, November 7, 1934, G. R. Davidson-R. Howland, Excavation Notebook, p. 177 ff., E–K : 30–37, Plan II.

<sup>2</sup> One vase, **64**, found its only counterpart in a grave which must postdate the filling of the well by some ten or twenty years (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 166, fig. 166). The shapes of the two mugs are unmistakably the same even to the groove at the rim, and two such oddities are not likely to have been made twenty years apart. The stamped amphoriskos with the Rhodian vase could at a pinch be ten years later than the latest vase in the well, but the felines of the askos have the look of the end of the century. Of course, the life of a good Attic pot might well have been twenty years, but in juggling with facts afforded by graves one undermines their value. In this case, however, I can suggest only that the mug is an heirloom. Nothing else in the well points to the time of Meidias, and late fifth century deposits in Corinth produce many native Corinthian shapes absent from the well, as well as more developed forms of shapes that do appear there.

<sup>3</sup> No water pitchers were found at the bottom. As fragments of the same vases were found at different depths, the filling must have been thrown in at one time. Three wells in the southern part of the Agora (this well and S : 11 and K : 14 in the South Basilica) were filled in contemporaneously, perhaps as the result of some sudden catastrophe, as one of the earthquakes familiar at Corinth. In the Basilica wells the pottery was thrown in by kinds, as though swept in series off the shelves of a pottery shop. (A tavern origin would not account for the presence in respectable numbers in the present well of such late Corinthian shapes as "kothons," pyxides, squat aryballoi and lekanides.) The "Fehlbrand" **236** would be rare, however, as furniture of the exhibition rooms. The activity in Corinth of pottery establishments other than that at the west of the city has been suspected for some time. That a pottery could border the market-place is shown by the existence of the shop destroyed by the building of the Stoa of Zeus at Athens (see *Hesp.*, VI, 1937, p. 48 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Comparison with the pottery from the excavations of the Athenian Agora has been especially profitable. I owe my thanks to Mr. T. L. Shear for permission to mention the numbers of certain unpublished vases and to Miss Lucy Talcott of the Agora staff for many valuable suggestions. My indebtedness to her article on a fifth century well in the Agora (*Hesp.*, IV, 1935, p. 476 ff.) is obvious. The profiles are by Herr W. Schaefer of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens.

A few remarks may simplify the reading of the list. Of black-figure there was very little: the presence of two low-stemmed band cups of the palmette variety (1-2) only emphasized an already well-known fact: that black-figure lasted late in the fifth century. The Attic red-figure and black-glaze, as might have been expected, was mostly earlier than 430, and while the later pieces might have been imported in the first decade of the war, they could equally well have come in immediately after the Peace. The late Corinthian pottery, on the other hand, fits admirably into the years before 420.<sup>1</sup>

With the establishment of the date of the well, the kitchen and coarser pottery, interesting in itself, becomes further worthy of note through its context. It has a certain kinship with Attic ware of the time and certain idiosyncrasies of its own, and makes a good group. For the history of Corinthian imitation of Attic pottery, the few examples are of value both for their scarcity in the well as compared with the vastness of the numbers of imitations in later fillings of the Agora and for their greater fidelity to Attic prototypes than was often later the case. Corinth had imitated Attic pottery before, but the practice had lapsed, to revive now in the late red-figured period under the stimulus of the war, though it was only in the second part of the war that this impetus found its full effect: in the deposits of the earlier part imitations are comparatively rare.

The apparent quantities of the pots as they stand in the catalogue do not represent their true numbers. Actually most of the pottery is coarse (wine amphorae, kitchen and storage vases), but in the types where only one example has been preserved well enough for complete restoration, that example alone has been given. Another arbitrary distinction has been necessary in the use of the term "partly glazed." The class so-called falls in reality into two divisions: one a continuation of the "conventionalizing"<sup>2</sup> class but with decoration consisting merely of bands and stripes of red and black; the other including the black vases not found in completely glazed form in the well. Both in complete and part glazing the application of the paint is usually done by dipping, so that the bottom and lower sides of the pot are reserved and the inside and the upper part of the exterior of the open vases covered with the glaze. For the sake of simplicity the principle followed in this classification has been to include under "black-glazed" any form painted as far as the foot. Thus if a second vase of

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of Mrs. R. Stillwell and Dr. S. B. Luce I have been allowed to look through the vases from the Potters' Quarter and the graves excavated in the North Cemetery at Corinth in 1915 and 1916. Both these areas are in the process of publication in the official *Corinth* series. The shapes and patterns of the vases of one of the deposits of the Potters' Quarter were especially like those of the present well.

<sup>2</sup> For the term, see Newhall, *A. J. A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 16, in the preliminary report of the excavations of the Corinthian Kerameikos. For preliminary mention of the graves, Luce, *ibid.*, 1930, p. 334 ff.



the shape happens to have been less thoroughly glazed, it nevertheless is assigned to the black-glazed category.

To describe the clay of the finer Corinthian and Attic pots serves little purpose: the variations in colour are too many and too meaningless to reward individual detail. Payne, however, was discussing the clay of Corinth only in its best condition when he said that it was always clear in colour and that red pigment was never mixed with it.<sup>1</sup> The original clay *was* clear, but the admixture of sand, red loam, or grits of white lime to its green-white or light buff in the pottery with thicker walls essentially changed the hue of the finished pot. For the thick-walled variety, see **174 ff.**; for the kitchen pots, **205 ff.** The clay of the "blister" ware is commonly different in appearance: its biscuit has fired completely grey, red with a grey core, or grey with a red centre, but this may be due to the manner of its baking.<sup>2</sup> Like the preceding class, "blister" ware is found in the Potters' Quarter and frequently in the main excavations at Corinth: two of its three main shapes (squat, ribbed aryballos, **138**, and ribbed jug, **139-140**) appear also in unmistakable Corinthian form, and though these vases may be merely imitations I think I am not wrong in believing the ware itself to be of Corinthian origin.<sup>3</sup>

One last word as to the objects **240-241**: not knowing what they were, altars, or house or temple models, I have had to be content with adding a brief note of bibliography, hoping that someone will be more successful in realizing their use.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An admirable discussion of the question in Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, 2, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Necrocorinthia*, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> See Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, pp. 1 and 55.

<sup>4</sup> House and temple models: *Ath. Mitt.*, 55, 1930, p. 16, Beilage IV and fig. 6 (Samos); *ibid.*, 48, 1923, 5 ff.; *Arch. Eph.*, 1931, p. 1 ff., fig. 3 (Argive Heraion); *Anz.*, 1933, p. 226 f.; 1934, p. 154, figs. 11-12; *J.H.S.*, 53, 1933, pp. 278-9; 54, 1934, p. 190, figs. 3-4 (Perachora). Illustrations of altars: "Ara," *Daremberg et Saglio*, p. 351, fig. 422 (gable with volutes, a palmette above). For plain, straight frontons, *ibid.*, fig. 421.

CATALOGUE<sup>1</sup>

## ATTIC

## BLACK-FIGURED

**1-2.** (1076, 1561) Fragments of band cups. Fig. 1

**1:** PH. 0.078 m.; D. of ft. 0.065 m.

**2:** PH. 0.048 m.; D. of ft. 0.038 m.

The handles, and much of the sides and rim of both vases are missing. **1** has a slightly offset lip, and a narrower stem and more widely curved bowl than **2**. The foot of **2** is flat and reserved; that of **1** is hollow and black except at the centre.

A parallel for these cups may be found in a somewhat later grave at Corinth, where a similar vase appeared in association with a small, partly glazed oinochoe with trefoil lip like **172** and a local imitation of an Attic white-ground lekythos.

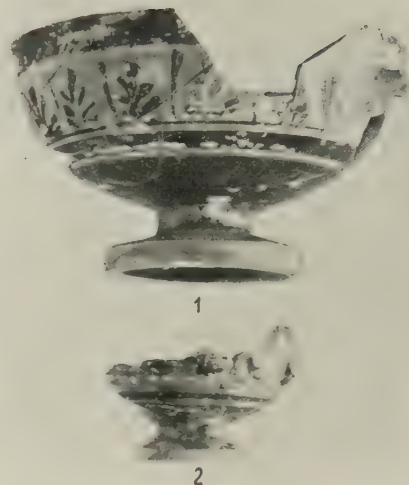


Fig. 1

## RED-FIGURED

**3.** (389) Fragment of pelike. Fig. 2

Gtest. dim. 0.107 m.; T. ca. 0.008 m.

Part of the upper side; the start of the handle at the right. Unglazed on the lower part of the interior. Relief contour for the spirals, stems, and central leaf of the palmettes. White: fillet. The head of a filleted youth to left.

By the Villa Giulia painter. Heads of youths of this type on the calyx-krater in Berlin (inv. 4497: von Lücken, pl. 54) and a calyx-krater in Corinth (fragmentary: C. 32.74): A, Theseus and Aithra; B, Youths. For the same subject see the pelike by the Villa Giulia painter in Syracuse (22.177: *Mon. Linc.*, 17, pl. 32, pp. 443-446: A, Theseus between Aithra and Ariadne; B, King and woman).

**4.** (364) Fragment of pelike. Figs. 3 and 11

PH. 0.15 m.; D. of rim 0.157 m.; across handles 0.22 m.

The top of the vase remains, together with a small part of the side panels. Tongues at the handles. Brown: hair of silens on B, of 2 and 3 on A; markings of sphendonai and folds of the women's dress; beards of silens, thyrsos of woman on B. Relief contour: the faces on A and B, the branch on A; B, the outlines of the arm of 1, the chiton, cloak, and the stem of the thyrsos of 2, the pipes of 3; on the ornament, the spirals, heart, and central leaf of the palmettes.

A. Apollo and a woman. He is wreathed, with head to left. She wears chiton, himation and a sphendone. Between them is the tip of the branch of laurel in her hand.

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of economy of space, the inventory numbers of the catalogue have been shorn of an unessential element. **1** is written in the inventory "C. 34.1076" ("Corinth 1934.1076"), but as all the vases in the well were of 1934, the "C. 34" has been omitted.

Abbreviations: H. = Height, D. = Diameter, T. = Thickness, W. = Width, L. = Length, Gtest. D. = Greatest Diameter, Gtest. dim. = Greatest dimension, PH. = Preserved Height, PW., PL., PT., as above.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



B. Silens and a maenad. At the left is a thyrsos with sprouting branches. 1 is a silen with right hand raised; 2, a woman (chiton, cloak, sphendone) facing front with her head to right, a thyrsos in her right hand; 3, a silen with pipes, to left.

Ca. 450 B.C.

5. (1123, 1117) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 2

Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.088 m.; *b* 0.058 m.; T. 0.006 m.

Two fragments, one of the rim. Relief contour: *a*, outlines of the sphendone; *b*, everything but the top of the "lyre."

*a*: the head of a woman (sphenone) to left. *b*: the chitonized shoulder of a figure to left, with the shaft of a staff or thyrsos in its right hand. At the left, the tip of the frame of a lyre (?).

Ca. 450-440 B.C. Compare Beazley, *VA.*, p. 156, fig. 95.

6. (365) Bell-krater. Figs. 4 and 8

H. 0.225 m.; D. of lip 0.298 m.; across handles 0.313 m.

The foot, most of B, and part of A missing. The glaze is much worn. Very red wash. Ovules at the handles. Brown: A, 1 and 3, markings of caps, bands on cloaks; 2, sounding-piece of lyre, hair, skin of animal, anatomical markings. Relief contour: staves, lyre, front line of cloaks of 1 and 3. Red (over white): fruits and stems of laurel; the punctuating loops on the laurel border.

A. Orpheus and the Thracians. Orpheus sits in the centre, on a rock covered with the skin of an animal. He wears a chlamys and holds a lyre on his lap and a plectron in his right hand. Two figures wrapped to the eyes in Thracian cloaks lean on their sticks in listening attitudes. The heads of the figures are punctuated by loops in the laurel border above them.

B. The lower part of a draped figure to right.

Thracian cloaks or *ξίμα* appear as early as 500 B.C. (cf. the Euphronios cup, Munich 2620, *FR.*, pl. 22) and continue at least through the next three quarters of the century. Cf. among others, Madrid 161, by the Berlin painter; Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. 156, late period of the Berlin painter; Berlin inv. 3309, by the Dutuit painter; Kraiker, *Heidelberg*, pl. 14, no. 68, by a painter related to the Triptolemos painter; Beazley, *Campana Fragments*, p. 22, pl. 15, 21, by the Brygos painter; *CV.* Great Britain, 7, pl. 105, by Douris; *CV.* Poland, 2, pl. 12, 1 a (Cracow), by the Nausikaa painter; and three by the Pistoxenos painter (Pottier, III, pl. 106, no. 108; *Mons. Grecs.*, 1885-1888, pl. 6; Florence 75, 730); Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler*, pl. 18 b; Diepolder, *Der Penthesilea-Maler*, pl. 7-8; Pfuhl, fig. 511, by the painter of the Boston Phiale; Altenburg 281, by the same; *Mon.*, 8, pl. 43, 2, in the manner of the Phiale painter; London E 481, *Att. Vas.*, p. 406, no. 13, by the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy; *CV.* Bologna, 1, pl. 40, 4, probably by the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy; the Orpheus krater from Gela, in Berlin (*FR.*, iii, fig. 52), by the Orpheus painter; *A.Z.*, 1868, pl. 3, by the Nausikaa painter. For Thracian helmets and caps, see Schröder, *Jahrb.*, 27, 1912, p. 317 ff.

For the scene, Orpheus charming the Thracians, the Orpheus krater from Gela (see above) of course comes to mind; for other illustrations see *Jahrb.*, 29, 1914, p. 28, fig. 2, and *A.Z.*, 1868, pl. 3. See Orpheus among the Thracians: Palermo 2562 (*Att. Vas.*, p. 408, no. 6). For another stage in the life of Orpheus, see 7. A note on confusions in the illustrations of the subject in Roscher's Lexicon in Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 64, note 8.

Ca. 420 B.C. Compare *CV.* Denmark, 4, pls. 154, 3 and 155, 2, by the painter of the Boston Phiale, for the leaf design. The Phiale painter is also fond of Thracians, but while this vase is in his tradition in subject as well as style, it is nevertheless considerably later.



Fig. 1

## 7. (380) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 5

Gtest. dim. 0.25 m.; T. above 0.007 m.; below 0.01 m.

Fragment of the side. Brown: anatomical markings of 1; border of cloak of 2; beard, embroidery of cloak of 3. The preliminary drawing in brown. White: markings of ground levels; the inscription. No relief contour, except at the edge of 3's cloak.

A. Orpheus, a Thracian and a silen. 1: the tail, part of the left side of the torso, and the left arm of a silen seated on the ground. 2: the draped knees and lower part of the legs of a figure seated to right on a hummock. 3: the lower part of the head, part of the staff, and the figured cloak of a man leaning on a staff to left. At the left of the third figure, . . .]ΟΣ.

Many vases represent the death of Orpheus. For a list, see Guthrie, *loc. cit.*; add London E 301, *Att. Vas.*, p. 137, no. 6, by the Dionokles painter; Graef-Langlotz, pl. 15, no. 297, in the

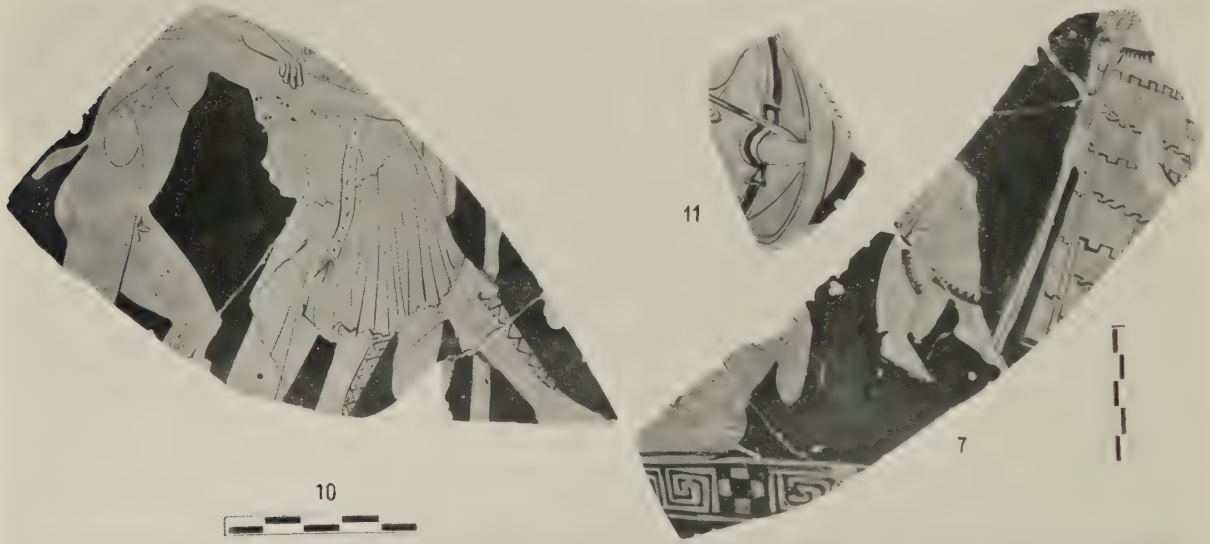


Fig. 5

manner of the Brygos painter; Louvre G 436 (*Mon.*, 1, pl. 5, 2), and Munich 2330, *Att. Vas.*, p. 382, no. 2, by the Phiale painter; Boston 10224, fr. by the Pantoxena painter (references in Beazley, *Att. Vas.*). Here we find the attendant Thracian, the listening silen, and Orpheus playing, and may perhaps restore at the left a Thracian woman with an axe or weapon of some sort (cf. especially *A. Z.*, 1868, pl. 3). For the inscription, cf. Pfuhl, fig. 554, Orpheus krater: ΚΑΛ]ΟΣ. A vase in New York, newly published in Richter, pl. 30, no. 131, shows a Thracian debating with a Thracian woman advancing to the attack with a sickle or a pruning-hook in her hand. Miss Talcott gives me a reference to another scene of the kind: Jena 813a, the exterior of one of the cups of the Jena group.

## 8. (367) Bell-krater. Figs. 6-7

H. 0.357 m.; D. of rim 0.378 m.; of ft. 0.172 m.

One handle, most of A, part of the foot missing; the rim is preserved entire. The vase has fired red, and part of the outside and most of the inside glaze has flaked off. No relief contour or red.





Fig. 6

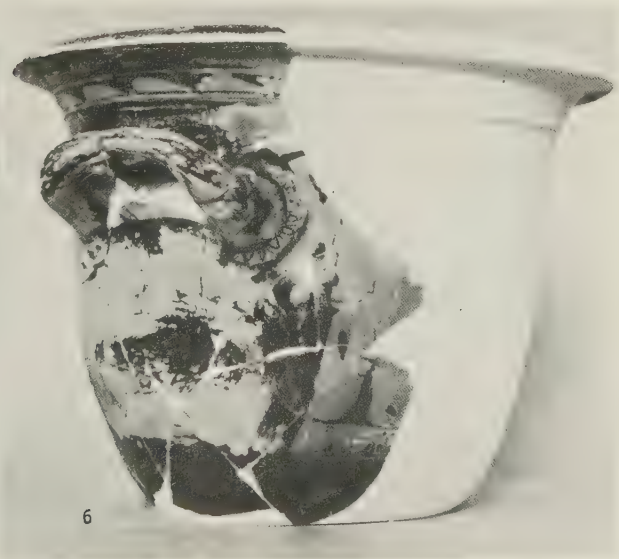


Fig. 7

A. A draped figure with a striped staff stands right, dressed in a cloak with a dark border. Part of the sleeve of his chiton shows above.

B. Three mantled figures, the second leaning on a stick to left and the others facing him.

By the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, now considered probably the same as the Lamb painter (Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 57, note 2 and p. 58, note 1).

Compare *J. H. S.*, 38, 1918, p. 34, fig. 6, for the same feet that are not feet. For the typical head and the ankle, see *ibid.*, fig. 5, p. 33. Compare also *CV. Louvre*, III I d, pl. 28, 9 and pl. 29, 2 and 5; *ibid.*, pl. 27, 3; *ibid.*, pl. 29, 6, for the head and drapery; Tillyard, pl. 21, no. 132. Also of the type, *CV. Bologna*, 1, III I c, pl. 39.

9. (378) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 8

Gtest. dim. 0.212 m.; T. above 0.004 m.; below 0.006 m.

Fragment of the side; above, the start of the top border. Brown: the anatomical markings of 1; the stripes on the boots of 2. Very fine relief contour, including the serpent, and the shaft of the youth's spear.

A. At the left is part of the figure of a naked warrior to right. He wears a decorated Attic helmet and carries a spear. On his shield, a serpent and an exergue; an eye on the apron. At the right, facing left, are the fore legs and hind feet of a horse, and the striped feet of the rider, probably an Amazon. The tip of her spear appears above the warrior's shield.

On the apron, see Tillyard, p. 75, no. 126. The eye on the apron is not unusual: see Schaal, pl. 45 a, *CV. Oxford*, pl. 23, 4; Aurigemma, *Museo di Spina di Ferrara*, p. 203, pl. 96 and p. 205, pl. 97; *CV. Great Britain*, 7, pl. 50, 1 b; *ibid.*, pl. 79, 1 and pl. 79, 2; de Ridder, no. 388, and p. 282; yet I have found no example with the eye at its present angle.



Fig. 8

Related to the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy? Cf. *Annali*, 1860, pl. A, now *CV* Louvre, III I d, pl. 28, 8-9 and pl. 29, 2 and 5. The shape of the hoofs of the centaurs and the striped socks or boots of the youths recalls *J. H. S.*, 38, 1918, p. 33, fig. 5.

10. (379) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 5

Gtest. dim. 0.167 m.; T. above 0.006 m.; below 0.007 m.

Fragment of side. Brown: inner markings of 1; the lower edge of chiton and chlamys, markings and hoof of fawnskin, lacings of boots of 2. No relief.

Dionysos supported by a silen. 1: the torso, thighs, and right arm of a silen to right. 2: the right hand and the lower part of the arm of Dionysos dressed in exomis, *ἐμβάδες* and fawnskin, with a chlamys over his left arm. At the right, the stem of his thyrsos. On the boots, see Pollux, *Onom.*, IV, 115; Lucian, *Bacchus*, 2; Athenaeus, V, p. 200 D.

For the group, see the return of Hephaistos on the pelike by the Kleophon painter in Munich, *FR.*, pl. 29; Dionysos and a satyr on the oinochoe in Athens, Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pl. 3; and plastic vases from the Pnyx and the North Slope of the Acropolis, *Hesp.*, 1935, fig. 49, pp. 300-302; also a vase in New York: Richter, pl. 109, no. 109.

Many details of drawing remind one of the painter of the Boston Phiale, especially the rippled, brown edge of the hanging folds. Cf. de Ridder, p. 275, no. 375, for the silen; the hands are not too unlike; also the Czartoryski stamnos (Beazley, *Poland*, pl. 23). *FR.*, pl. 66, 1 is good for the dilute edges of the drapery, and the hands are not impossible. *Mon. Linc.*, 17, pl. 31, 2 is good for the dilute edge. The boots with their flaps are like those of Thamyras, Pfuhl, fig. 511. (For the tail, see of course the Aktaion krater of the Pan painter.) The vase is like the work of the Phiale painter, but I can find no direct parallel among his published vases. The shape of the hands is not right.

11. (377) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 5

Gtest. dim. 0.076 m.; T. above 0.005 m.; below 0.006 m.

From the side. Preliminary sketch. Brown: a wash over the inside of the shield; the fringes of one of its minor straps.

Part of a shield seen in three-quarter view, with the shield arm and a bit of the torso of its owner. The tip of his spear shows at the left.

Three-quarter views of the insides of shields, although they begin long before, even in black-figure, are popular from 460 on. Examples from the third quarter of the century: Gerhard, *A. V.*, pl. 165, 3-4, by Polygnotos; *ibid.*, pl. 329-330; Aurigemma, p. 205, pl. 97 and p. 261, pl. 127; *Arch. Eph.*, 1907, 132 and 139, by the Klügmann painter; de Ridder, p. 294, fig. 64, no. 400, by the Washing painter.

12. (368) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 9

Gtest. dim. 0.32 m.; T. 0.007 m.

Fragment from the rim and side of B. Ovules at the handles. Brown: the lower edge of the overfall of the cloak, the fringe of the hair. Relief contour only at the handle. Red: fillet of 1. The handle ornament is at the left.

Two youths. One, draped, stands to right with his right arm free. Of a second youth the middle part is preserved.

Related to the Christie painter? Cf. *Würzburg*, pl. 190, no. 521; and the pelike Brussels A 133 (*CV.*, III I d, pl. 1, 1): the type of the head is not quite the same.

13. (375) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 9

Gtest. dim. 0.138 m.; T. above 0.009 m.; below 0.006 m.

Fragment of the side and top border. Ovules at the top; the start of a handle at the side.



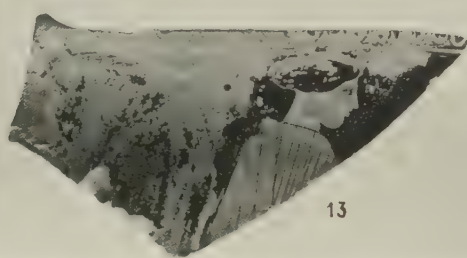


Fig. 9



A. The Obverse



B. The Reverse

Fig. 10

The head and shoulders of a woman in chiton and himation to right.

Related to the Christie painter? *CV*. Brussels, III I d, pl. 1, 1 is not unlike, although the drawing of the head is not quite the same. 12 and 13 look like the same hand.

14. (381) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 8

Gtest. dim. 0.157 m.; T. above 0.009 m.; below 0.005 m.

From the side. White: fillet of 1. The space between the feet of 1 is not glazed. No relief contour.

At the left, a Doric column indicates a house. Outside it stands a youth in a cloak with a staff in his right hand. On the other side of a pillar is a similar youth with right arm extended.

*Ca.* 430–20 B.C. Time of the Washing painter.

15. (366) Bell-krater. Fig. 10

H. 0.245 m.; D. of ft. 0.117 m.

One handle, much of sides and rim, bits of foot gone. The foot has a slight lip, and a groove is incised at its junction with the sides. Very red wash. Brown: preliminary drawing on A and B; the inner details of the cloaks on B. Red: B, fillets. No relief contour.

A. A youth wrapped in a cloak is fleeing to left with his head turned backwards. A second figure, a youth with a chlamys over his left shoulder, stands right, with his arms raised.

B. Three draped youths, very poorly drawn. Two face right; a third, who has a stick, left.

16. (374) Fragment of bell-krater. Fig. 9

Gtest. dim. 0.16 m.; T. above 0.006 m.; below 0.008 m.

The start of the top moulding: ovules (probably under a laurel wreath); the place of the handle at the right. Brown: folds, eye. Relief only on the ovules.

The figure of a draped youth to left. His feet and the hem of his cloak are missing.

Compare for the type of head *CV*. Poland, Goluchow, pl. 32, 16, by the painter of the Louvre symposion stamnos.

17. (385) Fragments of calyx-krater. Fig. 11

Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.25 m.; *b* 0.208 m.; T. of cul 0.013 m.; of side 0.008 m.

*a*, over half the cul, part of one handle, a small part of the sides preserved; *b*, another fragment of the cul and side. Brown: A, bands on cloak; B, folds and edge of cloak. Relief contour on A.

A. The lower part of a draped figure in chiton and himation to right. Part of a plinth or pillar at the right.

B. The feet and the lower part of the drapery of a figure to left.

*Ca.* 430? After the time of the Phiale painter; cf. Beazley, *Poland*, pl. 23.

18. (386) Fragments of calyx-krater. Figs. 11–12

Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.165 m.; *b* 0.096 m.; T. *ca.* 0.006 m.

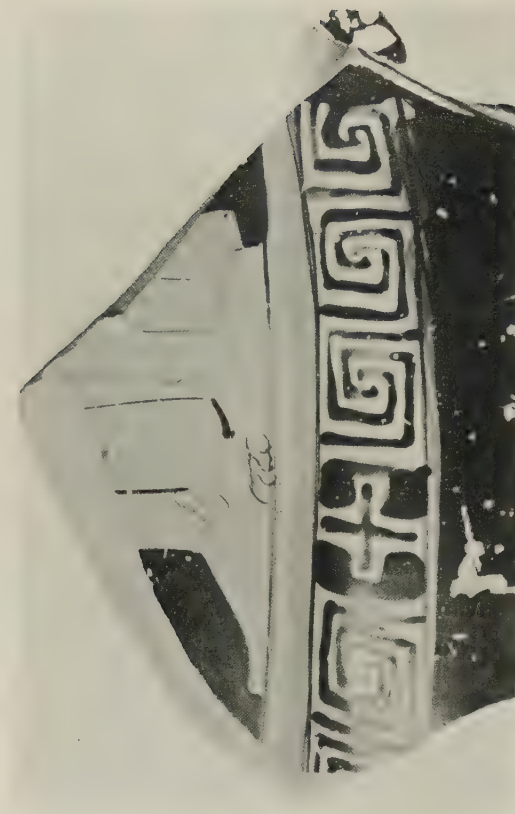
Two fragments: *a* of the side, *b* of the side and cul. Brown: *a*, markings of cloak on A; hair of 1, bars on skin, the lower hem of the cloak of 2 on B. Very fine lines on A of *a*. Red: B, fillet of 1. Relief contour: B, upper side of right arm of 1, part of the skin at the left.

A. *a*, part of the figure on the extreme right of the scene: the upper part of a woman seated to left with a dark bordered cloak around her. Her bare left arm (the hand missing) is bent at the elbow.

B. The upper part of a cloaked youth holding an object that resembles the skin case of a flute. Under the handle is an enclosed palmette with a leaf at the side. *b* gives the lower part



17



17



4



18

Fig. 11



of the flute case, the lower part of the first figure and the bottom of the drapery and the feet of a second male figure to left.

The straight hem line across the feet on B appears in a pelike of the Washing painter's in Berlin (2357: *A. Z.*, 1878, pl. 22; Beazley, no. 39). *Ca.* 420 B.C.: time of the Dinos painter, middle period (Talcott).

19. (372, 373) Fragments of column-krater. Fig. 4

Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.165 m.; *b* 0.074 m.; *c* 0.112 m.; T. above 0.006 m.; below 0.005 m.

Fragments of the neck and sides; the start of a handle at the left. Other fragments which do not join but which seem to have come from the same pot have been kept but not inventoried. Brown: *a*, lines between the tongues at the top; bars on the back flap of the cap; dots on the sakkos, the hair over the ears, the lines at the neck of the rider; *b*, earring, line at neck; *c*, dots on the reins. Relief contour: *a*, everything but the lower side of the nose, the lower lip, and the insides of the fingers of the right hand; *b*, everything but the neck-line of the sakkos; *c*, everything.

*a*: the head and right hand of a rider wearing a Thracian cap, with the head of his horse, to right; *c*: his knee and calf, the skirt of his chiton, the end of his cloak, and the body of his horse. At the left, the edge of the panel. *b*: the head and shoulders of a draped woman in a sakkos to right. This figure may come from the right side of the same panel.

*Ca.* 460 B.C., by the painter of the Girgenti calyx-krater.

For the necklace and the arrangement of the cloak, cf. Pellegrini, *VF.*, p. 103, Beazley's no. 13; for the eye, hand, and profile, and for the position of the mule, cf. *ibid.*, p. 73. Compare for the eye and head, Zannoni, pl. 60 (not 59), 2, Beazley, no. 5; for the hand, sakkos, and necklace, *Jahrb.*, 18, 1903, p. 43, no. 39; for the sakkos and the arrangement of the cloak, *El. Cér.*, pl. 91, Beazley, no. 6; for the double hem of the chiton and for the general shape and decoration of the vase, see *Mon. Linc.*, 17, pl. 41, Beazley, no. 25; for the broken contour at the calf, *ibid.*, 24, pl. 10, 23, Beazley, no. 14.

Fragments of at least one other column-krater kept, likewise those of a black one, though not well enough preserved to merit illustration.



18  
Fig. 12

20. (1081) Fragment of squat lekythos. Fig. 13

PH. 0.021 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.053 m.

Fragment of the side and ring foot reserved and red-washed on the under side; unglazed on the interior. No relief contour.

Above a reserved line are the toes of the left foot and the heel of the right of a draped figure striding to left.

**21.** (1077) Fragment of stemless cup. Fig. 13

PH. 0.033 m.; D. of ft. *ca.* 0.078 m.

Part of the heavy foot and stout stem (a groove incised above the foot). The resting surface and outer edge of the foot are reserved, the under side black except for the centre.

On the interior are the eye, the ear, and part of the hair and dotted sakkos of the head of a woman to right.



Fig. 13

**22.** (1079) Fragment of kotyle. Fig. 13

PH. 0.038 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.104 m.

Nearly half the ring foot and part of the lower side. The under side and resting surface reserved. A brown band on the pillar and one under the scene.

At the left of an altar or pillar are the feet of a cloaked man to right.

### BLACK-GLAZED

**23-28.** (1029-1031, 1033-1035) Kotylai, Attic type

**23:** H. 0.082 m.; D. 0.10 m.; of ft. 0.068 m.; across handles 0.17 m. Fig. 14.

**24:** H. 0.088 m.; D. 0.102 m.; of ft. 0.077 m.; across handles 0.163 m.

**25:** H. 0.091 m.; D. 0.107 m.; of ft. 0.076 m.; across handles 0.163 m.

**26:** H. 0.088 m.; D. 0.109 m.; of ft. 0.07 m.

**27:** H. 0.088 m.; D. of ft. 0.075 m.

**28:** H. 0.134 m.; D. 0.153 m.; of ft. 0.10 m.; across handles 0.235 m. Fig. 14.

Many other fragments of the type have been preserved, uninventoried. One can see the missing dimensions from the table of measurements. **25** and **28** are nearly complete: part of one handle and bits of the rim have been restored; in the case of **23**, part of the substantial ring foot as well. Excellent glaze over all except the resting surface and under side, which are red-washed. On the bottom, one or more concentric rings and a central dot.

The vases are of varying proportions, with one, the tallest (**28**), relatively taller and thinner than the kotylai of the third quarter of the century (Talcott, *Hesp.*, IV, fig. 1, and p. 505, no. 21). While certain of the cups have approximately the same relation of height to diameter as the earlier cups, the diameter of the foot is in general smaller in proportion to the other measurements. The difference is not immediately perceptible to the eye: the disastrous "double curve" of the sides characteristic of the end of the century has not yet destroyed their line.

It is this type of pot which develops into the form found at Olynthos (Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos*, vol. V, pl. 97, no. 152; pl. 98, no. 153; pl. 99, no. 154), dated in the early fourth and fourth century. It has a long history in Magna Graecia throughout the fourth century. The related shape with narrower base (as *Hesp.*, III, p. 319, no. A 26) I hope to discuss in a forth-

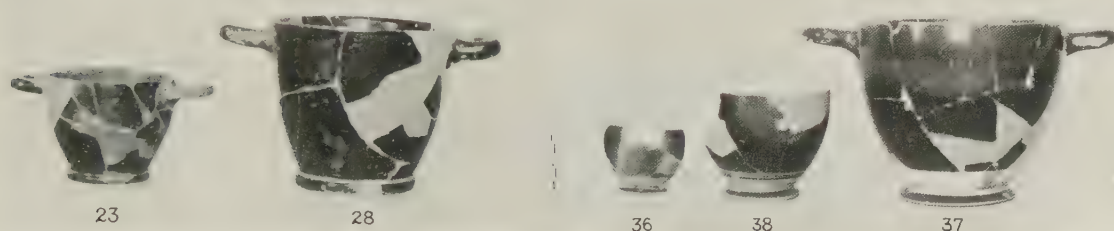


Fig. 14

coming number of this journal. No vases of the shape were found in the well, but fragments of them have appeared in somewhat later deposits at Corinth (both in the Potters' Quarter and the main excavations).

Like the painted kantharoi of the type of 49 ff., black-glazed kotylai are sometimes decorated with laurel and feather pattern (cf. *CV*, British Museum, III I c, pl. 32, 13, and Athens 2312, decorated in the same way as painted stemless kantharoi from Tanagra (Athens 2243) and a black-glazed kotyle of Corinthian type (Athens 2313).

## 29-39. (1032, 1036-1045) Kotylai, Corinthian type

**29:** H. 0.101 m.; D. of ft. 0.064 m.

**30:** H. 0.098 m.; D. of ft. 0.067 m.

**31:** H. 0.092 m.; D. of ft. 0.061 m.

**32:** H. 0.09 m.; D. ca. 0.11 m.

**33:** H. 0.096 m.; D. of ft. 0.065 m.

**34:** PH. 0.091 m.; D. 0.106 m.

**35:** PH. 0.049 m.; D. of ft. 0.058 m.

**36:** H. 0.054 m.; D. of ft. 0.04 m. Fig. 14.

**37:** H. 0.156 m.; D. 0.187 m.; of ft. 0.106 m.; across handles 0.287 m. Fig. 14.

**38:** H. 0.096 m.; D. of ft. 0.068 m. Fig. 14.

**39:** PH. 0.031 m.; D. of ft. 0.07 m.

Of all these cups only **36**, which is tiny, and **37**, which is huge, are tolerably preserved. **30-37** are of the most common type, with narrow rays on a reserved band over the foot, concentric



rings on the reserved under side and two red horizontal rings under the handles. **29** is black all over. **38** has two horizontal black bands at the top of the reserved foot zone, **39** two reserved lines on the black sides in the same relation to the foot. This last possibly was red-figured; both have a reserved bottom decorated with concentric rings and dot. **38** has three red lines applied under the handle.

For a useful discussion of the decoration and shape, see Talcott, *Hesp.*, in the article so often quoted, pp. 505-6, also *CV*. Oxford, 2, pl. 65, text to no. 24. The proportions of these vases compare favourably with those of the third quarter of the century: the height is approximately half as high again as the diameter of the foot. **29** is the tallest in comparison with its foot. The diameter of the lip in the one vase, **37**, in which it is preserved, if anything is wider in proportion to its height than that of the vases from the Agora.

There are no cups in the well with *plain* reserved zone over the foot although, curiously enough, many Corinthian imitations of the kind. Nor are there any cups with diagonally crossing rays. The foot is never flat, but splays.

With **37** compare *Hesp.*, *loc. cit.*, no. 23, fig. 1, and fig. 23, especially no. 26. For painted cups of this type see under nos. 23 ff.

#### 40-44. (1058-1059, 1061-1063) Cup-kotylai, stamped

**40**: H. 0.054 m.; D. 0.12 m.; D. of ft. 0.075 m.; across handles 0.19. Figs. 15, 16.

**41**: H. 0.051 m.; D. 0.113 m.; D. of ft. 0.068 m. Figs. 15, 16.

**42**: PH. 0.037 m.; D. of ft. 0.067 m. Fig. 16.

**43**: PH. 0.056 m. Fig. 16.

**44**: PH. 0.018 m.; D. of ft. 0.068 m. Fig. 16.

The restorations show in the photograph; all the cups are fragmentary. The vases have a spreading ring foot, convex sides with straight rim, two horizontal handles and, on the reserved, red-washed under side of the foot, two or more wide and narrow concentric rings and a central dot. On the lower part of the sides on the exterior are one or more wheel-run grooves. The stamped arrangements on the floor of the interior of the cups are simple (all of linked palmettes around a central circle), **40** with a pattern of eight, the rest probably with five. The glaze of the vases is excellent.

Compare these with the vases from a deposit in the Athenian Agora dated to the third quarter of the fifth century (*Hesp.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 520, figs. 7 and 22, nos. 104 and 105, especially no. 105, "ca. 430." A particularly good parallel is a cup-kotyle with simple stamping from the Stoa Potter's Shop at the Agora (P 4850). One finds imitations of this type of cup in a contemporary deposit of the Potters' Quarter at Corinth.

#### 45. (1562) Stemless kylix. Fig. 15

PH. 0.047 m.

Preserved: the low ring foot, part of the convex sides and slightly offset rim; three rings and a dot on the reserved under side. Also reserved: the resting surface and a line over the foot.

The shape is shallower than that of the cup in *CV*. Oxford, 2, pl. 65, 19, but not so shallow as the silver cup from Baschova-Mogila (Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlj in Südbulgarien* (in Bulgarian), fig. 82.

#### 46-47. (1207-1208) Stemmed kylikes

**46**: PH. ca. 0.055 m.; D. of rim 0.135 m. Fig. 15.

**47**: PH. ca. 0.06 m.

Most of the rim and handles, parts of the centre and stem of **46** missing; part of the sides and ringed stem of **47** remain. Both are glazed all over. The ring is defined by an incised line above and below.

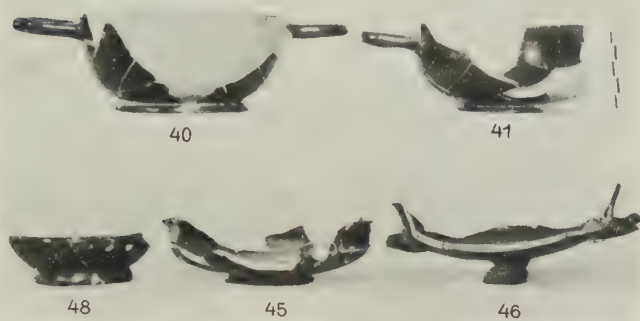


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

## 48. (1046) Low bowl. Fig. 15

H. 0.031 m.; D. of ft. 0.059 m.

Over half the rim and sides missing. The ring foot has a concave black moulding on its under side. The resting surface is reserved; on the reserved centre of the bottom are two concentric rings and a dot.

Compare with this, *Hesp.*, IV, p. 508, fig. 1, no. 46 ("third quarter of the fifth century") and *Mon. Linc.*, 20, pp. 45-46, fig. 26, *ca.* 440? Imitations of this shape are found in a contemporary deposit of the Potters' Quarter.

## 49-51. (1066-1068) Stemless kantharoi, stamped

49: H. 0.096 m.; D. 0.112 m.; of ft. 0.065 m. Figs. 17, 18.

50: PH. 0.08 m.; D. of ft. 0.072 m. Figs. 17, 18.

51: Gtest. dim. 0.084 m. Fig. 18.

Most of both handles, almost all the rim, and much of the sides of 49 restored. Preserved of 50, most of the foot and part of the sides; 51, a fragment of the side, rim and one handle.

A ring foot with three or four horizontal ridges on its outer edge, with a concave moulding on its under side. The centre of the bottom has three mouldings. Above the foot are: a cul (the angle marked most definitely in 50 and 51) and nearly vertical sides with slight outward flare. The handles reach from the cul to the rim. Stamped in horizontal arrangement on the centre of the side: on 49, two rows of ovules with downward palmettes between; on 50, palmettes upwards in the first row, boxed triangles downwards below; 51, under two wheel-run grooves, a row of palmettes upwards; below, a row of ovules.

Other stamped examples: B. M. 64.10-7.1666, from Kameiros, in context of the early fifth century; Schaal, pl. 58 h, listed as South Italian; Würzburg, pl. 222, no. 706; Athens 10483, from the Kabeirion (mentioned in *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 414); *CV.* Cambridge, pl. 41, 40, from Poli, "Attic. Later fifth century B.C."; *Notizie*, 1904, p. 134, fig. 59, from Caltagirone, assigned to the end of the fifth or the early fourth century B.C.; *Mon. Linc.*, XIV, p. 836, fig. 48, and note 2: "fourth century"; *Anz.*, 1902, pp. 156-7, fig. 3; Furtwängler, *Antiquarium*, form 278, nos. 2777-2778. Another one is listed as Campanian (*CV.* Sèvres, IV E b, pl. 51, 2). Four stamped cups in the collection of Mr. M. P. Vlasto in Athens, one in the Empedokles Collection, one in the possession of Miss Talcott and one in my own, a fragment from Lindos, Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, pl. 131, no. 2769 (from the period before the destruction of 407 B.C.), a fragment from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 91, no. 1285, upside down on the plate, right in the text), and fragments of two of the vases from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth complete a list which can by no means be full. A Corinthian imitation of the type was found with a native red-figured stemless cup of *ca.* 420 B.C. in a grave at Corinth: no. C. 32.228.

The origin of this type is not easy to decide. It has stemmed red-figured prototypes in Attica (Beazley, *Poland*, p. 32, note 1. The two cups in the British Museum are now published in the *CV.*, III I c, pl. 34, 3 a and b, and pl. 31, 8. Since then he has added two fragments in Florence, *Campana Fragments*, pl. 19, 8 [p. 26] and pl. 18, 53. He dates the red-figured cups of the kind *ca.* 460-425. Add *Mons. Inédits*, I, pl. XXVII, 44. Cf. the vase in "Six's technique," Pellegrini, *VF.*, fig. 138), but the stemless black-glazed ones with the same kind of handle are from Boeotia (Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, pl. IX, grave 76, nos. 21-24, especially 23 and 24, and p. 41, note 2. On p. 37, note 3, he gives other parallels). The early date in the century may well be moved down with our fuller knowledge of the chronology of late black-figure (*ibid.*, p. 37, about the kantharoi 7 and 8 in grave 76, whose first dated appearance is in the Polyandron of 424 B.C.), but as it now stands it may precede that of the Attic stemmed shape. Only one fragment (from the Acropolis: see above) has been published from Attica. One certainly (from the Kabeirion), and six probably (Mr. Vlasto's four, Miss Talcott's and my own), were found in Boeotia. The glaze of many of these cups, while good, looks dull when compared to varnish unmistakably Attic and, as Miss Talcott points out, the pattern of boxed triangles





61

58

57



55

56

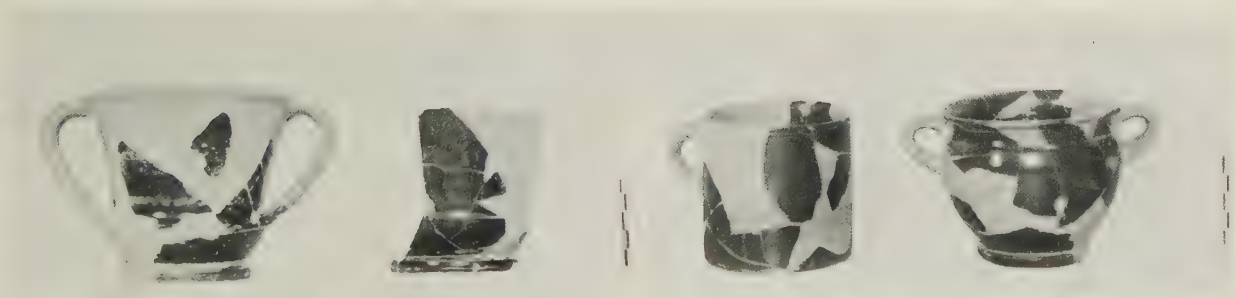


52



53

54



49

50

64

63

Fig. 17

common on the vases is practically unknown on Attic stamped ware. A red-figured stemless kantharos, Athens 1436, said to come from Hermione but almost surely Boeotian, may be dated *ca.* 430-420 B.C. from its likeness to Attic work of the time (A, Maenad and woman; B, Woman and silen). As on a certain class of Boeotian red-figure (bell-kraters, kotylai, cup-kotylai, etc.) the lines of the eye, the anatomical markings, and the drapery are scratchy and angular, and miss each other at their supposed places of meeting. In the same way the torso of the silen on 1436 is disproportionately heavy and the face of the woman on B, seen nearly in front view, resembles that on A of a Boeotian kotyle of Attic shape in Athens (12266: A, Youth and Apollo). The outer edge of the foot of Athens 1436 is ridged like that of the stamped kantharoi, and the under side has two moulded black rings on its reserved surface. The glaze is dull, the clay the dull smooth pink of a certain kind of Boeotian clay not like the fine glaze of the present vases.

On the other hand, the stamped fragment from the Acropolis and fragments of cups of the same shape but decorated with geometric designs as feather or scale pattern, diamonds, and tongues, etc., are known to be of Attic provenience: bits at the Agora, pieces found on the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 41, nos. 547-550 and bibliography under no. 547). A cup from Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 37, now CV., 2, III I c, pl. 8, 4, from its context of *ca.* the middle of the century) from comparison with the Athenian pieces must be considered Attic, while others with white paint superimposed on the glaze have been found in Boeotia: Athens 10484, from the Kabeirion, and Athens 2243, from Tanagra. For references to the painted variety, cf. *Würzburg*, pl. 216, nos. 619-620; *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1882, p. 79. Other examples of the shape classified by Furtwängler as Attic: *Antiquarium*, form 278, nos. 2622, 2741. It was popular and much imitated in Italy.

One must conclude that while the stamped kantharoi may have originated in Boeotia, the shape was known in Attica as well and many of the vases may have been made there. The fact that cups of the type have travelled to Rhodes, Cyprus, Sicily, and Italy would indicate that they were at least exported through Athens. As for the cups in the well at Corinth, their glaze looks of the same consistency as that of the other black-glazed ware with them. Nothing else from the well is Boeotian: the kantharoi must have come from Athens with the rest of the Attic pottery.

## 52. (1047) Stemless kantharos, high handles. Fig. 17

PH.: *a* 0.043 m.; *b* 0.055 m.

The ring foot is gone, but the lower part of one of the handles with its outer spur, and part of the vertical side wall are preserved. *b* gives the cross strut and the top of one of the handles. The under side of the foot is red, with two concentric rings and a dot.

For the probable shape, see P 4859 at the Agora (*Hesp.*, VI, 1937, p. 49, fig. 31 d), from the Stoa Potter's Shop, and a red-figured kantharos of somewhat the same type (P 4843: *ibid.*, p. 49, fig. 30) which in turn is to be compared to a red-figured vase in the National Museum, Athens 1236, of the time of the Eretria painter: A, Rider and youth; B, Warrior and rider. This last is more squat in shape. Remarks on this vase are to be found in CV. Oxford, 1, text to pl. 48, 34.

## 53. (1052) Oinochoe with trefoil lip. Fig. 17

PH. 0.181 m.; D. of base 0.077 m.; Gtest. D. 0.13 m.

The handle, one lobe of the trefoil lip, and parts of the sides are gone; all but the handle has been restored.

The vase has a false ring foot nearly flat on the underside, with a groove above, on the side. The bottom is red-washed.

For the shape, compare: *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 246, fig. 243, found with a stamped amphoriskos and a cup-kotyle of *ca.* 420; CV. Denmark, 4, pl. 157, 3 (red-figured, Youth, *ca.* 420-410). Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, fig. 100, no. 384 (or Hambidge, fig. 6, and plate opposite p. 128) is exactly the shape. Contrary to the usual development, the earlier vases of the type seem slightly taller: Hahland, pl. 20, a-b (the Bari oinochoe).



49



51

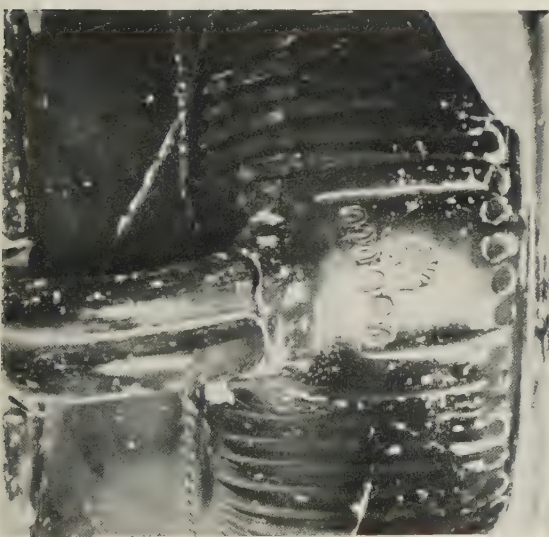


56



58

Fig. 18



57



50



## 54. (1051) Oinochoe. Fig. 17

PH. 0.109 m.; D. of ft. 0.053 m.

The neck, handle, and most of the shoulder are missing.

The foot is in two degrees, with a ring above outlined by incised grooves. Its edge and under side are reserved. As far as it is preserved, the jug might be either a trefoil oinochoe with high handle as *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 247, fig. 244, or a prochous as *ibid.*, IV, p. 107, fig. 93 and p. 102, fig. 89, now *CV.*, 2, III He, pl. 20, 5. Again the earlier examples are taller for their diameter. Cf. *Würzburg*, pl. 222, no. 684. Unfortunately it is impossible to be sure of the foot in the photograph of the red-figured oinochoe with trefoil lip in *Clara Rhodos*, I, p. 70, fig. 54, but it looks of the right shape: ca. 430 B.C.

## 55-60. (335, 1054-1057, 1210) Wide-mouthed ribbed jugs

**55:** H. 0.09 m.; D. of ft. 0.061 m.; of neck 0.069 m.; Gtest. D. 0.095 m. Fig. 17.

**56:** H. 0.088 m.; D. 0.086 m.; of ft. 0.061 m.; of neck 0.068 m.; Gtest. D. 0.09 m. Figs. 17, 18.

**57:** H. 0.068 m.; D. 0.091 m.; of ft. 0.085 m.; of neck 0.089 m.; Gtest. D. 0.099 m. Figs. 17, 18.

**58:** H. 0.118 m.; D. 0.112 m.; of ft. 0.081 m.; of neck 0.089 m. Figs. 17, 18.

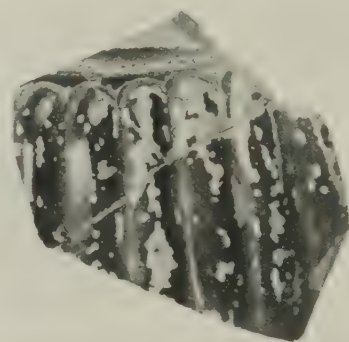
**59:** PH. 0.033 m.; Gtest. D. 0.074 m.

**60:** Gtest. dim. 0.064 m. Fig. 19.

The rim and handle of **55**, the handle and much of the rim of **56** are gone, and parts of the side restored. The restorations of **57** and **58** show in the photograph. **59** and **60** are only fragments. **56-58** are stamped, and these have a foot with a black concave moulding on the inner edge and a reserved bottom with concentric rings; over the foot, a row of small stamped circles. **55** has a tiny ring foot and is black all over. They all have a double handle, and a rope-moulding at the junction of neck and shoulder. **55** and **56-58** are lightly ribbed. **59** has very wide ribbing and a false ring foot reserved on the bottom. **60**'s ribs are less wide, but end at the top of the side in half circles. Of the three cups stamped below the handle, **56** has two rows of ovules with two palmettes upwards and downwards from the lower row, **57** a band of ovules and a palmette downwards. Only the right end of the stamping of **58** is preserved. Other, uninventoried, fragments were found in the well.

Compare with these the jugs of the third quarter of the century from the Agora (*Hesp.*, IV, pp. 508-9, nos. 50-52). The silver and pottery jugs from South Bulgaria are now published in Filow, *loc. cit.*, figs. 84 and 100. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 94, fig. 77, found with a stamped cup-kotyle of the third quarter, seems of the same type. See too, *Mon. Linc.*, 20, pp. 45-46, fig. 26, for context of the third quarter. From the Stoa Potter's Shop in the Agora comes a similar cup (P 4857), with the same shoulder outline and with ribbing also like, but with no ring foot: merely a slightly concave, reserved bottom decorated with concentric rings. This also is of the time of our jugs. Another of the type: *CV.* Denmark, 4, II-III, pl. 178, 6. For parallels for the lower form of the same jug, see *Hesp.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 476, fig. 1, no. 49, although **56** has a taller lip; Robinson-Harcum-Iliffe, *Greek Vases in Toronto*, pl. 92, no. 567, of "the fourth or third century B.C." For the very widely ribbed jug **59** I can find no parallel, but there are vases like **60** of the type with definitely modelled ribs in contemporary context at Corinth (i.e. the well at S:11, South Basilica).

What the shape of the wide-ribbed variety becomes shows in *Clara Rhodos*, III, pl. 153, fig. 146, found with a red-figured lekythos of nearer the end of the century. The shoulder is



60

Fig. 19

more accented, the neck narrower. See too, *Hesp.*, I, p. 132, fig. 19, 1, a fragment from the Pnyx in context of the end of the century. A similar vase has been found in early fourth century context in the Athenian Agora (P 8618). It is not hard to find other parallels.

Corinthian imitations of these vases are found at Corinth (in contemporary deposits of the Potters' Quarter and the main excavations) in contexts of 430-20 B.C. and later, and in the Corinthia (Perachora; and cf. the "Box of Antiquities from Corinth," *Hesp.*, I, p. 56, list). The shape occurs also in local miniature form at Corinth (Newhall, *A. J. A.*, 1931, p. 20, fig. 18). The (later) petal-ribbed type such as Würzburg, pl. 222, no. 720, is also common enough in Corinth in imitative form. The vertically ribbed jug becomes a horrible object in its Campanian version.

**61.** (1053) Low ribbed cup. Fig. 17

H. 0.051 m.; D. 0.089 m.; of ft. 0.071 m.; of neck 0.08 m.; Gtest. D. 0.092 m.

Most of both handles, part of the rim and sides restored.

A ring foot, a raised ring at the junction of neck and side; two sunken grooves below a narrow reeded band on the upper part of the sides.

For the shape, compare *Hesp.*, IV, p. 476, fig. 1, no. 49, and the reference under *ibid.*, no. 102, to another cup of the same kind from the Stoa Potter's Shop (now published in *ibid.*, VI, fig. 31 f, p. 50; P 4858). The date must be *ca.* 430. Other fragments of the same sort of pot were found in the well.

**62-63.** (1049, 1065) Two-handled mugs

**62:** PH. 0.046 m.; D. 0.098 m.

**63:** H. 0.084 m.; D. 0.099 m.; of ft. 0.061 m.; Gtest. D. 0.099 m. Fig. 17.

Of **63** both handles, and part of the lip and foot have been restored. Of **62** one handle and part of the rim are preserved, strengthened in plaster.

The neck and lip as in nos. **55. 56-58**, with two ring handles at the rim. A ring foot, smooth sides. The under side and the resting surface of the foot are reserved and red-washed.

**64.** (1064) Mug with straight sides. Fig. 17

H. 0.079 m.; D. 0.086 m.; of base as restored 0.091 m.

The handle and much of the sides and bottom restored.

Nearly straight sides, a flat bottom. A single groove at the rim and above the foot; a double one at the centre of the under side. Excellent black glaze over the entire vase.

This is the vase whose double was found in late fifth century context in Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 166, fig. 166). The pots must come from the same workshop, as the shape is an unusual one. Other mugs of approximately the same time are two from the Stoa Potter's Shop (P 4876: ribbed, *Hesp.*, VI, p. 50, fig. 31 h; and P 4860: with smooth, ogival sides, *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 31, no. 31 e). See also *Notizie*, 1913, suppl., p. 32, fig. 32, *ca.* 430. Another mug, P 6523, from a well of *ca.* 450-30 B.C. in the Agora has two handles.

While the well at Corinth has no Attic parallel for the mugs from the Agora, the ogival mug *is* found in it in local Corinthian form (see **228-29**). A tall black-glazed mug with nearly straight sides and two handles is in the National Museum, Athens 14945. Mugs with straight sides but horizontal ribbing are: Schaal, pl. 58 e; three in Berlin (Furtwängler, nos. 2848-2850, pl. VII, form 279, classified as Attic, fine style, later period); Athens 10503 (from the Kabeirion: a fragment with wide ribbing, and palmettes stamped in the concavities). Cf. an Italian version from a grave of the fourth century (*Notizie*, 1930, p. 242, fig. 17). See as well: Schaal, p. 154, no. 110; a two-handled mug with flaring sides, Burrows and Ure, *J. H. S.*, 29, 1909, p. 319, fig. 7, grave 12, no. 49, and *B. S. A.*, XIV, p. 255, no. 280, grave 49, earlier (Group A).



Fig. 20



## LATE CORINTHIAN

## "CONVENTIONALIZING"

**65-75.** (980-990) Kotylai

- 65:** H. 0.119 m.; D. 0.138 m.; of ft. 0.078 m.  
**66:** H. 0.109 m.; D. 0.13 m.; of ft. 0.07 m.; across handles 0.192 m. Fig. 20.  
**67:** H. 0.117 m.; D. 0.144 m.; of ft. 0.072 m.; across handles 0.223 m. Fig. 20.  
**68:** H. 0.111 m.; D. 0.127 m.; of ft. 0.079 m.  
**69:** H. 0.122 m.; D. 0.139 m.; of ft. 0.075 m.  
**70:** H. 0.119 m.; D. 0.141 m.; of ft. 0.077 m.  
**71:** H. 0.111 m.; D. 0.132 m.; of ft. 0.075 m.; across handles 0.211 m.  
**72:** H. 0.079 m.; D. 0.105 m.; of ft. 0.057 m.  
**73:** H. 0.095 m.; D. 0.107 m.; of ft. 0.061 m.  
**74:** H. 0.087 m.; D. 0.107 m.; of ft. 0.056 m.  
**75:** H. 0.064 m.

These are of two kinds: one kind with rays over the foot, the other without. All are glazed on the interior and on the upper part of the outside. Most have the familiar flaring foot of the Corinthian cup, but three (**68-70**) show the influence of the Attic ring foot (see Payne, *NC.*, fig. 182, no. 1518; another cup of the sort was found with a late black-figured lekythos in tomb 309 in Syracuse). The rays are much longer and thinner and more carelessly spaced than on the earlier cups. The shape continues in the fourth century. Many other fragments of the sort from the well have been kept, uninventoried.

**76-78.** (1158-1161) Cups of different sorts. Fig. 21

- 76:** Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.059 m.; *b* 0.057 m.; *c* 0.043 m.; T. 0.003-0.004 m.  
**77:** Gtest. dim.: 0.059 m.; T. 0.003 m.; of rim 0.007 m.  
**78:** Gtest. dim.: 0.091 m.; T. 0.004 m.; of rim 0.002 m.

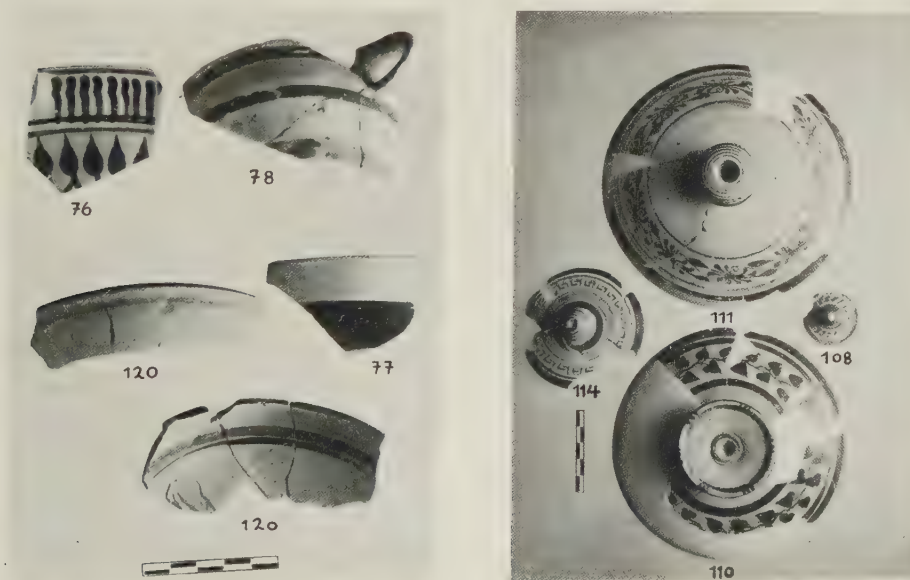


Fig. 21

**76** *a-c* are three fragments of the rim of a kotyle with zigzags at the lip and buds below, as illustrated in *NC.*, fig. 180, but later. Red bands above and below the zigzags. **77** is a bit of a rim of a low bowl with thickened rim, the flat upper side of which is reserved. Black on the inside, and a wide band below the lip on the exterior. **78** is a fragment of the curved side and offset rim of a kantharos with ribbon handles from rim to cul, one of which is preserved. Three red bands on the outside, two on the inside.

**79-81.** (1008-1010) Miniature kotylai. Fig. 20

**79:** H. 0.044 m.; D. of ft. 0.031 m.

**80:** H. 0.014 m.; D. 0.035 m.; of ft. 0.017 m.; across handles 0.048 m.

**81:** H. 0.029 m.; D. 0.035 m.; of ft. 0.015 m.; across handles 0.059 m.

Of the same type as **76**, decorated with zigzags on the rim and red and black bands below. Compare *NC.*, fig. 181 B. The vases from the well are taller and thinner and the zigzags at the rim do not fill out the zone to the end.

**82-85.** (991-994) "Kothons"

**82:** H. 0.052 m.; D. of ft. 0.099 m.; Gtest. D. 0.142 m.

**83:** H. 0.047 m.; D. of ft. 0.10 m.; Gtest. D. 0.145 m. Fig. 22.

**84:** H. 0.05 m.; D. of ft. 0.098 m.; Gtest. D. 0.145 m.

**85:** H. 0.054 m.; D. of ft. 0.10 m.; Gtest. D. 0.138 m. Fig. 20.

**82-85** are nearly complete, with minor restorations of the sides. Fragments of many more of similar pattern were found but not inventoried.

Shape: broad, flat ring foot, squat convex sides ending at the mouth in a lip projecting vertically down into the interior; two handles with double curve, applied at the widest point of the sides. Decoration: the interior thinly glazed, the upper surface of the handles and the lower side near the vase, black. At the centre of the interior, a reserved circle in which is a red ring. The inside edge of the foot black; concentric rings and a central ring or dot on the bottom. Two wide bands, red and black, on the inside of the lip, two black rings around the middle of the side, three or four rings above the pattern on the top and four below (the top four: two red and two black; the bottom: red, black, black, red). **82** and **85** have a zone of broken maeanders around the upper edge, **83** a cone pattern, **84** alternating cone and dot.

These are still clearly cut in shape and decoration: the feet neatly separated from the sides, the outlines of the sides and handle definite; the patterns fairly distinct. The vases are later, however, than any mentioned in *NC.*, p. 335. The type most like this comes from a contemporary deposit in the Kerameikos at Corinth, where the shape lasts almost to the end of the fourth century.

**86 99.** (995-1002, 1164, 1178-1180, 1183, 1186) Broad-bottomed oinochoai, trefoil lip

**86:** PH. 0.075 m.; D. of ft. 0.079 m.; D. at shoulder 0.073 m. Fig. 20.

**87:** PH. 0.062 m.; D. of base 0.071 m. Fig. 20.

**88:** PH. 0.08 m.; D. of ft. 0.08 m. Fig. 20.



Fig. 22

- 89:** PH. 0.054 m.; Gtest. D. 0.093 m. Fig. 20.  
**90:** PH. 0.052 m.; D. of ft. 0.049 m.; Gtest. D. 0.061 m. Fig. 20.  
**91:** PH. 0.058 m.; D. of ft. 0.066 m. Fig. 20.  
**92:** PH. 0.05 m.; D. of ft. 0.076 m.; Gtest. D. 0.09 m. Fig. 20.  
**93:** PH. 0.077 m.; D. of ft. 0.069 m.; Gtest. D. 0.078 m. Fig. 20.  
**94:** Gtest. dim. 0.04 m.; T. 0.002 m.  
**95:** Gtest. dim. 0.032 m.; T. 0.002 m. Fig. 20.  
**96:** Gtest. dim. 0.06 m.; T. 0.003 m. Fig. 20.  
**97:** Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.095 m.; *b* 0.038 m.; *c* 0.028 m.; T. *ca.* 0.005 m. Fig. 20.  
**98:** PH. 0.081 m. Fig. 20.  
**99:** Gtest. dim. 0.085 m.; T. *ca.* 0.004 m. Fig. 20.

The jugs are of two kinds: one (**86-88, 94-99**) with vertical sides, flat bottom, nearly horizontal shoulder, high handle and small trefoil lip (see Payne, *NC.*, fig. 190); the other (**89-93**), the same, but with low, rounded sides as in *ibid.*, fig. 192, save that the lip is immediately over the shoulder.

**86-88** are complete except for the mouth and handle; **94** still has its spout. **95-99** are fragments. Of **89-93** the top is missing; parts of the sides are restored. Decoration: **86**, degenerate lotus buds pointing upwards on the sides, four sphinxes on the shoulder, red and black bands above and below the design on the side; **87**, broken maeanders; **88**, a cone pattern contained in triangles, on the shoulder two rows of broken maeanders and a dark line between two red; **94**, a running maeander; **97-99** are from bigger pots than the other fragments. **97**, cone pointing downwards and boxed triangles upwards, below, traces of stopped maeanders; **98**, two rows of degenerate buds; **99**, an inferior lotus and palmette design. Red and black tongues on the shoulder of **98-99**, with two rows of white dots at the outer edge. On the side of **96** is a representation of some kind: the capital of a column (?) at the left, and a cross ornament; above, stopped maeanders. **97**, cone pattern pointing alternately upwards and downwards, a red ring above, two below.

Of the second type of oinochoe, **89, 91**, and **92** have tongues bounded by red lines, on the shoulder. **89** has black sides, with one black and two red lines above, **91** bands alternately red and black, **92** white dots with two black lines and a red on the angles of the shoulder and broken maeanders below, with black on the lower side, **93** broken maeanders both on shoulders and sides, with red and black bands. **90** has two black and one red line around the outside of the shoulder.

Type A is paralleled in a contemporary deposit in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth; see also *CV*, Scheurleer, 1, III C, pl. 3, 5. For the floral variety, cf. *NC.*, fig. 189. Type B also finds a counterpart in a contemporary deposit at Corinth (Well at S:11, South Basilica). The similar shape from a deposit of the time from the Potters' Quarter (see Newhall, *A. J. A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 19, fig. 17, for the type) seems rather to proceed from the shape *NC.*, fig. 191, but there is at least one pot of the exact kind from the Potters' Quarter.

#### 100-109. (1167, 1189-1191, 1173, 1165, 1007) Pyxides and lids

- 100:** Gtest. dim. 0.07 m.; PH. 0.032 m. Fig. 20.  
**101:** H. 0.032 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.098 m. Fig. 20.  
**102:** PH. 0.032 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.078 m. Fig. 20.  
**103:** H. 0.033 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.057 m. Fig. 20.  
**104:** Gtest. dim. 0.052 m.; T. 0.0015 m. Fig. 20.  
**105:** Gtest. dim. 0.046 m.; T. 0.003 m. Fig. 20.  
**106:** PH. 0.028 m.; D. 0.085 m. Fig. 20.  
**107:** H. 0.056 m.; D. of base 0.05 m. Fig. 20.  
**108:** H. 0.018 m.; D. 0.034 m. Fig. 21.  
**109:** PH. 0.01 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.045 m. Fig. 20.



**100** is a fragment of the foot of a tripod pyxis, with a black line down the outer edge of the leg and a double row of bars at the bottom. **101–103** are from kalathia such as *Clara Rhodos*, IV, pp. 120–1, figs. 110–112: **101** and **103** with plain red and black bands, **102** with vertical zigzags. **104** and **105** are from the wall of a concave-sided pyxis with thickened rim; the inside of the lip glazed; on the outside of the vase, wide red and black bands with narrow lines of black between. **106** is the top of the lid of a pyxis of the shape of *NC.*, fig. 179, with the attachment hole for a bronze handle at the centre; black and red rings with a degenerate running maeander and dots on the main zone. **107** is a miniature pyxis nearly complete, of the type in *A.J.A.*, 1931, fig. 18 (there with a basket handle). Many of this kind of pot were found in context of 430–20 B.C. in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter, both with basket handle and without. Their size varies, but for the most part they are small, with lugs on opposite sides of the vase at about the central point. The zigzag pattern on the side is very common. **106** is on the model of *NC.*, fig. 179, no. 1514, of "about the middle of the century," but is sloppier and later. **108** and **109** are lids of pyxides: on the upper surface, bands and broken maeanders.

#### 110–114. (1003, 1005, 1168, 1177, 1004, 1006, 1181) Lids of lekanides

- 110:** H. 0.05 m.; D. 0.142 m. Fig. 21.  
**111:** H. 0.059 m.; D. 0.153 m. Fig. 21.  
**112:** PH. 0.03 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.099 m. Fig. 20.  
**113:** Gtest. dim. 0.056 m. Fig. 20.  
**114:** H. 0.033 m.; D. 0.077 m. Fig. 21.

**110–114** had a knob on top (the different shapes show in the photograph; **111**'s is indented almost to the bottom), shallow sides, and a curved edge which fitted over the upright rim of the lekanis. **110** and **111** are the largest and most elaborate, **110** with an ivy wreath, **111** with a chain of oblique palmettes such as are found on red-figured pelikai and calyx-kraters of the middle quarters of the fifth century; red and black rings on either side of the pattern. **114** has a broken maeander and red black bands, **112** plain red and black bands, **113** a degenerate running maeander, wide and narrow red bands and a dark band on the outer edge. On the handles: **111**, black rings, red ivy leaves; **114**, rings.

For the shape of **112** and **113**, cf. *NC.*, fig. 187. For the ivy wreath of **110**, compare Athens 2297. For the pattern of **114**, see *Clara Rhodos*, IV, 7, pp. 120–1, figs. 110–112.

#### 115–119. (1171, 1171 A, 1171 B, 1174, 1014) Thymiateria

- 115:** Gtest. dim. 0.072 m.; T. above 0.002 m.; below 0.005 m.  
**116:** Gtest. dim. 0.029 m.; T. 0.002 m. Fig. 20.  
**117:** Gtest. dim. 0.029 m.; T. 0.002 m.  
**118:** Gtest. dim. 0.048 m.; T. above 0.005 m.; below 0.002 m.  
**119:** PH. 0.052 m.

No complete examples have been preserved. **115–117**, though much alike, are not from the same pot. All three were parts of lids with pierced triangles on the side outlined above and below by grooves. All are unglazed on the interior. **118** is from the main part of the vase; **119** part of the spreading base and the stem, with the centre of the bowl.

Decoration: **115**, from rim downwards, three red bands, stopped maeanders to left above the upper incised groove, a red band over the triangles, one below the lower groove, and a glazed band at the rim. **116**, the same in other respects, has a *running* maeander. The third fragment, **117**, has two incised grooves over the pierced band. **118** is glazed on the inside; on the exterior, two wide dark bands flanking a wide red one. Red bands on the upper side of the foot of **119**, and a ring at the centre of the stem.

**120-121.** (1159, 1162) Phialai mesomphaloi

**120:** Gtest. dim.: *a* 0.091 m.; *b* 0.035 m.; *c* 0.047 m.; T. 0.003 m.; of rim 0.005 m. Fig. 21.

**121:** Gtest. dim. 0.033 m.; PH. 0.011 m. Fig. 20.

**120** *a-c* are three pieces of the side and offset rim, **121** a fragment of the bottom and upturned edge. The edge of the rim of **120** is black, with a red line between two black on the inside and another red one outside. On the upper edge of **121** are parallel strokes; on the interior, between bands, a chain of palmettes; on the outside, a chain of lotus buds with rays below.

Parallels for the shape and type in a contemporary deposit of the Potters' Quarter. See *NC.*, fig. 197, no. 1555.

## BLACK-GLAZED

**122-123.** (1016, 1019) Oinochoai with trefoil lip. Fig. 23

**122:** H. 0.156 m.; D. of ft. 0.072 m.; Gtest. D. 0.115 m.

**123:** PH. 0.12 m.; D. of ft. 0.062 m.; Gtest. D. 0.111 m.

Part of the handle, bottom, sides and lip of **122** restored; the handle, part of the lip and sides of **123** missing.

The vases have false ring foot, trefoil lip, neck sloping in at the base, high handle. The glaze is dull, applied by dipping, so that the lower part of the side of **123** is reserved.

Similar vases were found in a slightly later grave of the North Cemetery, with a white funeral lekythos of local manufacture and a late Corinthian kotyle without rays.

**124.** (1020) Olpe with trefoil lip. Fig. 23

H. 0.153 m.; D. of ft. 0.045 m.; Gtest. D. 0.057 m.

A bit of the front lobe of the trefoil lip, part of the sides, gone.

Flat bottom, tall sides, convex neck, small trefoil lip, high handle. Dipped.

Many such vases from contemporary deposits, both in the Potters' Quarter and the main excavations. The shape lasts through most of the fourth century.

**125-127.** (1017, 1018, 1021) Oinochoai with plain lip

**125:** H. 0.148 m.; D. of ft. 0.068 m.; Gtest. D. 0.116 m. Fig. 23.

**126:** H. 0.148 m.; D. 0.05 m.; of ft. 0.081 m.; Gtest. D. 0.218 m. Fig. 23.

**127:** PH. 0.111 m.; D. of lip 0.045 m.

The neck and mouth, part of the shoulder, side and foot of **125** missing. Half the lip, parts of the sides and bottom of **126** restored. Preserved of **127**: the mouth, handle and part of the sides.

A false ring foot, a high ribbon handle and simple echinus mouth. **125** has an applied red band around the shoulder; above and below, a narrow white line; a band on the lower part of the side. Dull black glaze except on the bottom.

Cf. *NC.*, fig. 194, p. 337, no. 1552 B, where Payne says, "I believe ... these types to be very late, though I cannot quote evidence in support of this view." For a version nearer the end of the century, see Platner, *Art and Archaeology*, 1930, p. 265, fig. 26. Another jug of this sort, slightly squatter for its height, was found with Corinthian imitations of Attic kotylai of "Corinthian" type, a small oinochoe of the type of **172**, local white-ground lekythoi and a late Corinthian cup like **65 f**. This must date from a time not much later than our well.



Fig. 23



**128.** (1025) Ribbed oinochoe. Fig. 23

PH. 0.103 m.; D. of base 0.085 m.

The handle, neck, much of the shoulder and sides missing.

A flat bottom, bulging sides with wide ribs. The bottom has been left reserved, in the dipping. From analogy with other vases, the mouth must have been simple, with the lip flatter than that of **139** ff.

Slightly later the shape acquires a ring base. Vases of the sort are found in a contemporary deposit of the Corinthian Kerameikos, the later form in a grave of the North Cemetery with an Attic kotyle of the type of **28**, a small, partly glazed jug like **172** and a late Attic black-figured palmette lekythos.

**129.** (1015) Amphora. Fig. 23

PH. 0.122 m.; D. of lip 0.135 m.

The upper part of the vase preserved: two convex handles, vertical neck, bulging shoulder, mouth with double moulding on its outer edge, the whole strengthened in plaster.

Dull black glaze on the exterior and inside the mouth. Red applied to the top and the outside of the lip; three rings round the shoulder and under the handles.

**130–132.** (973, 1094, 1095) Low bowls. Fig. 23

**130:** H. 0.022 m.; D. 0.058 m.; D. of base 0.032 m.

**131:** H. 0.031 m.; D. 0.082 m.; of ft. 0.055 m.

**132:** H. 0.028 m.; D. of base 0.041 m.

Two fragments of the rim of **130** missing; nearly half of the rim and sides of **131**, and half the foot and most of the sides of **132** gone.

**130** was flat-bottomed and its sides curved slightly inward: a sort of salt-cellar, black-glazed over its whole surface. The rim of **131** was moulded at its outer edge, the inner edge of its ring foot was outlined by a raised ring. On the reserved under side, two concentric circles and a dot. **132** had a false ring foot and incurving sides; the whole vase originally was black-glazed. Parallels for all three forms of vase occur in a contemporary deposit of the Potters' Quarter. The shapes of **130** and **132** are so usual outside of Athens that to call the vases merely "black-glazed Corinthian" seems safer than "imitations of Attic."

## MINIATURE VASES

**133–135.** (1011–1013) Column-kraters

**133:** H. 0.022 m.; D. 0.039 m.; D. of base 0.019 m.

**134:** H. 0.019 m.; D. 0.028 m.; D. of base 0.016 m.; across handles 0.036 m.

**135:** H. 0.017 m.; D. 0.029 m.; D. of base 0.016 m.; across handles 0.033 m. Fig. 23.

The vases have flat foot, offset rim, and applied handles, with poor black glaze over the whole vase. Many others were found in the well, as indeed, they are found in considerable quantities in nearly all contemporaneous deposits of pottery in Corinth, including the Potters' Quarter.

**136.** (976) Plate. Fig. 23

H. 0.008 m.; D. 0.039 m.; D. of base 0.028 m.

A bit of the rim missing. The vase has a flat bottom, a slightly convex centre and a flaring rim. The glaze on the inside and the upper part of the outside is poor and flaky.

Vases of the type are found in a contemporary deposit of the Potters' Quarter.

**137.** (1163) *Phiale mesomphalos*. Fig. 20

H. 0.011 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.03 m.

A flat knob in the centre, a flat bottom and upturned edge. Poor black glaze over all.

These too are found in contemporary deposits in the Potters' Quarter.

**"BLISTER" WARE****138.** (1028) *Squat aryballos* with ribbed sides. Fig. 23

H. 0.076 m.; D. of base 0.057 m.; Gtest. D. 0.075 m.

The handle, most of the rim, parts of the sides restored.

The shape consists of a simple horizontal mouth, a ribbon handle, and squat sides with wide, diagonal ribs. The bottom is slightly concave. Coarse grey clay with dark grey glaze over all.

These are often found in Corinth, both in clay obviously Corinthian with inferior black glaze, and in true "blister" form, and always in context of this period, both in the Potters' Quarter and in the Corinthian excavations themselves. A specimen Corinthian without doubt was found in a grave of the North Cemetery with a black reeded mug and an Attic black-figured palmette lekythos. See also *Arch. Eph.*, 1932, *Ἀρχαιολογικά Χρόνικα*, p. 7, fig. 1, an aryballos of the type, found with a low black bowl in a grave near Haghia Paraskevi and dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century.

The shape is perhaps related to the red-figured lekythos such as London E 650 (Smith, *Catal. British Museum*, III, p. 338, fig. 25) where, however, the spout is the usual lekythos mouth, and the vase has a ring foot. A black-glazed example in *CV. Denmark*, 4, II-III, pl. 78, 7. A Campanian example from Teano, ribbed, *Mon. Linc.*, 20, pp. 47-48, fig. 27 b. A lekythos in *Mon. Linc.*, 23, p. 927, fig. 167, from Caulonia, with a white-ground lekythos decorated with black-figured ivy.

**139-141.** (1022-1024) Ribbed or striated oinochoai. Fig. 23

**139:** PH. 0.203 m.

**140:** PH. 0.154 m.; Gtest. D. 0.139 m.

**141:** PH. 0.18 m.

Of **139** part of the handle, neck, sides and bottom is preserved; of **140**, the mouth, neck, stump of the handle, part of the sides and bottom; of **141**, the handle, part of the neck, lip and sides. Many other pieces kept.

The jugs have an echinus lip, straight neck, ribbon handle, bulging sides and slightly rounded bottom. **139** has vertical striations on the shoulder, **140** "barbotine" decoration, **141** wide ribbing on the upper sides. In all three the clay is grey and porous, and all three are glazed with dull grey-black. On occasion the colour of the core and the outer sides of the biscuit of this type of ware varies, with the core grey or red and the outsides red or grey. The clay sometimes has white grits of lime as well. After it has baked, it often splits, leaving air spaces between core and inner and outer layers.

These too are found in contemporary deposits and wells at Corinth, notably in a well in the southeastern part of the Agora (S:11, South Basilica). Their presence in the Potters' Quarter is another argument for their Corinthian origin. Sometimes they are in clay obviously Corinthian.

**142-143.** (1026, 1027) Wide-mouthed jugs, "barbotine" decoration. Fig. 23

**142:** H. 0.086 m.; D. of lip 0.085 m.; of base 0.066 m.; Gtest. D. 0.10 m.

**143:** H. 0.088 m.; D. of base 0.06 m.; Gtest. D. 0.098 m.

The handle of **142** and parts of the sides and bottom of both vases are restored. The handle and most of the rim of **143** is missing.

The shape is the so-called "oinochoe type VIII," as **55-61**, but the sides have indentations instead of ribs; those of **142** are more regular than **143**'s. The bottom of both vases is slightly rounded, and in both cases the glaze has turned red in the firing. They are not "blister" ware proper, but as their decoration and technique are so like that of the "blister" vases and as they occur elsewhere in Corinth in "blister" form, they may be classified here in the same category. The type has a black-glazed fellow in *CV*, Sèvres, pl. 23, 29: jug with narrower mouth, more decided protuberances and a ring foot, imitated in Corinth in the early fourth century.

## PARTLY GLAZED

### 144-145. (955, 956) Bell-kraters. Fig. 24

**144**: H. 0.233 m.; D. 0.34 m.; of ft. 0.14 m.

**145**: H. 0.266 m.; D. 0.365 m.; of ft. 0.152 m.

Restored: one lug, part of the lip, and much of the sides of both **144** and **145**; part of the second lug of **144** and a small bit of the foot of **145**.

The shape consists of a false ring foot flat on the bottom, convex sides, and a horizontal rim with two lugs immediately below. On the upper surface of the rim are triangles in dark glaze with red rings on either side. On the sides: a dark ring at the level of the lugs, a red one below that and a dark one on the outer edge of the foot. On the lugs, vertical tongues: a dark one between two red.

The kraters of the (slightly earlier) well at the Agora (*Hesp.*, IV, pp. 510-512, nos. 69, 71 on fig. 16; no. 70 on fig. 25) have handles, not lugs. *Hesp.*, V, p. 344, fig. 11 (P 5189), gives the ancestor of the Corinthian type. The Athenian potter and public apparently preferred handles (see an unpublished krater from the Stoa Potter's Shop in the Agora at Athens: P 4866). Contemporary deposits in Corinth (the Potters' Quarter and the well at S:11, South Basilica, for instance) have produced fragments of the same type of vase as ours.

### 146. (979) Column-krater. Fig. 24

PH. 0.261 m.; D. 0.254 m.; across handles 0.268 m.

The foot is wrongly restored. Also restored: the "columns" of one handle, part of those of the other, parts of the side and nearly half the lip.

The shape is the usual Corinthian one of the time, tall for its height, with an applied "bow" support for the handle plate. Dull brown glaze, much worn, over the upper part of the vase.

An even taller, slimmer shape comes from a deposit of the late fifth century in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth.

### 147. (953) Amphora. Fig. 25

PH. 0.181 m.; D. 0.104 m.; across handles 0.156 m.; Gtest. D. 0.182 m.

The foot, the lower part of the sides, half the rim and parts of the shoulder missing, filled in with plaster.

The vase had two ribbon handles, a flaring lip and sloping shoulder, and squat, bulging sides. Dark brown glaze on the interior.

For the shape of the neck and sides, see **235**.



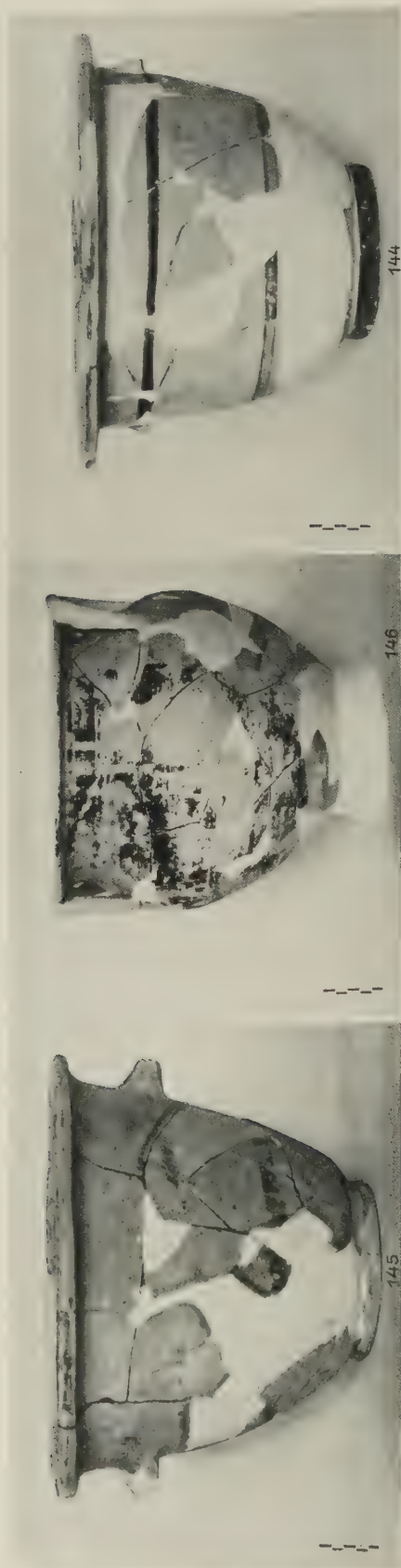
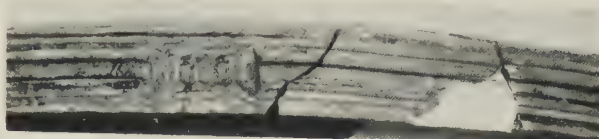


Fig. 24



174



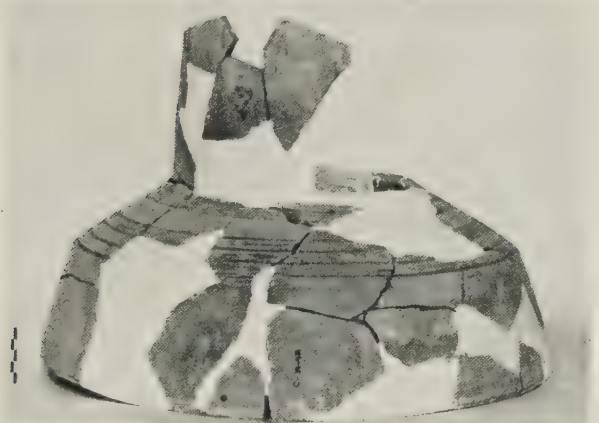
174



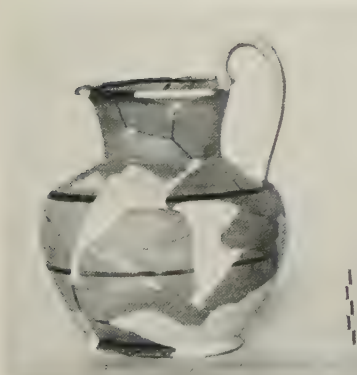
174



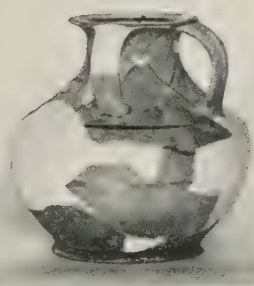
175



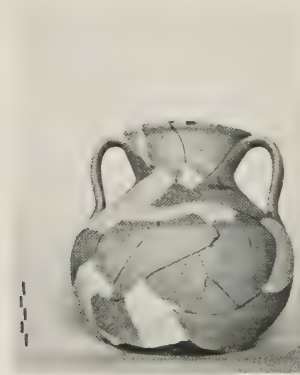
174



148



151



147

Fig. 25

**148-149.** (949, 951) Oinochoai with single handle

**148:** H. 0.171 m.; D. of lip 0.106 m.; of ft. 0.10 m.; Gtest. D. 0.162 m. Fig. 25.

**149:** PH. 0.124 m.; D. of lip 0.095 m.

Of **148**, the handle, a small part of the rim, parts of the shoulder, sides, and foot restored. Of **149**, the handle, most of the neck, and the upper part of the shoulder remain.

The shape consisted of a false ring foot with ring indented on the bottom to imitate the usual ring form, a neck sloping inward at the base, a horizontal lip, and a high handle. Stripes of dark glaze inside the rim, on the upper surface and outer edge of the lip, a ring below the handle, one on the lower part of the sides, and one on the outer edge of the foot.

**150.** (954) Oinochoe with single handle. Fig. 26

PH. 0.104 m.; D. of lip 0.108 m.

Most of the flaring lip and high, round handle, and part of the sloping shoulder and round side remain, filled in with plaster. Dark brown glaze (mottled) on the inside of the mouth and the upper part of the sides.

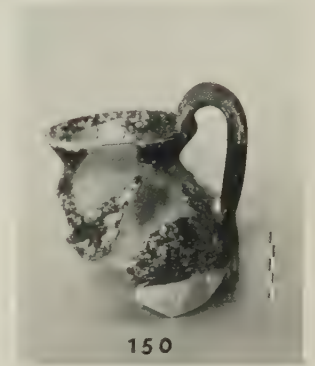


Fig. 26

**151-153.** (946-948) Oinochoai with two handles

**151:** H. 0.161 m.; D. of lip 0.088 m.; of base 0.104 m.; Gtest. D. 0.162 m. Fig. 25.

**152:** H. 0.163 m.; D. of lip 0.096 m.; of ft. 0.116 m.

**153:** PH. *ca.* 0.15 m.; Gtest. D. *ca.* 0.17 m.

Parts of one handle, of the rim, sides and bottom of **151** restored. One handle of **152** missing, and the lower part of **153**; the missing parts restored.

The vases have a false ring foot with a groove on the under side to simulate the inside of the foot (cf. **148** and **149**), sloping neck and shoulder with a slight angle to the lower, convex part of the side, a flaring lip and two handles with central ridge, placed on the same side of the vase.

Parallels from the Corinthian excavations: C.31.238; several vases from under the Agora floor: more bulbous in shape. From the afore-mentioned well at S:11, South Basilica, came two vases with two handles on the same side of the vase. They are squatter; one is unglazed, the others glazed in the "conventionalizing" style.

**154-162.** (957-959, 961-967) Stemless cups

**154:** H. 0.058 m.; D. 0.168 m.; of ft. 0.114 m. Fig. 24.

**155:** H. 0.071 m.; D. 0.164 m.; of ft. 0.095 m.; across handles 0.233 m.

**156:** H. 0.072 m.; D. 0.174 m.; of ft. 0.102 m.; across handles 0.244 m.

**157:** H. 0.088 m.; D. 0.168 m.; of ft. 0.09 m.

**158:** H. 0.06 m.; D. 0.157 m.; of ft. 0.113 m.

**159:** H. 0.075 m.; D. 0.177 m.; of ft. 0.10 m.

**160:** H. 0.072 m.; D. 0.167 m.; of ft. 0.086 m.

**161:** H. 0.075 m.; D. 0.162 m.; of ft. 0.091 m.

**162:** H. 0.067 m.; D. 0.16 m.; of ft. 0.101 m.; across handles 0.24 m.

These are vases with low spreading foot, sides with a turn inward at the lip, two horizontal handles immediately below the rim. The glaze is applied by dipping, so that the lower part of the vase is reserved. Considerable restoration in plaster.



**163–164.** (960, 965) Stemless cups with spout. Fig. 24**163:** H. 0.053 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.188 m.**164:** H. 0.053 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.172 m.

Of **163** is preserved one handle, a third of the ring foot, side and offset rim; of **164**, one handle, the spout (the tip chipped off), a bit of the ring foot, a third of the side and rim.

The shape of the vase is much the same as the last, except that the rim turns outwards, and its edge is thickened. On the centre of the interior are two red rings and a dot. A spout on one side, between the handles.

Vases of the type were found in the Kerameikos at Corinth in contemporary context and in miniature form as well. A complete cup comes from the well at S:11, South Basilica.

**165–171.** (968–972, 974–975) One-handlers**165:** H. 0.048 m.; D. of ft. 0.04 m.**166:** H. 0.043 m.; D. 0.095 m.; of ft. 0.048 m. Fig. 24.**167:** H. 0.039 m.; D. 0.095 m.; of ft. 0.046 m.**168:** H. 0.035 m.; D. of ft. 0.041 m.**169:** H. 0.041 m.; D. of ft. 0.043 m.**170:** H. 0.03 m.; D. 0.07 m.; of ft. 0.032 m.**171:** H. 0.03 m.; D. 0.055 m.; of ft. 0.024 m.

The handle of most of the vases is missing.

A false ring foot with grooves on the bottom and outer edge; a small handle at the inwardly curving rim. The mottled red glaze applied by dipping.

Duplicates are found in contemporary deposits at Corinth, the well at S:11, South Basilica, and the Potters' Quarter, although the shape continues through much of the fourth century.

**173**

Fig. 27

**172.** (977) Miniature oinochoe, trefoil lip. Fig. 24

PH. 0.073 m.; D. of base 0.039 m.; Gtest. D. 0.062 m.

The handle, most of the lip, part of the side gone.

False ring foot; trefoil mouth. The glaze into which the vase was dipped has turned red on the inside of the mouth and the upper part of the sides.

Similar pots have been found in contemporary deposits at Corinth: the Potters' Quarter and the well at S:11 (see the preceding). One was found in association with a reeded mug, an Attic kotyle, an Attic black-figured lekythos with palmettes, in a grave in the North Cemetery; another with a white-ground lekythos of local manufacture and a late band cup with palmettes; still another with a similar lekythos and a partly glazed kotyle.

**173.** (339) Miniature oinochoe. Fig. 27

PH. 0.065 m.; Gtest. D. 0.04 m.; of ft. 0.025 m.

The mouth and handle are gone. On the sides, two red lines.

Similar vases found in contemporary deposits in the Potters' Quarter and the excavations at Corinth (well at S:11, South Basilica).

**174-175.** (931-931a) Lekane on stand

**174:** *a*: PH. 0.032 m.; D. of base 0.475 m.; D. of column at base 0.20 m.

*b*: PH. 0.335 m.; D. of column at top 0.19 m.

*c*: D. 0.765 m.; T. of rim 0.039 m.; W. of rim 0.042 m. Figs. 25, 28.

**175:** PH. 0.25 m.; D. 0.173 m.; T. 0.007-0.01 m. Fig. 25.

Many other fragments of similar vases were found, none whole. The entire profile of **174**, save for the height of the stem, may be restored (Fig. 28). *a*: most of the sloping, angled base.

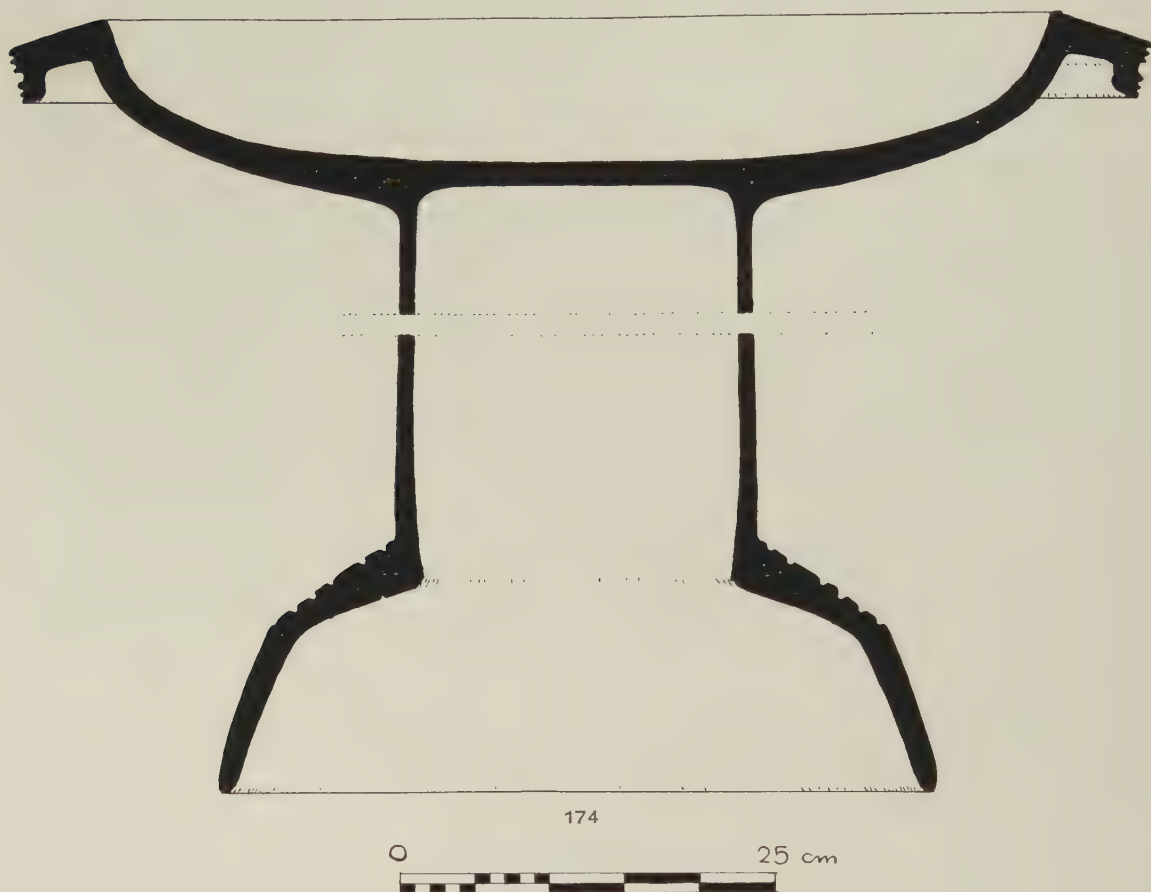


Fig. 28

grooved on the shoulder; part of the cylindrical stem. *b*: a considerable fragment of the stem; a small part of the centre of the basin on top. *c*: half the bowl and rim of the basin. The inside of the bowl is rough; near the rim the slip is still unworn. **175** is a fragment of the supporting stem of another similar vase: horizontal rings, black, red, red, black.

The base had three rings alternately black and red on its shoulder, with a black one at the base of the stem. The stem itself has vertical dark stripes and a band at the top below the rim. The bowl has a dark band on the upper surface of the rim and rings of red and black alternating on two sets of triple ridges on the outer edge itself. There must once have been four

knobs or lugs (Fig. 25) of astragal on this outer edge, with the various component parts of it red and black.

The signs of wear on the inside of the bowl would seem to indicate that the vase had been used for mixing or rubbing some substance which wore away the slipped surface of the interior. Two vases from the Stoa Potter's Shop in the Agora, P 4869 and P 4870, were found with traces of clay in them. A fair conclusion would seem to be that they had been bowls for the mixing and kneading of clay. Although in shape similar to the brazier on stand (213) without the supports for cooking pots, the vases from the Agora may indicate the use to which the Corinthian vases had been put. The outward extension of the sides would seem to make any use which involved pounding, impracticable.

With minor variations, the rims of these pots are usually like that of 174. Occasionally they have some other design such as a stamped rosette. The stand, on the other hand, offered a tempting surface for freehand drawing: lotus and palmette or even human figures. Many fragments come from the Corinthian Kerameikos and the Corinthian excavations and, although no specimen has been preserved entire, the bowl of one at Corinth can be completely restored. The vases are undoubtedly Corinthian in origin. As almost always when Corinthian clay is used in any degree of thickness (i. e., in architectural terracottas and sculpture like the Amazon pediment now published in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, p. 318 ff.) the original clay has been mixed with sand or even tiny pebbles to strengthen it.

An example from the Agora, P 6533, is nearly whole, except for the base. Others have been found at Olympia (*Olympia*, IV, p. 201, no. 1301, pl. LXIX, with a reference on p. 135 to metal prototypes) and Naukratis (*Naukr.*, I, pl. 4, 7). Nothing is more likely than that a centre of pottery commercially so well-connected as Corinth should have exported implements for the pottery trade.

#### UNGLAZED

#### 176-177. (1203, 1197) Lidded lekanides. Fig. 29

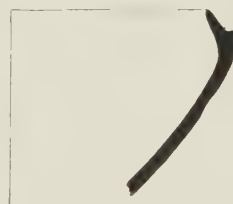
176: H. 0.044 m.; D. 0.12 m.

177: Gtest. dim. 0.054 m.; T. 0.003 m.

No whole vases of the kind were found in the well. These fragments illustrate to some extent the shape of cover and lid. The knob and part of the rim and side of 176 are preserved, four times stepped, with two grooves on the outer edge of the rim and one on the outer edge of the upper surface of the knob. 177 gives an idea of the upper part of the pyxis: the bowls were all much alike, none with the foot preserved. None of the fragments were complete enough to be photographed. Many other fragments of lids with minor variations in the shape of the knob (the depth of the cavity in the knob and the shape of the knob itself) were kept, un-inventoried.



176



177

Fig. 29

#### 178-179. (1073, 1071) Low bowl

178: H. 0.029 m.; D. 0.083 m.; of ft. 0.04 m.

179: H. 0.027 m.; D. 0.085 m.; of ft. 0.043 m. Fig. 30.

A fragment of the rim and side of 178. Part of rim, foot, side and bottom of 179 gone.



Convex sides with a groove at the outside of the lip; spreading ring foot, with a groove above it. Similar bowls from the Potters' Quarter and S:11, South Basilica.



Fig. 30

**180.** (952) Oinochoe, simple mouth. Fig. 31

PH. 0.181 m.; D. of lip 0.082 m.

Preserved: the top of an oinochoe with bell mouth, a ribbon handle, bulging sides, a raised ring at the top and the base of the neck. Rouletting at the top of the shoulder, under the handle. Filled in with plaster.

**181.** (937) Amphora. Fig. 31

H. 0.253 m.; D. of lip 0.121 m.; of ft. 0.105 m.; Gtest. D. 0.205 m.

Small fragments of the rim and side missing.

A false ring foot, concave in the centre, a flaring lip, two nearly round handles, a straight neck, bulging sides.



Fig. 31

#### MINIATURE VASES

**182.** (1069) Oinochoe. Fig. 30

H. 0.072 m.; D. of lip 0.029 m.; of ft. 0.043 m.; Gtest. D. 0.07 m.

Parts of the sides restored.

Bell mouth, false ring foot, ribbon handle. The shape finds a black-glazed parallel in S:11, South Basilica.

**183.** (1072) Oinochoe with trefoil lip. Fig. 30

PH. 0.05 m.; D. of base 0.033 m.; Gtest. D. 0.054 m.

Most of the neck and handle gone.

A flat bottom, angled sides, and straight neck. Like **173**, unglazed.

**184.** (1070) Column-krater. Fig. 30

H. 0.059 m.; D. 0.077 m.; of ft. 0.048 m.

Part of the rim, sides and foot restored in plaster; part of one handle gone.

A spreading ring foot with a groove at the base on the under side; applied handles. Cf. S : 11, South Basilica.

**185–186.** (1074, 1075) Stands

**185:** H. 0.048 m.; D. of top 0.06 m.; of bottom as restored 0.072 m. Fig. 30.

**186:** H. 0.048 m.

Over a third of the top and half the base of **185** restored. Of **186** less than half is preserved.

A cylinder with thickened top, concave sides and flaring foot.

## KITCHEN WARE

**187–189.** (924, 925, 928) Large lekanai. Fig. 32

**187:** H. 0.099 m.; D. 0.308 m.

**188:** H. 0.097 m.; D. 0.317 m.

**189:** Gtest. dim. 0.338 m.

Part of the rim and much of the side and bottom of **187**, bits of the rim, parts of the sides of **188** restored. **189** is a fragment of the side and one handle.

A false ring foot, convex sides, horizontal rim. **189** has two pierced lugs, mere projections of the rim. Incised on the upper surface, chevrons; on the outer edge, zigzags.

**190–192.** (926, 1584, 1585) Mortars. Fig. 32

**190:** H. 0.052 m.; across handles 0.375 m.

**191:** Gtest. dim. 0.19 m.

**192:** Gtest. dim. 0.158 m.

Over half of **190** preserved, a fragment of the side and one lug of **191–192**.

**190:** overhanging lip, convex sides, false ring foot. **191** and **192:** the rim does not overhang, the shape of the lugs is different. The inside of all the fragments is rough, with the slip still preserved near the outer edge.

Fragments of other mortars from S : 11, South Basilica.

**193–194.** (927, 929) Mortars with spout

**193:** H. 0.065 m.; Gtest. dim. 0.39 m.

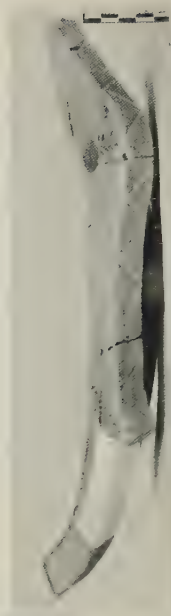
**194:** H. 0.083 m.; D. 0.345 m.; with spout 0.39 m.; of ft. 0.238 m. Fig. 32.

Part of the centre and foot of **194** restored; the handles, spout, and two thirds of the rim and sides of **193** are gone, although the hole for the spout remains.

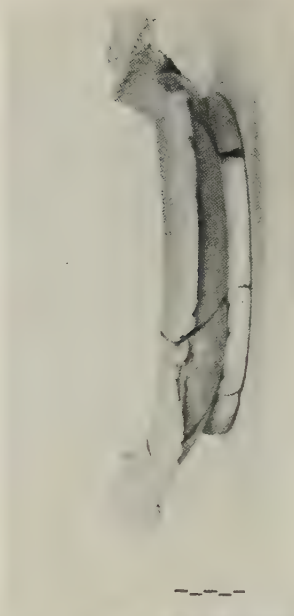
A false ring foot, convex side, a semi-circular spout on one side. On **194** the lip overhangs in a heavy vertical wall on the outside; the edge of **193** is merely thickened at its outer edge.



187



189



190



203



204

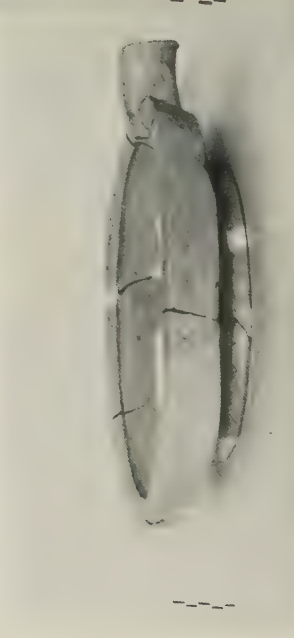


188



191

192



194

Fig. 32



Another form can have three facets. While the foot is usually flat, it can also be moulded below, with the centre slightly sunken to imitate a ring foot.

For parallels at the Agora, see *Hesp.*, IV, p. 513, no. 81, and fig. 26, from the third quarter of the century; P 6530, from a well dated to 450-30 B.C.; P 4865, from the Stoa Potter's Shop, and others. Examples from elsewhere: *Mon. Linc.*, XIV, p. 803, fig. 23, from Camarina; *CV. Sèvres*, IV, IV D and IV E, pl. 45, 28. Fragments of yet others in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, sometimes with astragal lugs as in the case of the large lekanai on stands (see 174 f.).



Fig. 33

195. (1587) Deep lekane with handles. Fig. 33

Gtest. dim. 0.257 m.; T. 0.01 m.

One handle, part of the rim and side. Fragments of several of these pots were found, none entire.

They have deeper sides than 187 ff.; on the horizontal rim are superimposed two loop handles. Fig. 33 gives the shape: it is that of C. 35.393, from a contemporary deposit at Corinth.

Other examples, although not exact comparisons, are a lekane from South Bulgaria (Filow, *loc. cit.*, fig. 177), from grave 17, with a tall column-krater of the end of the century; the lekane, too, is taller; *CV. Sèvres*, IV, IV D and IV E, pl. 45, 29.



199



200



196



197

Fig. 34

**196–198.** (936, 936 a, 930) Large storage jars

**196:** H. 0.442 m.; D. of lip 0.249 m.; Gtest. D. 0.48 m. Fig. 34.

**197:** H. 0.53 m.; D. of lip 0.38 m.; Gtest. D. 0.57 m. Fig. 34.

**198:** PH. 0.18 m.; D. of rim 0.33 m. Fig. 33.

Half the lip, part of the sides and most of the handles of **196** restored; of **97**, one handle, parts of the rim, most of the spout and sides. Restored of **197**: part of the handle, sides and rim of the lid; part of the rim, neck, and sides of the vase.

**196** has a raised flange for the lid, two round horizontal handles on the shoulders, a false ring foot and bulging sides, with a double and a single groove around the shoulder. **197** has a low, raised rim, two tripartite handles on the shoulder, a spout on one side midway between, bounded by vertical ridges at the sides. The spout has been wrongly restored; it was found after the restoration had been made according to the idea of the mender. The actual spout is like those of the mortars: long, and semi-circular in section. **197** has false ring foot, round sides, vertical neck, horizontal rim, two horizontal handles. The lid has a loop handle.

Part of a jar similar to **197** comes from the Potters' Quarter; its rim, thrice-ridged, projects outwards on the shoulder, with the ridges painted alternately red and black.

**199–202.** (932–934, 1579–1582) Wine amphorae

**199:** H. 0.68 m.; Gtest. D. 0.42 m. Fig. 33.

**200:** H. 0.62 m.; D. of lip 0.20 m.; Gtest. D. 0.48 m. Fig. 34.

**201:** H. 0.423 m.; D. of lip 0.144 m.; Gtest. D. 0.27 m. Fig. 35.

**202:** PH. 0.76 m.; Gtest. D. 0.295 m. Fig. 33.

The restorations of **199–201** show in the photograph as do the missing parts of **202**.

There are four types of amphorae, all with pointed bottom. In three the sides are very bulging, in the fourth the lower part of the sides slants abruptly to a slim base. The necks, lips, and handles vary: of the first type (**199**) the neck flares slightly outward, the lip has a simple rounded moulding and the handles slope inwards at the base. Of the second variety (**200**) the neck is more nearly vertical, the lip an echinus with the handles clinging close to it at the top and sloping outwards toward the bottom. In the third type (**201**) the echinus is clear of the handles, which form an approximate right angle. In the fourth (**202**), the neck slopes upwards from the sides without a break and ends above in a thickened moulding from which the handles spring slightly upwards and then vertically down. Above is a ring mouth, longest from front to back.

For a parallel to **202** see *Hesp.*, IV, pp. 514–516, fig. 17, nos. 85–88. Parallels for all the shapes are found in contemporary deposits of the Corinthian excavations.

**203.** (935) Oinochoe. Fig. 32

H. 0.322 m.; D. of lip 0.162 m.; of ft. 0.123 m.; Gtest. D. 0.285 m.

Fragments of the mouth, handle, and sides restored.

A round handle, simple echinus mouth, vertical neck, bulging sides, false ring foot. Gritty greenish clay.

Other vases of the same kind from contemporary deposits in the Corinthian excavations: i.e. the wells at S:11 and K:14, South Basilica.

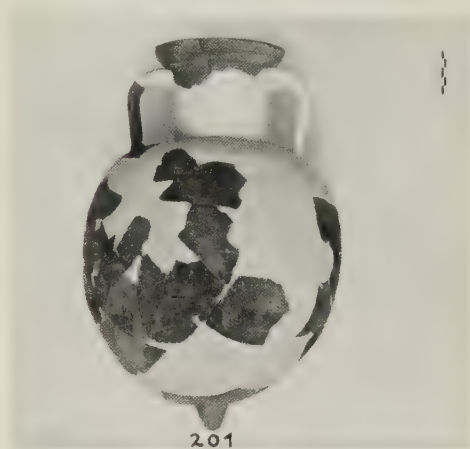


Fig. 35



**204.** (923) Funnel. Fig. 32

PH. 0.135 m.; Gtest. dim. of rim 0.235 m.

The spout of the vase restored; about half the rim and sides remain, filled in with plaster. Pale greenish clay, slipped.

An incurving rim and convex side; the length of the spout is of course only conjectural. On the inside are traces of a deposit that looks like resin.

## COARSE WARE

**205–209.** (939, 942–945) Casseroles

**205:** H. 0.157 m.; D. of lip 0.167 m.; Gtest. D. 0.243 m. Fig. 36.

**206:** H. 0.057 m.; D. of inner rim 0.098 m. Fig. 36.

**207:** H. 0.04 m.; D. 0.126 m.; D. of inner rim 0.01 m. Fig. 36.

**208:** PH. 0.042 m.; D. of inner rim 0.147 m.

**209:** H. of lid 0.045 m.; D. 0.141 m.; PH. of casserole 0.06 m.; D. with handles 0.213 m. Fig. 36.

Of **205**, half the rim and most of the sides have been restored, of **206** one handle and more than half the rim, of **207** most of the rim and part of the bottom, of **208** most of the rim. Of the lid of **209**, part of the side and rim is preserved; of the casserole itself, part of one double handle, over half the rim and a small part of the shoulder and side.

From analogy with other fragments in the well it has been possible to restore the shape of **205**: a nearly vertical rim with a ledge inside to support the lid; deep, rounded sides with two handles on the sharp curve of the shoulder; a closed spout half way between the handles. **207–209** are similar but shallower, except that **209** has double handles. The outer edge of the rim of **206** was convex, with an inner ledge for the lid and high, loop handles rising from the rim itself. **209**'s lid was knobbed, with its edge slightly curved to fit over the rim of its pot.

All this ware is made of coarse greyish brown clay; **209** is red in parts from firing. Traces of burning on the bottoms. In the Potters' Quarter at Corinth was found a fragment of casserole the clay of which was better washed or at least purer than most of the kind, and clearly Corinthian in origin. This forms a bridge between the vases of fine, unmixed clay universally recognized as Corinthian and those of clay containing an admixture of sand and grits, tiny particles of lime and even a fine powdering of mica. The foundation is the same: the soft green-white or green-buff clay of the district, but for the sake of strength the stiffening materials have been added.

The fact that one finds so much of this coarse and semi-coarse pottery in the excavations of the Corinthian Kerameikos, as well as in great quantities everywhere in Corinth, again argues that the bulk of it is Corinthian, as, except for Attic, comparatively little foreign ware of the time has been brought in from outside.

For the shapes, compare *Hesp.*, IV, p. 494, nos 78 and 79, fig. 16, and Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pp. 622–3, no. 2592. from the votive deposit before 407 B.C. A lid like that of **209** comes from the Stoa Potter's Shop at the Agora (P 4868). Fragments of similar shapes from the Corinthian excavation (S: 11, South Basilica) and the Potters' Quarter.

**210.** (1133) Fragment of cooking pot. Fig. 36

Gtest. dim. 0.152 m.; T. of rim 0.07 m.; of side 0.003 m.

A small part of the rim, side, and handle preserved. The pot must have been quite deep, from the slant of the upper sides. Its mouth was wide, with a thickened rim. The single handle, oval in section, rose only to the mouth.

A whole pot of the sort was found in the Stoa Potter's Shop in the Agora (P 4872).



Fig. 36

**211.** (1129) Fragments of krater. Fig. 36

Gtest. dim. of  $\alpha$  0.20 m.; T. of rim 0.02 m.; of wall 0.005 m.

Two fragments of the overhanging rim and side. The lip was triple-grooved, with one groove on the outer edge and two on the wall below, with a design of connected loops incised on the wall in the wet clay.

**212.** (941) Shallow brazier on stand. Fig. 36

H. 0.163 m.; D. 0.374 m.; of ft. 0.192 m.; across handles 0.468 m.

Part of both handles, one support and part of another, large parts of the stand and parts of the rim and sides restored.

The vase consists of a flaring hollow foot pierced by four rectangular holes; flaring, shallow sides with a rim projecting on its inner surface and flat on top; two horizontal handles projecting from the rim; and two horizontal supports on the rim at right angles to the handles. Traces of burning on the interior. Fragments of many other vases of the same type are preserved.

For the shape, cf. *Hesp.*, IV, p. 515, fig. 27, no. 82.

**213.** (938) Deep brazier. Fig. 36

H. 0.195 m.; D. of lip 0.195 m.; of ft. 0.202 m.; across handles as restored 0.032 m.

The shape consisted of a flat bottom, slightly convex vertical walls, two handles, and a rim projecting inwards with three supports on its upper surface. On one side is a large, square hole; on the rear wall, two rows of three holes for the draught.

For the shape, see *Hesp.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 515, fig. 27, no. 106.

**214.** (940) Frying pan. Fig. 36

H. 0.072 m.; D. 0.416 m.; of ft. as restored 0.397 m.

Half the rim, one handle and part of the other, and fragments of the bottom and sides preserved; the rest restored in plaster.

The vase had a flat bottom, nearly vertical sides, and two pierced handles rising on opposite sides straight from the rim. Traces of burning on both the inside and the exterior. Another fragment of the same type of vase preserved. It is a common enough shape in deposits of the time at Corinth.

**215.** (1130 a-c) Fragments of amphora. Fig. 36

PH. of  $\alpha$  0.085 m.; H. of neck and lip 0.075 m.

Three fragments of the neck and lip.

An offset lip with grooves on the outer edge, a vertical neck. Coarse red clay with white grits; dark vertical stripes on the neck.

**216.** (1132 a-b) Fragments of oinochoe. Fig. 36

H. of neck and lip 0.08 m.

A fragment of the round handles and trefoil lip (part of one lobe missing). Coarse grey clay with a red core and grits.



## CORINTHIAN IMITATIONS OF ATTIC

**217.** (1107 a-d) Fragments of red-figured krater. Fig. 37

Gtest. dim. of *a* 0.033 m.; T. 0.004-0.005 m.

Four fragments of the side, with good glaze on the interior. Red-brown wash on the reserved parts. Dilute glaze: part of the object in the hand on *a*. Relief contour on *a* and *c*.



Fig. 37

*a*, a figure seated to right with something in its hand (?). *b* and *d*, the folds of a cloak. *c*, part of the drapery of a standing figure; the nape of the neck of a figure seated right (?). *a* and *c* could be from A, the other fragments from the reverse of the vase.

The style of the drapery with its orderly folds agrees well with a date of *ca.* 430 or the early twenties.

**218–221.** (390, 1089–1091) Black-glazed kotylai, Corinthian type

**218:** H. 0.095 m.; D. 0.115 m.; of ft. 0.069 m. Fig. 38, profile.

**219:** H. 0.083 m.; D. 0.093 m.; of ft. 0.045 m. Fig. 37.

**220:** H. 0.102 m.; D. of ft. 0.059 m. Fig. 37.

**221:** PH. 0.126 m.; D. of ft. 0.071 m. Fig. 37.

These are all fragmentary; only in **218** and **219** is one handle preserved. The cups are of two types: one (**221**) with and one (**218–220**) without rays on the reserved zone above the foot.

For the shape, cf. **29 ff.** It is interesting to note that whereas the Attic cups of this sort in the well are almost entirely rayed, only one of the imitations has rays; the rest are plain. The upper surface of the Corinthian version of the foot is almost always convex, without the upward tilt at the flan characteristic of the good Attic feet of the period.

The shape is one of the most common in deposits of the time at Corinth. A grave outside the north wall of the city contained three of the cups and, among other vases, a stemless red-figured cup of local manufacture of *ca.* 420 B.C. and a Corinthian imitation of a stamped black-glazed kantharos like **49 ff.**



218

Fig. 38

**222–223.** (1092, 1093) Black-glazed kotylai, Attic type

**222:** Gtest. dim. 0.112 m.; T. 0.003 m.

**223:** Gtest. dim. 0.078 m.; T. above 0.002 m.; below 0.003 m.

One handle, and a fragment of the rim and side of both cups remain. The black glaze is flaky, the bottom and resting surface of the vase reserved and red washed.

A solid ring foot, nearly vertical walls. Fragments of this sort are not uncommon in deposits of the time in Corinth, both from the excavations and from the Potters' Quarter. A nearly whole specimen of the kind, from S:11, South Basilica.

**224.** (1097) Black-glazed stemless cup. Fig. 37

H. 0.026 m.; D. 0.114 m.; of ft. 0.032 m.; across handles 0.176 m.

Much of the rim, part of one handle, bits of the sides and bottom restored.

A small ring foot; a very shallow bowl with incurving rim. Quite good glaze over the entire foot except the centre of the under side, which is violently red-washed.

The shape may be dated to *ca.* 420 B.C. from its likeness to a cup found in a grave in Corinth (under **218 221**). If anything, the cup from the well is earlier, its bowl deeper and its ring wider in proportion to the span of its sides.

**225–226.** (1048 a, 1096) Stemless kylikes

**225:** H. 0.034 m.; Gtest. D. 0.11 m. Fig. 39, profile.

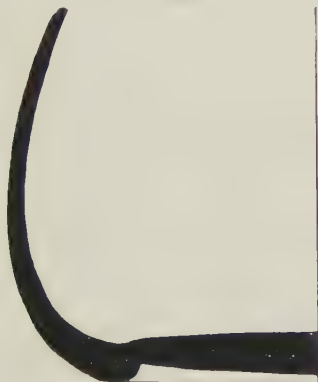
**226:** PH. 0.041 m.; D. of ft. 0.043 m. Figs. 37 and 39, profile.

Of **226** half the ring foot, part of the shallow bowl and offset rim are preserved. The glaze, now much flaked, originally covered the whole vase. Of **225**, part of one handle, *ca.* a quarter of the rim, sides and very low foot preserved, black all over, but with very poor glaze.

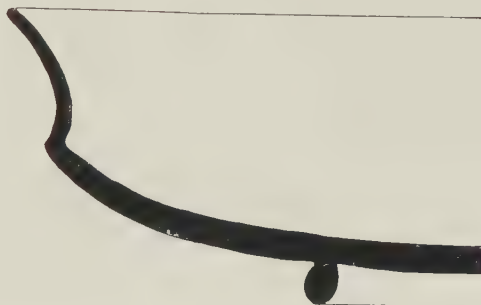
227. (1106) Low bowl. Fig. 37

Gtest. dim. of *a* 0.047 m.; T. of rim 0.009 m.; of side 0.004 m.

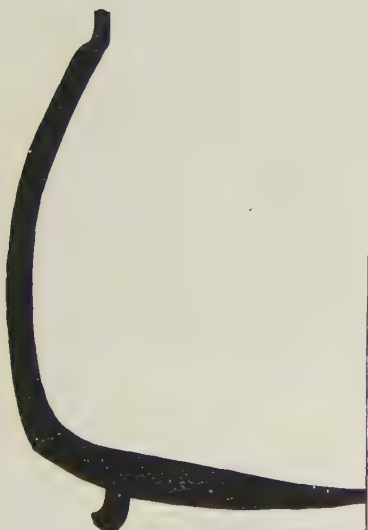
Three fragments preserved: *a*, a bit of the ring foot, bottom and side; *b* and *c*, of sides and rim.



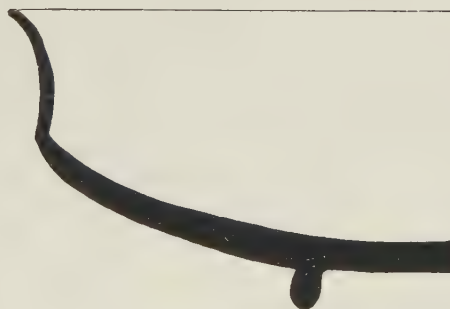
231



225



230



226



Fig. 39



A concave moulding on the inside of the foot; the centre of the under side red-washed. Parallels for this also in context of the time in the Potters' Quarter.

**228-229.** (1103, 1105) Wide-mouthed jugs

**228:** Gtest. dim. 0.092 m.; T. 0.003 m. Fig. 37.

**229:** PH. 0.041 m.; D. of base 0.027 m. Fig. 37.



Fig. 40

Fragments of the ogival rim and side of **228**. The handle of **229** is preserved, also the bottom. In both cases, the glaze is rather poor.

For the shape in Attica, see under **64**.

**230.** (1100) Wide-mouthed jug. Figs. 37, 39

PH. 0.068 m.; D. of ft. 0.071 m.

The stub of the handle, part of the lip, sides and foot, filled in with plaster. Dull glaze over the whole vase, including the inside.

A ring handle, offset lip, plain convex sides, ring foot.

This vase is a rude copy of the civilized ribbed mugs, **55** ff. It lacks all the refinements of stamping and the rope-moulding at the base of the neck. The divisions of the double handle are only roughly indicated.

**231.** (1102) Black-glazed jug? Figs. 37, 39

PH. 0.053 m.; D. of base 0.061 m.

Preserved: the bottom and sides of a vase thinly glazed on the interior; the glaze very much flaked on the outside.

The point of greatest diameter is well down in the vase: the lower part of the sides bulges, the centre of the bottom is indented, red-washed, and decorated with a ring and dot on its reserved surface. For this shape I can find no parallel. For the profile, see Fig. 39.

**232.** (1101) Black-glazed jug? Fig. 37

PH. 0.033 m.; D. of base 0.018 m.

The top and handle gone. A flat bottom, very curved sides. Black glaze over the whole vase, thinly glazed on the interior.

**233–234.** (1098, 1099) White-ground lekythoi with black-figured decoration. Fig. 37

On both vases the spouts are preserved to a point on the shoulder, with the handles broken away. The neck and the upper, reserved surface of the mouth are red-washed.

The fragments undoubtedly come from white-ground lekythoi with lattice or laurel or ivy-wreath in black on the white sides. Examples have been found in a Corinthian grave of *ca.* 420 B.C. (see under **218** ff. and **224**).

**235.** (362) Oinochoe in outline technique. Fig. 40

PH. 0.217 m.; Gtest. D. 0.194 m.; D. of ft. as restored 0.094 m.

Much of the mouth, handle, back, and foot is gone. The lower end of the handle and six fragments of the side are preserved, but of these none can be placed with certainty. Light buff clay, red glaze on the inside. Red for the fillets, the hems of the cloaks, the ivy on the kantharos, the flame of the torch.

A false ring foot slightly concave underneath, round sides, sloping neck (the dent on one side is not part of a lobe of a trefoil lip), a single handle at the back.

Two men, a youth and a man, running to right. For the description, see Stillwell, *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 41–42 (illustrated on p. 42, fig. 20). The first figure is young: note his cheek whiskers. Naked but for the cloak of the second figure, part of which falls over his left arm, he carries in his right hand an oinochoe such as **54**, with high handle and accented shoulder. Around his head is a fillet tied in an unusual way: its wide ends hide the outline of the nape of his neck, and fray out into narrow streamers. The older man, bearded and filleted, extends an ivied kantharos in his left hand. The arrangement of his hands is not clear: if his right hand grasps the right shoulder of his companion instead of holding the torch, as at first sight it seems to do, then the cloak is in an awkward position. As Mr. Stillwell says (*loc. cit.*, p. 42), it must somehow have caught in the elder man's fillet.

Payne's suggestion, that this was the ancient equivalent of our egg and spoon race, seems an excellent one. The lighted torch, the oinochoe and kantharos, both presumably full, the disarranged cloak and the connecting arm combine to make progress a difficult matter. Anyone who has tried three-legged co-operation will recognize the obstacles to be overcome. For the subject, the evidence of literature is of no assistance. The race in armour is the nearest approximation of the modern obstacle race (Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, p. 140).

The outline technique, though rare, is not completely without parallel. Two similar fragments were found in the Agora at Corinth this year (C.36.836) (Fig. 41). They had formed part of a large closed vase of Corinthian clay. On one piece in dark brown outline is the left hand of a figure, resting on a stick of the type illustrated in Reichhold, *Skizzenbuch*, pl. 16. On fragment *b* is the right end of a band of stopped maeander like that under the picture in Attic red-figured vases. At the end, however, the truncation of a saltire square shows that the copyist has been copying without thinking. Probably in the original the glaze had run over the final square of the border.

These last fragments have no trace of colour. The purple-red details of **235** either are survivals of an earlier day or a special concession to the materials in which the artist was working, a compromise with the "conventionalizing" technique.

For an "outlined" head on a vase of the latest Corinthian period, see the pyxis in *NC.*, fig. 174 bis. The clay of the "Boeotian" cups decorated in outline technique in the National Museum (Athens 1119 and 1120) looks very Corinthian. See for these vases and three others: Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, 26, 1901, p. 143 ff. These, and a fragment of still another stemless cup found at Corinth (on the interior, an archer) are similar in style. The Corinthian fragment is certainly of Corinthian origin.



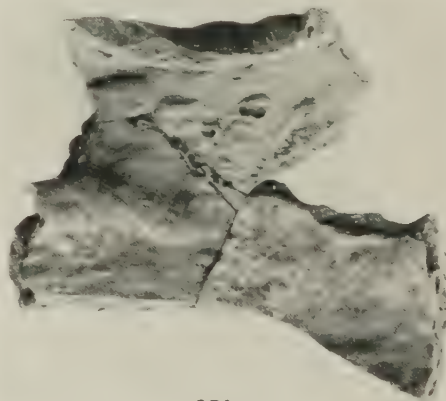
Fig. 41

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

##### 236. (1577) "Fehlbrand." Fig. 42

Gtest. dim. 0.127 m.

Fragment of the side of an oinochoe, spoiled in the firing and burnt grey. The shoulder of the vase has crumpled into a completely distorted shape. The side is porous and full of air holes. Other fragments resembled this one, but this was the most unmistakably misfired.



236

##### 237. (MF. 6462) Fragment of antefix. Fig. 43

PH. 0.074 m.; PL. 0.112 m.; PT. 0.09 m.

Part of the left side of the base, with a stub of the tile preserved at the back; the top and bottom surfaces preserved in large part. Red for the tendril. Black for the palmettes, circles, the band at the base of the petals. Corinthian clay.

From a terracotta antefix of triangular shape. On the front surface is a spiral or tendril ending in an upturned volute and framed by a narrow band. In the angles of the spiral are raised circles. Above is the left petal of a three-leaved palmette over a central petal.

Fig. 42



For a near approximation of the type, see Thallon-Hill and King, *Corinth*, IV, 1, *Decorated Architectural Terracottas*, p. 11, fig. 11, of the seventh or early sixth century (?) B.C. Since both upper and lower surfaces of the new fragment are finished, and the design must have continued on the triangular space of the tile below, this is a slightly new form of antefix for Corinth.

**238.** (MF. 6461) Fragment of eaves tile. Fig. 43

PL. 0.099 m.; PW. 0.102 m.; T. 0.02-0.25 m.

One corner preserved; the back is roughly smoothed. Red: the centre and heart of the lotus, two petals of the palmette, the band at the edge of the tile; the remainder in dark glaze. Buff clay with grits.

On one side is painted a design of lotus and palmette. The central petal and the right side of the calyx of the lotus are preserved, with the tips of four petals of the palmette at the right.

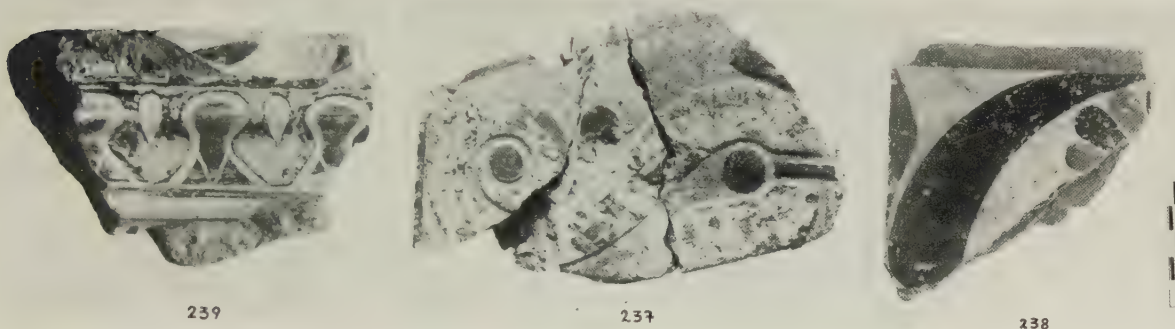


Fig. 43

**239.** (MF. 6464) Fragment of revetment. Figs. 43, 44

PH. 0.06 m.; PW. 0.093 m.; PT. 0.05 m.

All sides broken away; only a small part of the front surface and top remain. Reddish clay with grits; slipped with greenish buff.

From the top-down: a flat, vertical geison, decorated with red at the edge of the top surface; a cyma recta painted with egg and dart (the dart red, the rest black) and a dark band above and below the design. Traces of red below the lowest moulding. Compare *Olynthus*, II, pl. III, middle.

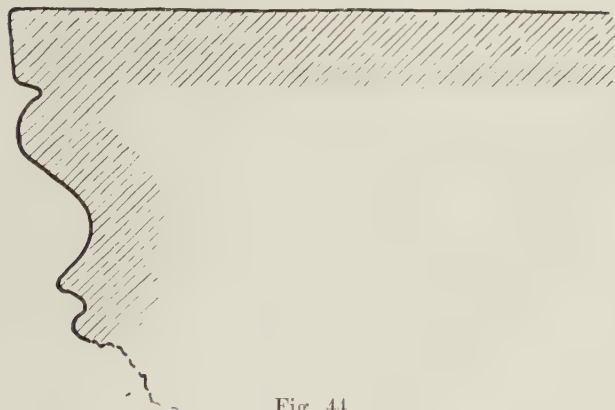


Fig. 44

**240.** (MF. 4418) Fragments of terracotta altar(?). Fig. 45

*a*, PH. as restored 0.157 m.; PL. 0.177 m.; PW. 0.16 m.

*b*, PH. 0.077 m.; PL. 0.143 m.; PW. 0.047 m.; T. above 0.022 m.; below 0.031 m.; T. of tympanon 0.12 m.

Three fragments have been preserved: *a*, a corner with two steps and part of the upright wall; *b*, part of the crowning member on the side and of the front gable, with the lower part of an antefix at its left corner; *c*, another fragment of the wall (now restored above *a*, but not necessarily in its original position). The tympanon has a raised border.

On the sides are painted dark vertical stripes. Also black: the back wall of the tympanon, the upper edge of the raking cornice, a dark horizontal band under the epistyle, a narrow band



Fig. 45

outlining the junction of the steps. A red palmette occupies a diagonal position on the corner of the top step; a similar one forms the antefix. Also red: the frame of the tympanon, the under side of the raking cornice, the upper and lower edges of the cornice, the upper edge of the frieze, the rear edge of the antefix and the line dividing its supporting member from the cornice.

**241.** (MF. 4419) Fragment of similar altar. Fig. 46

PH. 0.10 m.; PW. 0.137 m.; PL. 0.107 m.; T. of wall 0.03-0.026 m.; H. to top step 0.045 m.; to second step 0.025 m.

A corner preserved: part of the wall and solid base with two steps. The sides are slipped, the flat bottom rough. Gritty buff clay; no traces of color.

**242.** (MF. 6463) Fragment of altar(?). Fig. 46

PH. 0.073 m.; PL. 0.113 m.; PW. 0.093 m.; T. of missing fronton 0.017 m.

Again a corner remains, with slightly curved sides and a solid roof, flat on top. The base is hollow. One raised end (a gable?) is broken off. The straighter side of the two has been

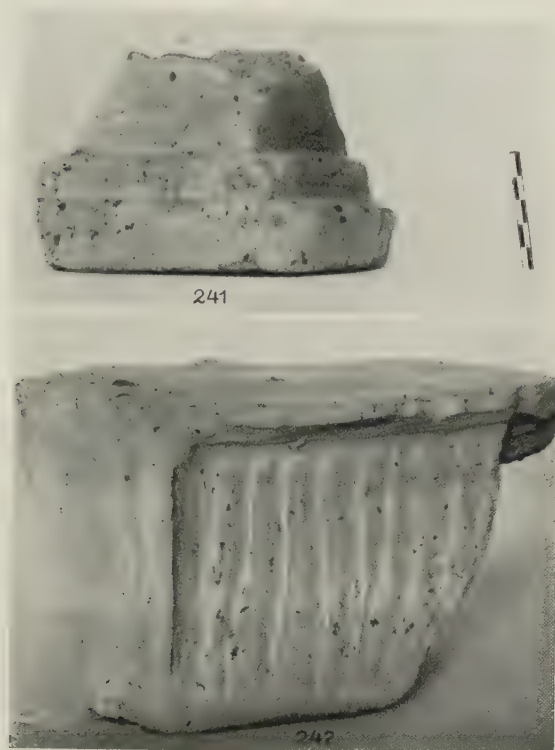


Fig. 46



Fig. 17



striated vertically with a stick; the other, more curved side is smooth. A raised ledge or border runs around the corner, the bottom and the top. Gritty light reddish buff clay.

**243.** (MF. 4159) Bone flute. Fig. 47

PL. 0.085 m.; D. 0.015 m.

A section of hollow bone the ends of which are carefully finished and ridged. At one end a small stopper fits the ridge. Presumably the ridge at the other end was intended to fit the next section of the instrument.

**244.** (MF. 5719) Bone handle

Gtest. dim. 0.06 m.

A fragment of the handle (of a knife?) with the iron pin of a bronze blade still in place. The shape of the bone curved naturally to fit the hand.

**245.** (MF. 4158) Terracotta figurine. Fig. 47

PH. 0.065 m.; T. of base 0.027 m.; W. 0.027 m.

The head, most of the right foot, and one corner of the base are missing. The modelling is much worn. Traces of red on the base. Light reddish buff clay with a reddish core.

Nearly flat at the back, the figure stands on a rectangular base with a vent (?) hole below. It is draped and frontal, with its hands by its sides, a little before the hips: the usual standing type of Corinthian kore.

**246.** (MF. 4157) Pyramidal loomweight. Fig. 47

H. 0.072 m.; W. of base 0.048 m.; T. 0.037 m.

Buff clay, slipped. The loomweight is four-sided, with the sides slightly curved and narrowing toward the top. Through its widest faces are pierced three holes, two near the top, one between, below.

**247.** (MF. 6460) Conical loomweight. Fig. 47

H. 0.087 m.; of lower moulding 0.008 m.; D. of base 0.045 m.; Gtest. D. 0.067 m.

Clay as above. The base is nearly flat, with the lower part of the sides angled in. The upper sides form a cone smoothly narrowing upwards. Near the top is a hole for suspension.

Generally speaking the pyramidal form of the loomweight is the earlier of the two. The presence of the conical shape in the well shows that it must appear at Corinth before the Athenian variety (see Thompson, *Hesp.*, III, pp. 474 ff. See bibliography, *ibid.*, p. 474, note 4).

M. Z. PEASE

This catalogue was written during a tenure of the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Fellowship of the American Association of University Women and of grants of the American Council of Learned Societies, as the first part of a description of Corinthian imitations of Attic pottery. The second part will appear in an early number of this Journal.

## INSCRIPTIONS IN THE EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM

1. A New Eretrian Treaty, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 17, 446/5 B.C. The small fragment now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 17 has been assigned by its various editors to as many different periods; and, regarded from a purely epigraphical point of view, it bears certain similarities to early fourth century hands. The forms of the letters are not unlike those found in some inscriptions of the 60's of the fourth century, and the *stoichedon* order of lettering was not observed. The difficulty in interpretation and dating is further increased by the fact that the decree was inscribed in the Ionic alphabet. For these reasons Foucart preferred to assign the document to the early fourth century, and suggested as explanation of the text that the name Antissa be restored in certain lines, thus making it a part of the agreement effected by Thrasybulus in Lesbos (390 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff, the new editor of the Supplement to the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, felt that the year in which Alcibiades was operating in Hellespontine waters was more suitable to the general requirements of the inscription; and, therefore, considered it a part of the pact made between the Athenians and the Selymbrians in 409/8 B.C.<sup>2</sup> It was then pointed out by Wilhelm that the fragment rightfully belonged to the middle of the fifth century, and that certain phrases used in it (and also in a very similar document, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39) are no longer found in the fourth century.<sup>3</sup>

A close examination of these two texts together discloses at once their relationship with one another, and it becomes clear that the formulae are rigid in their order as well as their phraseology. In *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39 the name of the state contracting the alliance with Athens is required before the participle *πειθομένους* (line 15), before the phrase *μετὰ*

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor Edward Capps, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies, for the opportunity granted him to work in the Epigraphical Museum as School Fellow, and to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt for his encouragement and advice on many matters.

<sup>1</sup> Foucart, *Rev. Arch.*, 33 (1877), 2nd Ser., p. 261. His suggestion was based on the assumption that this fragment could be identified with the *δυσλογία* effected by Thrasybulus; but that was only a general's agreement which would require the ratification of the Council and the Demos; whereas this decree is part of a formal alliance. Moreover, the letters *εῖς* in line 2 exclude the restoration Antissa.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 11; see also Xen., *Hellenica*, I, 3, 10; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 116.

<sup>3</sup> A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1903, p. 780.

των ὀρχωντων (line 17), and again before the infinitive δμῶσαι (line 21). Turning to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 17, one finds the letters *ευσιν* (see Fig. 1) in line 2 of the following text, the letters *ας* in line 4, and *ος* in line 7. Occurring as they do before the regularly used phrases mentioned above, they can only be parts of the name of some city. Furthermore, the letters *ευσιν* can belong only to such names as end in *ες* like *Ἐρετριῆς*, *Χαλκιδῆς*, and *Στυρῆς*; that is, the choice is limited at once to a certain class of names. Again, the nominative of the name must end in *α*, for the fracture of the left edge of the fragment

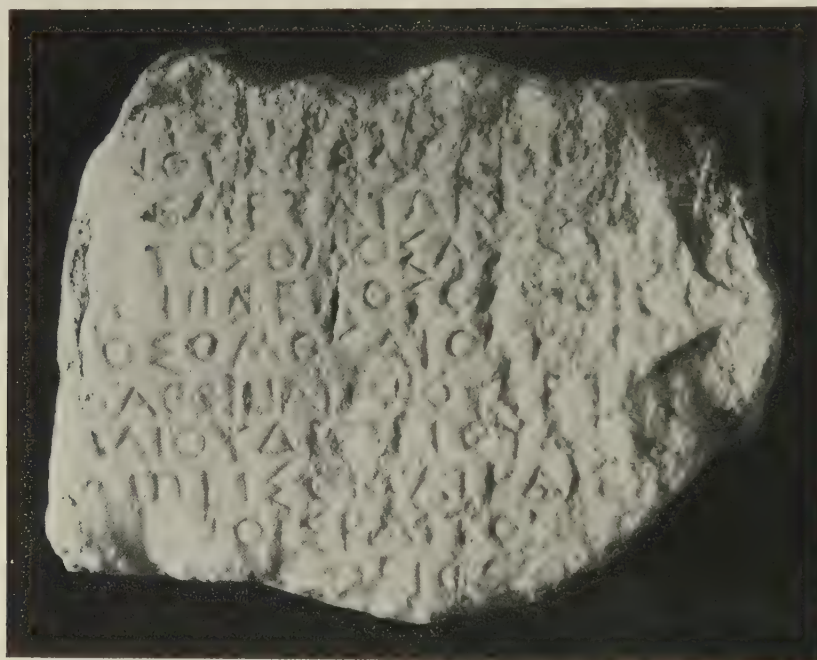


Fig. 1

near line 4 clearly follows the right *hasta* of a letter like *A*, *Λ*, or *Δ*; and enough space is preserved to show that any letter which spread at the top or side must have left some trace of its existence, had it ever been there. These considerations exclude, for example, the letter *O*, and therefore the genitive of the name *Χαλκίς* as a possibility of restoration in line 4. To sum up, the name must belong to the *α*-declension and its ethnic to the *ες*-declension.

The following provision (lines 57–63) in the decree concerning Chalcis is quite significant taken in connection with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 17. It reads: τὸ δὲ φρέφισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν | λόγον ἀναγράφαι Ἀθῆναι μὲν τὸν γρα|μμ[α]τέα τῆς βολῆς ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐς πόλιν τέλει τοῖς Χαλκιδέ|ον, ἐν δὲ Χαλκίδι ἐν τῷ ἡιεῶνι τῷ Διὸς τῷ | Ὀλυμπίῳ ἡε βολῆ Χαλκιδέον ἀναγράφασ|α καὶ αἰθέτο.



The provision in itself is not unusual except for one phrase *τέλεισι τοῖς Χαλκιδέων*: the stelae bearing the decrees were to be erected at the expense of the Chalcidians. The natural and apparently regular procedure followed in the recording of Attic decrees was to entrust the task of engraving the decree to an Athenian lapidary, while the foreign copy, if any, was done by a native workman. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, for example, is the Athenian copy of the treaty with Chalcis; it is inscribed in the well-developed hand of the middle fifth century. The Chalcidian copy, which was to be set up in the shrine of Olympian Zeus, was in all probability done by a Chalcidian. Such a procedure, however, could not have been followed in the case of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 17. It was engraved in the Ionic alphabet in a careless hand; yet it was found on the Acropolis, and was a record of an Athenian decree of the mid-fifth century. It cannot be merely a copy of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, for the physical considerations of the inscription already described above exclude such a possibility.

The explanation of the puzzle lies in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, lines 42-43:

καθάπερ Ἐρετριεῖσι ἐφσεφίσαι|ο ἡο  
δῆμος ἡο Ἀθηναίων

i.e., the decree concerned Eretria, it preceded in time the decree about Chalcis, and in fact served as a model of phraseology for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39. The restoration of the name Eretria in all its forms fits admirably all the epigraphic requirements of the fragment, and no doubt some phrase like *τέλεισι τοῖς Ἐρετριέων* accounts for its being inscribed in the Ionic alphabet.<sup>1</sup> Both the decrees were inscribed by an Eretrian workman.

The text of the fragment with the new restorations and certain corrections is now given:

- 1 [----- ταῦτα δὲ ἐμπεδώσω Ἐρε]  
[τρι]εῖσιν [πει]θ[ομένους τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθην]  
[αίῳ]ν· ὁρκῶσα[ι] δ[ὲ] πρεσβείαν ἐλθῶσαν ἐξ Ἐρε]  
[τρι]ας μετὰ τῶν δ[ι]ρκωτῶν Ἀθηναίος καὶ ἀπογο]  
5 [άψαι] τὸς ὁμόσαγτας· ὅπ[ως δ' ἐν] ὁμόσωσιν ἄπαν]  
[τες] ἐπιμελόσθ[ω]ν οἱ σ[τ]ρατηγοί· κατὰ τὰδε]  
[ἀντ]ὸς ὁμόσαι· οὐκ ἀποσ[τή]σομαι ἀπὸ τῷ δῆμ[ο]  
[ο τ]ῷ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε τέ[χνη]ν οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδ'  
[ε]μὶν οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ [ἐργ]οι οὐδὲ τῷ ἀφισταμ]  
10 [έν]ωι πείσομαι καὶ ἐξ[ὲ]ν ἀφιστῇ τις κατεργῶ]  
[Ἀθ]η[να]ίοις καὶ τὸν φόρον ὑποτελῶ τοῖς Ἀθην]  
[αίοις] δν ἄν] πείθω [Ἀθηναίος κτλ.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 16 (Tod, no. 32); here the alphabet is also Ionic because the decree was set up *τέλεισι τοῖς τῷ ν Φασηλιτῶν*. See A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1898, 204-5.



Fig. 2a

2. The Eretrian Judicial Decrees, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 42 and 43. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 42 consists of three fragments of Pentelic marble, two of which join (fragments a and b). The back of the stela was broken entirely away, and only the inscribed surface and a small section of the right side are now preserved. The new join is illustrated by figures 2a and 2b; the jagged edges of both the fragments fit exactly, and a thin straggling groove lying along the right side of each piece serves to link them together with certainty.

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 43 is opisthographic; only the one inscribed face is published in the *Editio Minor*. In my opinion the letter forms and the general measurements place this piece

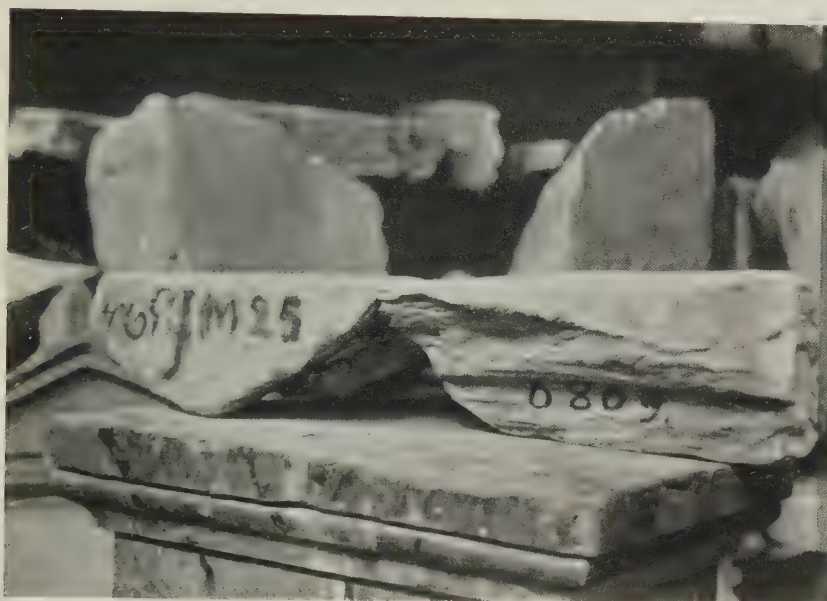


Fig. 2 b

with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 42. The letters on the unpublished fragment are faint and only a few can be read with certainty, but what I have read is given below:

.]O I A[  
 .]. . .[  
 .]AME[  
 ]MATE[  
 .]!MO

The thickness of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 43 is 0.131 m.; and since it belongs with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 42, this measurement will hold for that fragment too. The text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 42, observing the new join, is given below:



.....]βε[....]  
 .....]γοντ[...]  
 .....]σθα[...]  
 ....Α]θεναι[..  
 ..εαν]μεβοξε[θ,]  
 .....]ιχιλι[ο .]  
 .....]σαιμερ[ .]  
 .....]αφερον[ .]  
 ηεστι]αιαι:χο[.]  
 .....]ακαιτα[ .]  
 .....]τογα[ .]  
 .....]τοδ[ .]  
 .....]μα[ .]  
 .....]ιδ[ .]  
 .....]μο[ .]  
 .....χ]ιλι  
 [- - - 26 - - -] Αθενε[σιντασδεπο]αχσξσε

The rest of the text follows that of the *Editio Minor*.

**3.** Another Eretrian Judicial Decree, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 49. The text of this decree as published in the *Editio Minor* does not observe the left margin of the stela. It should read as follows:

. ΕΡΕΤΡ . . . . .  
 . ΕΞΘΟΧΙ . . Α . . . .  
 . ΕΝΟΞΠΕΡΙΤΟ . . .  
 . ΦΙΞΜΕΝΑΟΞΤ . . .  
 . . . ΕΞΘΑΙΤΟΝΔ . .  
 . . . ΕΙΟΞΕΙΝΑΙ .  
 . . . ΔΕΝΕΞΤΟΠΡΥ  
 . . . . . ΕΙ . . .

In *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 55, lines 7–11, are these provisions:

[προσκαλέ]σθω δ πολέμαρχος [καὶ ἐσαγ]  
 [έτω ἀντὸν πέ]ντε ἡμερῶν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν [ν αἰ κλήσε]  
 [ις ἐξήκωσιν ἧ] ἐυθυνέσθω χιλία[ισιν δρα]  
 [χμῆσι τῆς ἡμέρ]ας ἐκάστης ἕως ἂν [ν εἰσαγά]  
 [γῆι ἐὰν μὴ τι δημόσιον] κ[ω]λύει

The general sense of this passage is obviously close to that of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 49, lines 6 sqq.; and, although *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 55 is an honorary decree, whereas *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 49 seems to be an agreement somewhat similar in substance to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 40 and 41, the court of the polem-

arch would have jurisdiction in both cases. Hence any phraseology concerning these cases would be similar. In lines 6–8 of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 49 I suggest, therefore, the following restoration: *τριάκ]οντ' ἐμερῶν ἀ[φ' ἔς ἔν ηαι κλ[έσεις ἐχσέκωσιν· ἡο]δὲ πολέμαρχ[ος προσκαλέ σθο Ἀθέναι]ζε ἐς τὸ δι[καστέριον].*

The Hestiaeian decree, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 41, lines 2–3, supplies still another pertinent phrase: *[Ἀθέναι]ζε ἐς τὸ δικαστέριον [ἐγ' δι[καστερίο τ]ῷ ἐχς Ἑστιαίας ἐσάγει τὰς δ[ίκας].*

The full text should read as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- 1     [.....<sup>20</sup>..... δ] δὲ γρα[μματεὺς ὁ τῆ]  
       [ς βολῆς ἀναγραφάτο τ]αῦτα· οἱ δὲ [πολεταὶ ἀπο]  
       [μισθοσάντων τὲν στέ]λεν· οἱ δὲ κο[λακρέται δό]  
       [γτον τὸ ἀργύριον· πε]ρὶ δὲ ὅ[ν ἐ] δίκ[ε γίγνεται .]  
 5     [.....<sup>16</sup>.....]τον . . . ἐνδο[. . . .<sup>10</sup> . . .]  
       [.....<sup>11</sup>..... τριάκ]οντ' ἐμερῶν ἀ[φ' ἔς ἔν ηαι κλ]  
       [έσεις ἐχσέκωσιν· ἡο] δὲ πολέμαρχ[ος προσκαλέ]  
       [σθο Ἀθέναι]ζε ἐς τὸ δι[καστέριον ἐ]κ δικαστερί[  
       [ο] Ἑρετρι[ῶν αὐτὸν ε]ἴκοσι ἐμερῶν [εἰ δὲ μέ, εὐθυ]  
 10    [ν]έσθο χι[λί]α[ισι δρα]χμαῖς· ὅπος ἔ[ν οὖν ἡο βολό]  
       [μ]ερος περὶ το[ύτων ἀ]πίει ὃς τάχισ[τα κατὰ <τὰ> ἐφσ]  
       [ε]φισμένα ὅστι[ς ἔν η]έλει Ἑρετριῶ[ν ἰέναι, ἐμ]  
       [μ]έλεισθαι τόνδ[ε τὸν] κέρυκα ὅστις [ἔν δοκῇ ἐπ]  
       [ιτέδ]εις εἶναι· [καλ]έσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπ[ὶ χσένηα . .]  
 15    [ . . . .]θεν ἐς τὸ πρυ[τανεῖ]ο[ν] ἔος ἔν ξι [Ἀθένεσιν]  
       [ . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .] εἰ [ . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . ] ἀ[ν]αγγ[- -<sup>10</sup> - -]

4. An Honorary Decree, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 485, 563, and 621; 304/3 B.C. Some years ago Wilhelm reported that the small fragments which are now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 485 and 563 belonged together.<sup>2</sup> There is no physical join; but, to judge from their great similarity in style of lettering, from the alignment as well as their identical measurements, the attribution seems quite sound. Still another fragment must be added to these fragments: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 621. Only the right side of the piece is preserved; the rest of the fragment is broken away. On all these pieces the letters are of the small shallow, lightly-cut style of the last decade of the fourth century (Figs. 3 a and 3 b). The restoration of line 4 in fragment a is derived from the recent article of Professor B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 545. The phrases of lines 12–13 of fragment b are quite common; the reader may refer to such honorary decrees as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 471, lines 15–16; 492, lines 21–23; 498, lines 12–15; 467, lines 20 sqq. For line 17 of fragment b see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 492, lines 16–17.

<sup>1</sup> Fragment c has been assigned recently by Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, p. 114 (= *S.E.G.*, III, 8) to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 114.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, 39, 1914, p. 279.

## FRAG. A

CTOIX. 38

- 1 [ἐ]πὶ Φερεκλέου[ς ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἰδοῦς]  
 [ἐ]νδεκάτης προ[τανείας ἤμ]ι Ἐπιχαρίτος Δημοχάρ[  
 [ους] Γαργ[γί]τιο[ς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Θαρρηλιῶνος πέ]  
 [μπ]τει μετ' εἰκά[δας πέμπτει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς προ]  
 5 [ντ]ανείας· ἐκ[κ]λησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφ]  
 [ις] ἐν Σωσιγένη[ς . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . . καὶ συμπο]  
 [ρόδ]ροι· ἔδοξε[ν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . .<sup>6</sup> . .]

Lacuna of at least five lines

## FRAG. B

- 1 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]Π[-----]  
 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]Λ . . Ω[-----]  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]Σ ! . . Δ[-----]  
 [. . . . .<sup>5</sup> . . . . .] Χαλκιδ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . τοὺς βασιλέας Ἀντίγ]  
 5 [ον]ον καὶ Δημήτριον . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . . β]  
 [α]σιλε[ς] συμμαχ[. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . . π]  
 οησαμέν[ω]ν [τ]ῶν [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]  
 Χαλκιδεῖς ὅπως [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]  
 ΤΩΝΤΑΙ Β[ο]ιωτο[. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]  
 10 !Α καὶ [. . .] κ[. . .] νο[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . ἐθνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ]  
 [ι] τῷ Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ]  
 καὶ Δημητρίῳ [διετέλει λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ σ]  
 υμφέροντα τῇ[ι πατρίδι αὐτοῦ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]  
 μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . τῷ δήμῳ τῷ]  
 15 Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δ]  
 ημητρίῳ Ο[. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . . κα]  
 ἰ διὰ τὰ[τα πάντα πόλιν αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπόρσε]  
 ν[-----]

## FRAG. C

- 1 [-----]ΙΡΕ  
 [-----]ον κα  
 ἰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἀ  
 ντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . το ὑπὸ Ι  
 5 [-----] τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἔλεν[θερίαν]  
 [-----] Ἀθ[η]ναίων  
 [-----] κατὰ τὸν νό  
 μον [-----] ΥΟ οὐχ  
 [-----]ΙΦΥΛ



These three pieces are parts of a decree passed apparently in honor of a Chalcidian, who had performed notable services for Athens as well as for his own city and the rest of the Hellenes. The reference in line 9 of fragment b must undoubtedly be connected with the garrison known to have been stationed in Chalcis before it was taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes.<sup>1</sup> In order to be able to see the decree in its historical setting,



Fig. 3 a

it will, perhaps, be of value to recapitulate briefly the succession of events in which both Chalcis and Athens were so deeply involved. In any struggle for control of central Greece Chalcis occupied a strategic position; and its strong fortifications, rebuilt shortly after the departure of Alexander for Asia, offered an excellent place for a military

<sup>1</sup> Diod., XX, 100, 6.

stronghold.<sup>1</sup> Consequently it passed rapidly from the hands of one conqueror to another. Thebes, too, had long been desirous of gaining control over Euboea, and its name frequently is linked with that of Chalcis in the history of the period. At some time after 357, the year in which Athens temporarily regained her influence in Euboea and contracted a number of alliances, Chalcis became a member of the Boeotian League (*I.G.*, VII, 2724b). From that period down to the wars of the successors of Alexander we know little of the history of Chalcis. At the time of the short-lived peace between Antigonos and Cassander (313 B.C.) Chalcis was separated from Thebes, for it was held



Fig. 3 b

by Cassander, while the Boeotian League and the Aetolians were in alliance with Antigonos.<sup>2</sup> After the hostilities were renewed, Cassander detached Thebes from the alliance with Antigonos and temporarily disrupted the League. In retaliation Polemaeus, the capable general of Antigonos, swiftly recovered Thebes and captured in addition Eretria, Carystus, and Chalcis. Both the League and Chalcis remained loyal thereafter—as long as Polemaeus was loyal. By 310 he had become convinced of his ability to take and retain any places which he might seize for himself. He then made an alliance with Cassander. Chalcis seems to have remained safely in his grasp until 309 when he sailed to Cos to carry on treasonable negotiations with Ptolemy (*Diod.*, XX, 27, 3). On his departure he left a man whose name we know partially from an Attic decree passed in his honor, as officer-in-charge.<sup>3</sup> The assassination of Polemaeus freed him from responsibility, and he turned the city over to the Chalcidians. Boeotia, meanwhile, had

remained loyal to Antigonos as late as 309, for in that year it opposed the passage of Polyperchon, who was acting in concert with Cassander, through Boeotia (*Diod.*, XX, 28, 4).

By a swift coup between the years 309 and 304 Cassander re-occupied Chalcis, recovered control of the Boeotians, and garrisoned Chalcis with Boeotians, for when Demetrius came in 304 “to free the Greeks,” it was necessary to expel the Boeotian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo, X, 447; see also *Diod.*, XIX, 78, 2; *ἐπίκαιρος γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐστι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἔχειν ὀρμητήριον (πρὸς τὸ) διαπολεμῆν περὶ τῶν ὅλων.*

<sup>2</sup> *Diod.*, XIX, 77, 6, Cassander had a garrison in Chalcis; see *Diod.*, XIX, 75, 6, for the alliance of the Boeotians and Antigonos.

<sup>3</sup> The name is ... otimos, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 469; see also *I.G.*, XII, 9, 192 (*Dittenb., Syll.*, 3rd ed., I, no. 323).

guard. He then swiftly came to an agreement with the Chalcidians and forced the Boeotians to become his allies.<sup>1</sup>

This decree then belongs to that numerous group of Attic decrees which were passed in the years 307–304 in honor of men who had served Antigonos and Demetrius with distinction in the general war against Cassander.<sup>2</sup>

**5.** A Decree Concerning Certain Chalcidians, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 258 and 617. Two small fragments published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 258 and 617 join. Fragment a preserves the right side, and across the face of each piece lies a deep erasure (Fig. 4). The restoration has been made on the basis of a *stoichedon* order of fifty-five letters per line, and in some lines is presented only to show my interpretation of the text. In general all the phrases are formulaic and are to be found in that group of decrees relating to alliances.

FRAG. B

- 1 [ . . . . Χάλκιδές ] ας συμ[μάχους - - - - - ]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . ] ουτι ἄ[νδρες ἀγαθοί εἰσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον(?) - - - ]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . . ] ι [εἰ]ναι τι [ - - - - - ]  
 [ . . .<sup>5</sup> . . . ] προδ[ς τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων - - - - - ]  
 5 [ . . . α ] ἔτι οἱ ἐ[π]αγγέλ[ωσι - - - - - ]  
 [ . . . ] ἀντὸς [ὥ]σπερ φ[ίλους - - - - - ]  
 [ . . ] λεῖν εἰς [τ]οὺς πολ[εμίους - - - - - ]  
 [ἀ]ν δέ τις ἐ[λ]ί[σσει]ται [ - - - - - ]  
 [ . ] ΛΕΙΝΑΙ ΛΕ[ . ] ΑΙ ἐὰν [δὲ τις - - - - - ] Ἀθηναίων  
 10 [α]ίους εἰς ΓΗ[ . ] Ι[ . ] Σ ἀντο[ν]ς - - - - - τῶν Χα[λκιδέων ε . . . . ΛΥΓ[ - - - - - ]  
 στρατηγο[ - - - - - ]  
 τοὺς ὄρκους - - - - - οἱ Χαλκι[δῆς διταν [ὁμώσωσιν ἐμμενῆν ἐν τοῖς ὄρκοις ἀδόλως καὶ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ]  
 15 [ι] καὶ τῇ φ[ιλίᾳ τῇ γεγενημένη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμ[αχούς καὶ [ - - - - - ]  
 [τ]ῶν δημοσ[ίων - - - - - ]  
 [ν]εῖναι δὲ [τοὺς ὄρκους Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς γεγενημένη]  
 [ς] τοὺς Χαλκιδέας, πέμψαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐς . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . πρέσβ[εις]  
 20 [ε]ως τρεῖς, [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν εἰς στήλας δύο καὶ στήσαι τὰς]  
 [σ]τήλας ἐν [μὲν . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . , Ἀθήνῃσι δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει - - - - - ]  
 [τ]ῶν ἱερῶν [χρημάτων? - - - - - ]  
 [ . ] ἐξηγ[ - - - - - ]  
 [ . . ] γο[ - - - - - ]

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, 23, 2; Diod., XX, 100, 6; *Marm. Par.*, *I.G.*, XII, 5, 444, CXXV (Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, 2B, 239B, 24).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 469, lines 8–10; 467, lines 22–3; the phrase *οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἀντίγονος ἀπέστειλαν τὸν δὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριον ἐλευθερώσαντα τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 498, lines 15–18 refers to this year, and is echoed in Diod., XX, 100, 5–6.



In line 10 the *stoichedon* order was disturbed after the erasure was made. The hand of the inscription belongs in the decade 350–340, and resembles so much the hand of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 219 as to be perhaps by the same workman.



Fig. 4

The previous decade witnessed the struggle of Thebes and Athens for the hegemony in Euboea. When the Thebans were at last worsted, numerous alliances were contracted between the cities of Euboea and Athens.<sup>1</sup> To the year 357/6 belong, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 124, 125, and 149. The hands of the stone-cutters of this period are distinguished

<sup>1</sup> Diod., XVI, 7, 2; Aeschin., III, 85ff.; Dem., VIII, 74; XXII, 14; XVIII, 99.

by the extreme neatness and smallness of the letters. The above inscriptions are fine examples of this style. The same artisan undoubtedly inscribed both 124 and 149, and although slightly florid in its execution, 126 preserves the same characteristics. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 258, on the other hand, belongs to a different style: the strokes of the letters hang loosely together. A close parallel is the hand of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 219. Consequently, the year 357 would be much too early for this inscription, but in the next decade there are several possibilities: in 349/8 the Olynthians at last succeeded in persuading Athens to form a defensive alliance against Philip; and in the year 343/2 an alliance was made between Athens and Chalcis through the efforts of Callias and Demosthenes. These are the possibilities, but choice is impossible. Both the alliances would have been made in the name of the Chalcidians. The alliance, for example, of the Athenians and the Olynthians in 384/3 has this heading:<sup>1</sup>

[Συμμαχία Χαλκιδέων τῶ[ν]  
[ἐπὶ Θραίκης τοῖς ἐ[σ]περίοις]

Without more evidence the question must remain undecided.<sup>2</sup>

**6.** The Decree in Honor of the Ambassadors from Acanthus and Dium, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 210, 259, and E.M. 6874. The formulaic conclusion which has been restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 259 belongs to the honorary decree, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 210. No join exists between the fragments. Since *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 259 preserves the right margin, it necessitates certain changes in the disposition of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 210. Another fragment which is unpublished and entirely broken away except for part of the left side must be added to these pieces. Two types of lettering are used on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 259: the one a firm small hand and the other large and somewhat shallowly cut (Fig. 5).

FRAG. A

1	[..... <sup>13</sup> .....]υς πρ[..... <sup>18</sup> .....]
	[..... <sup>11</sup> .....]τὸ ψήφισμα[α..... <sup>16</sup> .....]
	[... <sup>7</sup> ... σύμμο]αχοι ΠΡΟΕ[..... <sup>17</sup> .....]
	[... <sup>7</sup> ... Ἀκανθ]ίους καὶ Δι[ῆς..... <sup>13</sup> .....]
5	[..... <sup>12</sup> .....]ν καὶ τοῖς [..... <sup>16</sup> .....]

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 36; usually the northern Χαλκιδεῖς are distinguished from the Euboean branch by a phrase like οἱ ἐπὶ Θραίκης or Χαλκιδῆς ἀπὸ Θραίκης. Cf. Xen., *Hellenica*, V, 2, 15; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, col. B, lines 5–6; Diod., XIV, 82, 3 for the year 394/3 (Diodorus gives the wrong date: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 16 has the archon Euboulides, 394/3).

<sup>2</sup> If it is the Euboean Chalcis one might compare for line 21 the following sentence from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 44, lines 16–17:

κα[αὶ στ]ῆσα[ι Ἀθῆ]νησι μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλει,  
ἐ[ν] [δὲ Χαλ]κιδ[ι] ἐν τ[ῶ]ν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἀθηνάας

and restore: [σ]τήλας ἐν [μὲν Χαλκιδι ἐν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τῆς Ἀθηνάας τέλει τοῖς ταμ[ι]ῶν ἱερῶν [χρημάτων, Ἀθῆνησι δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει κτλ.]

Cf. also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, lines 60 sqq.







to all Greek cities to join in this alliance. Because all the alliances of Athens were customarily inscribed on stone and set up on the Acropolis, it became a common idiom to use the word *σπῆλη* with the verb *καθελεῖν* in the figurative sense "to break a treaty." The oration of Demosthenes "In behalf of the Megalopolitans," 27, offers an excellent example: λέγουσι τοίνυν οἱ μάλιστα δοχοῦντες δίκαια λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τὰς σπῆλας καθελεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς πρὸς Θηβαίους; i.e., τὰς περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας. The full phrase is preserved in the Athenian decree about the alliance with the Thessalians, *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11, lines 39–40:<sup>1</sup> τῇν δὲ σπῆλ[η]λ[ην τῇ]ν πρὸς[ς] Ἀλ[έξ]α[νδ]ρ[ον] κα[θ]ελ[εῖ]ν τὸς [ταμίας]ς τῆς θεῶ [τῇν π]ερ[ὶ τῆ]ς [σ]υμμαχίας[ς]. Consequently some phrase using *σπῆλην καθελεῖν* seems to be suitable. For the restoration of lines 9–10 compare *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 125, line 5:

[τῶν π]όλεων τῶν σ[υ]μμαχίδων

The phrase *δέκα ἡμερῶν* is a common one; see, for example, *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 130, lines 15 sqq.: [τὸν δὲ γρά]μμα[τ]έα[ς] τῆς βο[υ]λη[ς] ἀναγο[ρά]σαι ἐν σπῆλ[η]ι δέκα [ἡμερῶ]ν [ἐν ἀκροπόλ]ε[ι] τέλεσ[αι]ν το[ῖς] Ἀρχ[α]ί[ροις].

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Arrian, *Anab.*, II, 1, 4; 2, 2; Dem., *In Lept.*, 37; Phil., frag., 135.

EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1936

### PLATE IX

The sixth campaign of the excavations conducted by the American School in the Athenian Agora has proved by the importance and the variety of the discoveries to be the most successful season of these excavations. A larger area was cleared, a greater quantity of earth was removed, more ancient buildings were revealed, and more objects of historical and artistic importance were discovered than in any of the earlier campaigns. The progress of the excavations was currently recorded during the season in Weekly Reports, which were circulated for the information of the Trustees and of the members of the Managing Committee of the School, and a brief account of the work was published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (XL, 1936, pp. 188–203, 403–414).<sup>1</sup> Following the practice of previous years, the present article presents a comprehensive preliminary statement of the season's results with illustrations of the more significant discoveries.

The season of active excavation continued for twenty weeks, from January 27 until June 13. Prior to that period the terrain had been prepared by the demolition and removal of modern houses and subsequently some tidying of the surface of the area was effected. Since the area excavated was larger than usual and since cartage was done entirely by motor trucks, it was possible to remove 50,000 tons of earth. In the five earlier campaigns 90,000 tons had been removed, so that the total cleared from the Agora to the end of the season of 1936 amounts to 140,000 tons. Most of this earth has been dumped in the outskirts of the city along the Sacred Way, where potters have dug clay, often leaving spacious pits of stagnant water which have been potential breeding places for the malarial mosquitoes. The problem of drainage in the excavated area is comparatively simple, as the great stone water-channel, that was constructed by Peisistratos in the sixth century B.C. and was frequently repaired subsequently, has been again put into service to drain the water from the entire region.

By the removal of the immense amount of earth the northern part of the Zone has been largely cleared. The greater part of the excavated area appears in the panoramic view shown in Figure 1. This picture was taken from the roof of the Theseion and gives the

<sup>1</sup> See also *Illustrated London News*, July 11 and 18, 1936, pp. 56–57, 118–121; and Karo in *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, cols. 95–112.





Fig. 1. Panoramic View of the Excavated Area



Fig. 2. City Plan of the American Zone, with the Greek Zone on the Right

view towards the southeast, but it does not include the areas located north and south of the temple. On the extreme left is the Athens-Peiraeus railway that forms the northern boundary of the American Zone. The line of the railway, however, is not coincident with the northern limit of the Agora which extends farther to the north. It was, therefore, with fortunate topographical results that a small block north of the railway belonging to the city could be excavated during the present season through the courtesy of the municipal authorities. In the foreground of the picture is the row of ancient buildings identified, from left to right, as the Stoa of Zeus, the Temple of Apollo Patroos, the Metroon, the Bouleuterion, and the Tholos. The roof-covering in the centre of the area protects the orchestra of the Odeion. In the background appear Mt. Lykabettos, Mt. Hymettos, the Acropolis, and the Areopagus. The few modern houses still remaining in the Zone are seen on the right of the picture below the Areopagus and the west end of the Acropolis. This panorama gives a vivid impression of the vast work that has been accomplished in the past six years.

The excavations have proceeded smoothly under the immediate administration of the Agora Commission, but this year the work has specially profited by the presence in Athens of the Chairman of the Commission, Professor Capps, who was serving for a year as Director of the American School. By his wise counsel and his constant support he greatly relieved the heavy burdens of the Business Manager and of the Director of the Excavations. The coöperation of the governmental authorities has been as hearty as usual, and their assistance is promptly extended in response to any call. Professor G. P. Oikonomos, Chief of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education, has been especially helpful in both the scientific and the practical phases of the work, and much profit has been derived by all members of the staff from the frequent visits of the Greek and other foreign archaeologists.

The personnel of the staff has been maintained almost unchanged with the result that this highly technical work has been performed by competent scholars who have become intimately acquainted with the archaeological strata of the Agora and are thoroughly trained in the most detailed methods of excavation and in the necessarily complex system of records. It should be emphasized that a long period of training and practice is essential for the development of a reliable excavator. Frequent changes of personnel are, therefore, inevitably harmful to the scientific conduct of an excavation. This would be especially true in the case of an excavation operated on the large scale and with the scientific precision current in the Agora. It is most gratifying to record that the members of the Agora staff are so inspired with interest and enthusiasm for the work that they are reluctant to withdraw even at the cost of considerable personal sacrifice. One of the excavators, James H. Oliver, at the conclusion of his three years' term was transferred to a special status so that he could devote his entire time to the copying and studying of inscriptions. The new appointee in his place was Richard H. Howland who, as a Fellow of the American School, had acquired some training and experience in the excavations of the School at Corinth. Two former members of the staff returned for special work, Mrs. Dorothy Burr Thompson



for the study of the terracottas and Miss Virginia Grace for studying and cataloguing the great number of stamped amphora handles. Miss Janet Carnochan proved to be an efficient assistant in the Coin Department, and Miss Louise Capps rendered valuable service in the Records Department in the latter part of the season.

The Coin Department and the Records Department have the responsibility of coping with the ever increasing numbers of objects which must be minutely described and catalogued. The heads of these Departments, Mrs. Shear and Miss Talcott, have evolved systems of keeping the records that make the catalogues not only complete and accurate but also eminently convenient and serviceable. Such a detailed catalogue greatly facilitates the study and preparation for publication of the various groups of objects by the members of the staff. These studies have appeared during the past year in three *Agora Numbers* of *Hesperia*. They aim to make the new material promptly available in more or less preliminary form to scholars and specialists in the fields discussed, in the hope of eliciting comment and criticism that will be useful in the preparation of the final publication of the results of the excavations.

The business management of the organization has functioned with its usual efficiency. Mr. Adossides, through his energy and acumen, his foresight and tact, overcomes with apparent ease each obstacle as it appears and has produced results in the business of expropriation with speed and smoothness. In his varied tasks he has been ably assisted by Mr. A. Kyriakides, the lawyer, and by Mr. K. Korizes, the engineer. The *Agora* project has been fortunate in its personnel, and its business, legal and technical problems are in the hands of the three men who are most competent for their respective tasks.

The expert head foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, is also highly successful in handling the labor situation and in coping with the physical problems of a great excavation as they constantly occur. He has general oversight over the group of sub-foremen and supervises the corps of workmen, which numbered between 250 and 300 during the current season. The Director of the Excavations lays particular emphasis on the fact that the successful progress of this large enterprise is due to the intelligence, skill, energy, enthusiasm and devotion of the participants in every branch of the work.

The excavations of the current season were conducted in eight blocks that are designated as usual with letters of the Greek alphabet. They are shown on the City Plan given in Figure 2 which supplements the plan published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 312, fig. 1. The additional Sections on the new plan are those on the west where the rock of the Kolonos Agoraios has been scraped, two in the southwest corner where it is hoped that the *Agora Museum* will be placed, and two small blocks in the southeast through which the Valerian Wall extends. The main work of the campaign was in Sections Nu (N), Rho (P), Sigma (Σ), Tau (T), Eta Eta (HH), Pi Theta (ΠΘ), Kappa Kappa (KK), and Mu Mu (MM), and the general topographical results will be presented in connection with the Sections in which the discoveries were made.

Besides the main areas of excavation a detailed study of the excavated buildings on the west side as far as the Tholos was made by H. A. Thompson, which was published in

the first number of *Hesperia* for the current year. In that article the history and identification of the buildings and the archaeological evidence for the various periods of construction are fully discussed.

#### THE STOA IN SECTION MU MU

Section Mu Mu is a narrow block located north of the Theseion and bounded on the south by the Athens-Peiraeus railway and on the north by Hadrian Street. Although it lies outside of the limits of the American Zone, permission for its excavation was granted by the city, which owns it and was planning to arrange it as a public garden. Since this site is of particular importance for the clarification of the ancient topography of this corner of the Agora, the opportunity for its excavation was gladly welcomed, and the results achieved fully justified the decision. The block could not be entirely cleared because of the presence of a public toilet, the removal of which was delayed by the negotiations for the nullification of the contract of the licensee, but all essential evidence with reference to the occupation of the site was secured. The area as it now appears, as seen from the south,



Fig. 3. Section Mu Mu

is shown in Figure 3. The work in this Section was under the supervision of H. A. Thompson whose records form the basis of the account here given.

An ancient road about 6.50 metres wide was disclosed that passes through the area from east to west and is bordered on its north side by a stone water-channel. Along the road on the north is a narrow stoa, of which the foundations extend through the area for a distance of 46 metres and continue both east and west beyond the limit of the excavations. The stoa is constructed of a back wall with a single row of Doric columns in front, the width from the front of the stylobate to the inner face of the wall being 6.46 metres. The wall, as far as it is preserved, is built of poros blocks resting on a rubble foundation. The stylobate and columns are also made of poros, and traces of stucco remain on the one preserved Doric capital. The blocks in the wall seem to have been re-used, and the evidence at present available indicates a date for the building in the first century B.C. It was destroyed by fire in the latter part of the third century A.D., and some time later a new building with concrete walls was erected on the old foundations. Very similar is the history of another building located south of the ancient road, of which the north wall extends through the area parallel to the stylobate of the stoa on the north. This wall was also built in the first century B.C. of re-used blocks, of conglomerate, of poros, and of marble. One of the marble pieces is a statue base that bears the inscribed name of the sculptor Praxiteles.

#### THE BASE SIGNED BY PRAXITELES

Since the base and other re-used blocks were built into a wall in the first century B.C., it is probable that this reconstruction was made in the course of the rehabilitation of the city after the attack by Sulla in 86 B.C. Figure 4 shows the base in the position in which it was found. Just to its left is the wall of a modern drain that was built some time in the course of the last century. It was then that the left end of the block was hacked away and the broken pieces were used in the wall, from which many have been recovered (Fig. 5). From the preserved pieces, from the lower left corner that had been left in place, and from the cuttings in the ground it has been possible to determine the exact dimensions of the block as is indicated on the plan of it in Figure 6. The block of Pentelic marble is L-shaped with carefully cut mouldings at the top and bottom. The length on the front face is 1.35 m.; the width on the left side is 0.665 m.; on the right side 0.24 m. This curiously shaped block may have been the facing for a poros core which would have been covered and concealed by the plinth on which the statues stood.

The inscription on the base is a dedication to Demeter and Kore by Kleiokrateia, daughter of Polyuktos the Teithrasian, wife of Spoudias. It is carved in beautiful letters of the fourth century and is arranged on the stone with the names of the goddesses in the centre at the top and with the names of the dedicator and her family in a column on the right side. Below this column is the signature of Praxiteles written in smaller letters. Since the pieces broken from the left end of the block are uninscribed, that side seems to have been left blank.





Fig. 4. Base with the Signature of Praxiteles as it was found

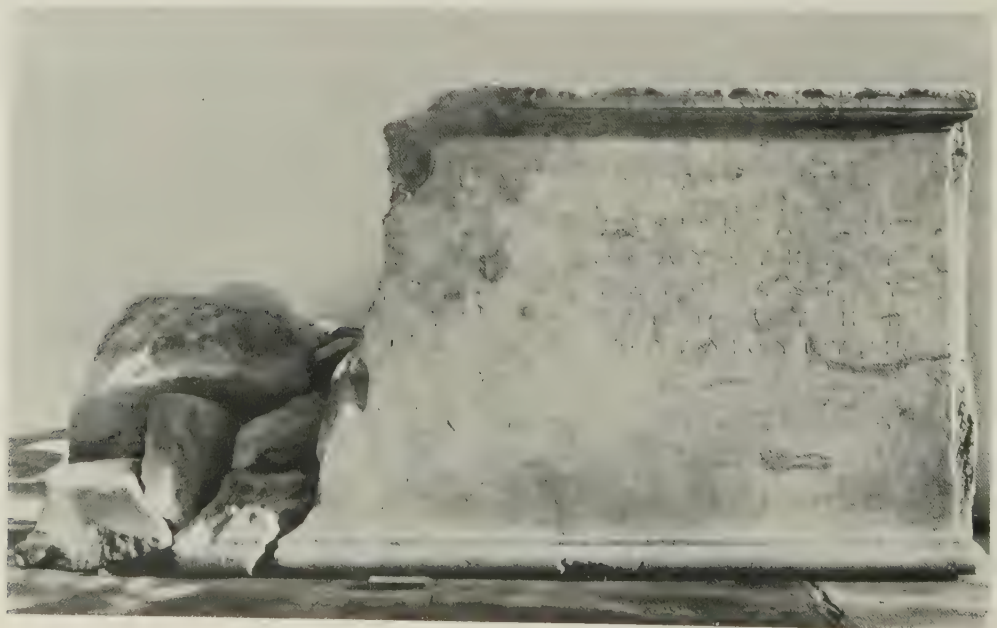


Fig. 5. Base of Statues by Praxiteles

Statues of Demeter, her daughter, and Iakchos are reported by Pausanias (I, 2, 4) as standing in the temple of Demeter. They were designated as works of Praxiteles by an inscription on the wall written in Attic letters. Because of this statement it has been conjectured that they were made by an elder Praxiteles who worked in the fifth century. It is difficult to sever the new base from association with the statues mentioned by Pausanias and we are led to the conclusion that, after the rejection of the base because of some injury to it during the attack of Sulla, its dedication was transcribed on the wall of the temple in

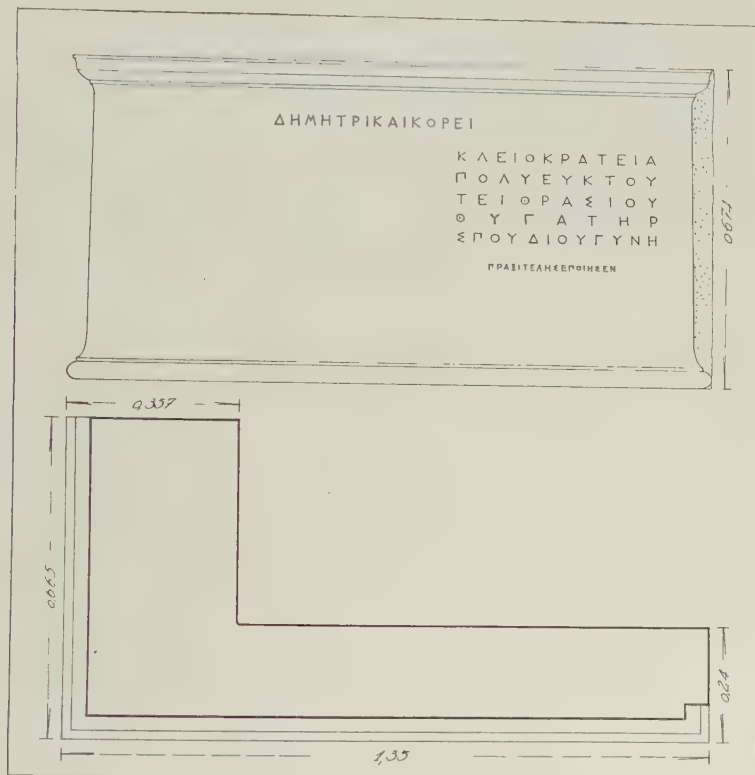


Fig. 6. Drawing of the Base

archaistic letters that were not uncommonly used in the first century B.C. It is, therefore, unnecessary to postulate the existence of an elder sculptor named Praxiteles because of this reference by Pausanias to the use of Attic letters in the dedication.

Besides the signature of Praxiteles the inscription has further interest, because a quarrel in the family of the dedicator was the subject of the forty-first oration of Demosthenes. This speech was written about 361 B.C. for the husband of the elder of the two daughters of Polyuktos, who was the plaintiff in a lawsuit over his father-in-law's estate. It is possible that the space on the left side of the base was planned for the names of the elder daughter and her husband and was left blank as the result of the family quarrel. Two new items

of information provided by the inscription are the name of the younger daughter and the deme of the father. The name of the deme necessitates an emendation in the text of Demosthenes (XLI, 3) where through a scribal error the deme is recorded as Thriasios instead of Teithrasios.

#### BYZANTINE HOUSES IN SECTION MU MU

Above the level of the late Roman remains in the area, Byzantine houses were uncovered in strata of several different periods. These strata are so clearly marked and the plans of the houses are so well preserved that this settlement will be of value for the study of the history of the area in Byzantine times. The earliest houses, which date from the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, were destroyed by fire and subsequently the site was occupied by a group of large houses arranged in blocks with reference to two parallel streets running from north to south. The date of this settlement is fixed at about 1100 A.D. by coins of the Emperor Alexius I, 1081–1118, found beneath the floors of the houses. This settlement was also destroyed by fire, and the houses were rebuilt shortly thereafter. The date of the fire is placed in the latter part of the twelfth century, since the latest coins found between the pre-fire and the post-fire floors are those of Manuel I, 1143–1180 A.D. The latest occupation of the site was in the thirteenth century, and by the end of that century the settlement was finally abandoned. Pottery and coins are abundantly present in the various strata and help vividly to reconstitute this interesting page of Byzantine history.

#### THE AREA AROUND THE THESEION IN SECTION KAPPA KAPPA

The magnificent well-preserved temple that crowns the Kolonos Agoraios is still called the Theseion for the sake of convenient identification as this name has been attached to it for many decades, but scholars are generally agreed in identifying it as the temple of Hephaistos. The area around the temple has been everywhere cleared to bedrock, and the results achieved have fulfilled the expectations aroused by the beginning of the excavation made last season. Although the new investigations have not yet produced definite evidence, such as inscribed dedications, in proof of the identification of the temple, indirect confirmation of the strongest kind is provided by the discovery in the neighborhood of a bronze foundry and of pits containing pieces of clay moulds of statues, and masses of unformed bronze and of iron slag.

The bronze foundry lies southwest of the temple. It is elliptical in shape with a narrow opening at the west end (Fig. 7). At the east end it connects with a deep rectangular cutting in the bedrock which probably served for the furnace. For the construction of the foundry the bedrock was cut to a depth of 1.65 metres and the sides were lined with walls of mud brick laid on a rubble foundation. The floor was covered with a heavy deposit of carbonized matter, and traces of burning were everywhere in evidence. This foundry was



in use in the fourth century B.C., and in the latter part of that century it was reconstructed by the raising of the floor level. In the filling under and over the floor were many pieces of bronze and iron waste, and fragments of moulds for bronze statues and of coarse pipes of



Fig. 7. Bronze Foundry

terracotta used for pouring the molten metal. Shortly after its reconstruction, in the late fourth or early third century, the foundry went out of use and was buried.

Evidence for earlier bronze casting in the neighborhood was also found. The most remarkable discovery was that of many pieces of a mould for a small archaic statue that were lying in a pit at the base of the hill east of the temple. The mould for the two legs of the statue is nearly complete (Fig. 8), and pieces of the rest of the body

include the nostrils and the mouth with its archaic smile.<sup>1</sup> The shrine set in the midst of this community of bronze workers could be none other than that of Hephaistos, the god of the forge.



Fig. 8. Terracotta Mould for the Legs of an Archaic Bronze Statue

A careful search was made for evidence of the date of the construction of the temple. On the west slope of the hill some pits were found to be filled with fragments of burned vases of fine black-figured and red-figured style, with which was the great black-figured lebes shown in Figure 9. The same deposit contained ostraka of Aristeides, Hippokrates,

<sup>1</sup> See Thompson in this Volume of *Hesperia*, pp. 82-83, fig. 43.

Kallixenos, Kydrokles, Megakles, and Themistokles. Both the vases and the ostraka antedate 480 B.C., and they were probably thrown as filling into the holes in the rock in the clearance of the area after the Persian invasion. The fine quality of the pottery suggests the possibility that the vases may have been dedications in a sanctuary that had existed on the site before the erection of the present temple, but no trace of such an earlier building has yet been found. Important evidence for the date of the temple, however, was secured from other discarded deposits in pits in the rock. Several of these were filled with marble chips from the construction of the building, with which were



Fig. 9. Black-figured Lebes

fragments of pottery which prove that the building was at least begun by the middle of the fifth century.

The clearance of the rock south of the temple revealed an unusual topographical feature that permits a better visualization of the appearance of the surroundings of the building in ancient times. This interesting discovery is fully discussed later in this Number, pages 396–425, by Mrs. Dorothy Burr Thompson who supervised the excavation of the area. Northeast of the temple a building was erected on the lower slope of the hill in the Hellenistic period. It measures 42 by 14 metres and is constructed with buttressed outer walls and with two interior rows of piers or columns. The purpose of this large building has not yet been determined.



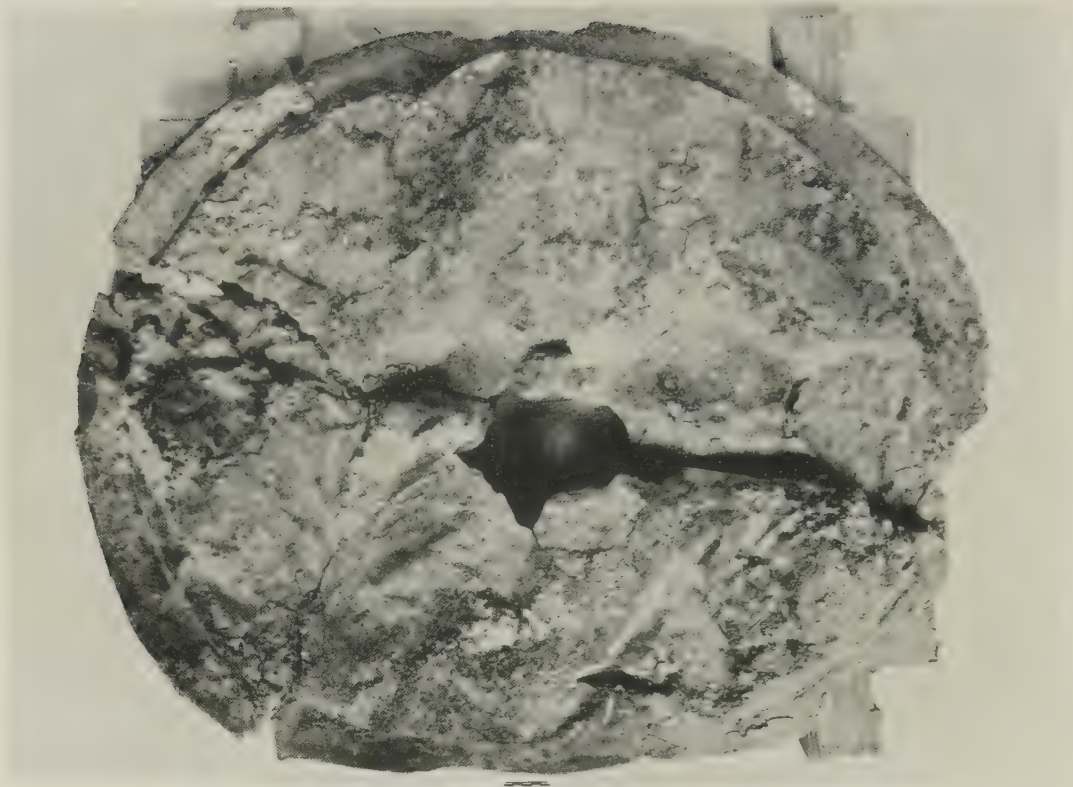


Fig. 10. The Bronze Shield after Preliminary Cleaning



Fig. 11. Drawing of Shield with Dedicatory Inscription

## THE CAPTURED SPARTAN SHIELD

A cistern cut in the rock south of the Theseion produced one of the important discoveries of the season. This is a bronze shield that was lying at the bottom of the pit in a badly injured but practically complete state. The surface had been crushed in places by stones, and the bronze was so badly corroded that little actual metal remained. It was, therefore, a particularly difficult task to remove the object from the cistern without further damage. This was accomplished by applying a thick coat of paraffin to the upper surface after most of the overlying deposit of earth had been carefully removed. It was then possible to hoist the shield safely from the cistern and to convey it to the workrooms, but the task of cleaning it in order to insure its preservation has proved even more difficult. De Jong took charge of the first preliminary cleaning of the surface in order to note any decorative designs and to make an accurate drawing before any disintegration occurred. He was thus enabled to recover the ornament on the rim and the punched letters of a dedication written across the convex bowl. The shield was then put to soak for some months in distilled water. Subsequently when it became necessary to remove the paraffin for the final cleaning it was seen that the metal was broken into many pieces for which some sort of a permanent backing was essential. Consequently a form of the size and shape of the shield has been constructed of bleached beeswax, in which each piece, after it has been chemically cleaned, is inset in its proper position. When this tedious process has been completed, the shield can be exhibited in safe and permanent form.

An account of this shield will be published by me in the Volume of the *Archaiologike Ephemeris* that is to be issued in 1937 in celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the Archaeological Society of Athens. The substance of that article may be briefly recapitulated here. The shield is slightly oval in shape, measuring 95 by 83 centimetres. Figure 10 illustrates its appearance after the preliminary clean-

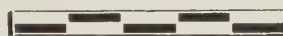
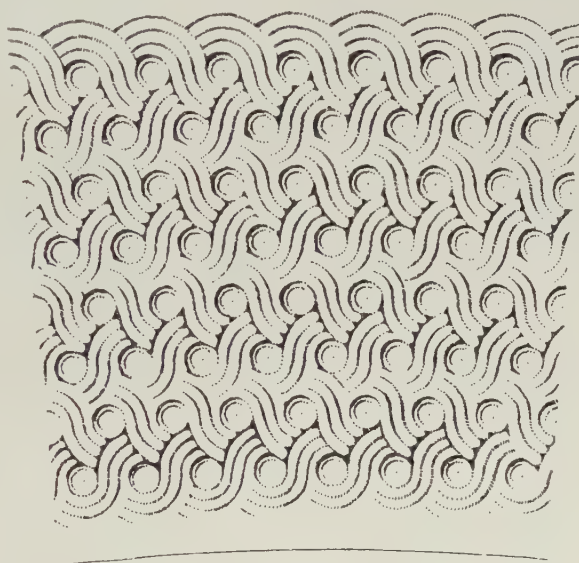


Fig. 12. Ornament on the Rim of the Shield

ing had removed the stones that had become imbedded in the metal, and Figure 11 gives De Jong's drawing that shows more clearly the punched letters of the dedicatory inscription. This inscription, which reads ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ | ΑΠΟΛΑΚΕΔ | ΑΙΜ[ΟΝ]ΙΩΝ | ΕΚ[ΠΥ]ΛΟ, identifies the shield as one of those captured by the Athenians from the Spartans at the battle of Pylos in 425 B.C. These shields were suspended as trophies in the Stoa Poikile in the Agora where some of them were seen by Pausanias (I, 15, 4), but the cistern in which our example was found was filled up not later than the beginning of the third century B.C., and therefore, for some unknown reason, our shield had been thrown away before that date. The elaborate guilloche ornament on the rim (Fig. 12) is identical with that on some shields found in fragmentary condition at Olympia which have been assigned on good grounds to the bronze foundries of Corinth (See A. Furtwängler, *Olympia, Die Ergebnisse*, IV, Text p. 163, pl. LXII). It is probable that our shield is a product of the same famous workshops.

#### THE WELLS AND CISTERNS IN SECTION PI THETA

The entire hilltop of the Kolonos Agoraios, at the north end of which stands the Theseion, was cleared to bedrock under the supervision of R. S. Young. The investigation of this area that was begun last season revealed the presence of early graves and of wells and cisterns in the rock that yielded interesting contents. The promise of last season has been handsomely fulfilled by the clearance of more Protogeometric and Geometric graves and by the discovery of a large number of wells and cisterns from which many objects of interest and importance have been taken. The presence of twenty-seven wells and nineteen cisterns was noted in the area this year but the excavation of all could not be completed, and of them twelve wells and two cisterns remain to be dug in the next campaign. Some of the varied contents of these wells will be described here; other scattered objects from them will be presented later in this article in connection with the groups of objects to which they belong.

A combined well and cistern in the northwest corner of the area produced evidence of interest for the topography of the region. The cistern went out of use and was filled up in the second century B.C. and at that time a well was dug through its floor. The well, which extended to a depth of 21.45 metres, was filled up in the first or second century A.D. Here were found three inscribed stelae, one in the well, one in the mouth of the cistern, and one beside the cistern. They are perfectly preserved and have completely legible inscriptions. Two of the stelae contain decrees of the Salaminians, the third is a decree of the Tribe Aiantis. One is dated in the year of the archon Charikleides, 363/2 B.C., another in the year of Hegemon, 327/6 B.C. Both of these bear the direction that they be erected in the Eurysakeion. The third decree is dated by the archon Phanomachos, who has not previously been known but is placed tentatively by Meritt in 249/8 B.C. It is probable that this stele, too, was set up in the Eurysakeion, the sanctuary of the Salaminian hero Eurysakes, son of Ajax, which is reported to have been located somewhere on the Kolonos



Agoraios. Since the stelae were found together and are completely preserved, it is reasonable to conclude that the place of their discovery is not far distant from their original location, the site of the sanctuary of Eurysakes. The study of the Salaminian decrees, which present important new historical information, has been undertaken by Professor William S. Ferguson of Harvard University who will publish a detailed discussion of the



Fig. 13. Pieces of the Ivory Statuette

subject in the first Number of *Hesperia* for the year 1938 (Vol. VII, No. 1). The decree of the Tribe Aiantis will be published by Meritt in the same Number.

Another well cut in the rock of the hilltop produced the most beautiful and most important object that has so far been found in the excavations. Pieces of an ivory statuette began to appear in the mud at a depth of fifteen metres, and from the deeper deposits as well as from several siftings of the earth from the well additional fragments were secured until the total number exceeded two hundred. The first group of pieces, illustrated in Figure 13, included an arm, a leg, and the head which was perfectly preserved. The exquisite style and workmanship of these pieces made it immediately apparent that a work



Fig. 11. Statuette of Apollo Lykeios

of the finest quality was being secured, and the greatest care was exercised in the excavation and the sifting of the earth so that no piece should go astray. As soon as the fragments were taken from the damp earth of the well, they were placed in a moist container, where they were kept for several days in order to prevent the splitting of the ivory from too rapid drying in the dry air. They were then cleaned with alcohol and treated with a solution of amyl acetate, acetone and celluloid which served both as a preservative and as a binding material.

In view of the obvious importance of the object an attempt was made to secure an expert in handling ivory for the very difficult technical task of putting the pieces together and reconstructing the figure. When it became apparent that no such specialist was available, the task was undertaken by Mrs. Shear and J. Bakoules, the skilled vase-mender and technician of the staff. The surface of the ivory was in an excellent state of preservation, and all pieces of the preserved surface were found to make joins with one another so that eventually, after several weeks of patient effort, each was fitted into its original position. The result is the statuette shown in Figure 14, that is complete except for the thumb and one finger of the right hand, the end of one finger of the left hand, a small part of the centre of the body, and a few fragments elsewhere. The missing parts have been restored in bleached beeswax for the purpose of furnishing a support for the frame of the body. The statuette, which is 30 centimetres high, is a replica of the statue of Apollo Lykeios which has been attributed to Praxiteles on the basis of the style of the Roman copies. Since it is planned to discuss this masterpiece in detail and with a full series of illustrations in a later Number of *Hesperia*, nothing further need be added here to the brief account of its discovery.

The well, from which the ivory came, went out of use and was filled with earth in the third century after Christ, but the contents also include objects of various earlier periods. The pottery is for the most part of the style of the second and third centuries after Christ, but among the terracotta lamps are specimens that date from the time of Augustus, and the coins extend in date from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. From the well came also a small marble head of a bearded man of the Roman period, and a bronze



Fig. 15. Bronze Statuette of a Comic Actor



statuette of a comic actor (Fig. 15). The figure, which is preserved in good condition, is standing on a loop handle that is broken from a bronze vase. The man wears a comic mask with a huge round mouth. He has high boots and kilts, and holds in his left hand one end of a scarf that passes diagonally across his back and then is folded over the right forearm. A broad belt is fastened by cords in front of the body. This piece is also probably to be dated in the Roman age.

#### SECTION RHO AND THE BASE OF THE STATUES OF THE TYRANNICIDES

Section Rho, excavated under the supervision of Miss Crosby, lies north of the Odeion with its façade of Giants that was uncovered last year. Here a large group of Byzantine houses was revealed, of which the walls in some cases were set deeper than the classical level. The only remains of the classical period so far evident are occasional monument bases, so that this area may have been part of the open square of the Agora at that time. Several inscribed bases of historical monuments were found, of which the most interesting is a piece of the base of the statues of the Tyrannicides, on which part of the dedicatory epigram is preserved.

The inscribed epigram was published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 355-358. Meritt follows the current views in rejecting the attribution of the verses to Simonides, but the fact that Simonides was a protégé of Hipparchos does not seem to me to be sufficient reason to justify this rejection. The statues were erected after the overthrow of the tyranny and four years after the murder of Hipparchos. Simonides was a poet by profession who wrote poetry for a financial remuneration, and it would have been good business policy for him to dissociate himself from the party of the tyrants if he hoped to continue to receive commissions from the Athenians. It is evident that he did retain their favor since he wrote the epigram for those who fell at Marathon. The former doubts that this epigram was written on the base of the statues have been dispelled by the discovery of the new stone. Why should one further doubt the specific ancient tradition that its author was Simonides who, as the master of the epigram, would be naturally commissioned to write the poem commemorating this famous event?

Another interesting base is a huge block of Pentelic marble on the front of which a dedication is written (Fig. 16). The length of the block is 0.94 metres and its width, front to back, is 0.655 metres. It is broken on all sides but part of the original surface is preserved on top, at the back and on the right side. The disposition of the letters of the preserved names shows that its original size must have been far greater. The dedication is made to Hadrian Olympios as benefactor of the city by the City of Byzantium or by a Byzantine. The base was found forty-five metres east of the place of discovery in 1931 of a marble statue of Hadrian, and about half-way between that place and the spot where a leg was found this season that presumably belongs to the statue though it does not actually make a join with it. Because of its great size and weight it is unlikely that it was carried far from its original location and as the marble also is similar it seems

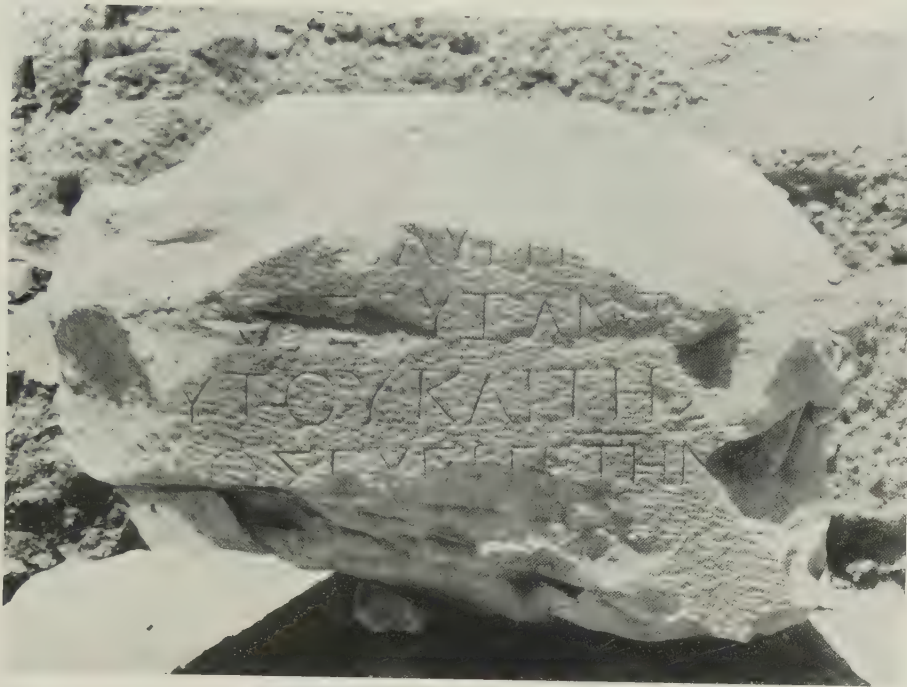


Fig. 16. Base of a Statue of Hadrian



Fig. 17. Cutting in the Top of the Hadrian Base

probable that this is the base of the Hadrian statue. This conclusion is not vitiated by the presence of a cutting in the top of the base. This hole, measuring 0.26 m. long, 0.225 m. wide, and 0.10 m. deep, is set at the back of the base as appears in Figure 17 where an arrow indicates the top edge of the back. The coarse chisel marks on the sides of the hole are not dissimilar from those in the neck socket of the statue where the tenon of the head was inset. Traces remain of a small circular cutting within the larger one but there is no evidence that a dowel for a bronze statue was set in this hole, and the position of the hole on the edge of the base precludes the possibility that it underlay the foot of the statue. It may have been used for the support of the plinth of the marble statue.

The base for another Roman Imperial statue is a large block of Hymettian marble that is preserved on all sides and has in the top cuttings for the feet of a bronze statue. According to a dedication written across the front in four lines with carefully made letters, the Council of the Areopagus honored with a statue Julia Augusta Boulaia, mother of Tiberius Augustus. This inscription is published below by Miss Crosby, No. 12 on page 464.

Still another base was found that belonged to a statue of the Julian family. This also is a block of Hymettian marble that has a cutting in the top for the small foot of a bronze statue. The fragmentary inscription gives the name  $\Lambda\epsilon\gamma\kappa\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and since the letters have the shapes characteristic of the Augustan period, this is probably the base of the statue of the young Lucius Caesar that is reported to have been erected in the Roman Agora.

#### THE BUILDINGS IN SECTION SIGMA

Section Sigma, the excavation of which was supervised by R. H. Howland, is located in the northeastern corner of the Zone, just west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. Here two ancient buildings were discovered, one belonging to the Greek period and one to the Roman. The Greek building, of which only short stretches of the foundations have so far been cleared, is a large square structure measuring about 59 metres on the side, with an inner court 38.40 metres square that was surrounded by a portico. The exposed foundations, which are constructed of grey limestone at the north and of red conglomerate at the south, include the northwest corner of the inner square with several metres of the adjacent north and west walls. On the east the foundations extend beneath the Stoa of Attalos, but as they are covered by a deposit of the third century B.C. the building must have been destroyed a long time before the erection of the Stoa. Definite evidence for the date of its construction has not yet been found, but it has been tentatively placed in the fourth century B.C.

Directly above the foundations of the east wall of the west portico of the square building a small circular structure was erected, that has a diameter of 8.10 metres at the outer edge of the bottom course of its foundations. The stones of this lowest course, which are of hard white poros, are preserved for about half the circumference (Fig. 18). Of the superstructure three blocks of the marble cornice were found. This cornice is composed of dentils, with an astragal above, beneath a soffit on the face of which is a decorative





Fig. 18. Circular Building in Section Sigma



Fig. 19. Cornice Blocks of the Circular Building

pattern of scrolls and flowers; this is crowned by a sima of lotus leaves between every two of which is a lion's head water-spout (Fig. 19). The date of this building is also uncertain, but the sherds in the fill about the foundations point to a date in the second century after Christ. It was destroyed at the end of the third or early in the fourth century. It is not yet possible to suggest an identification of this circular structure. Both these buildings will be more fully investigated in a subsequent campaign.

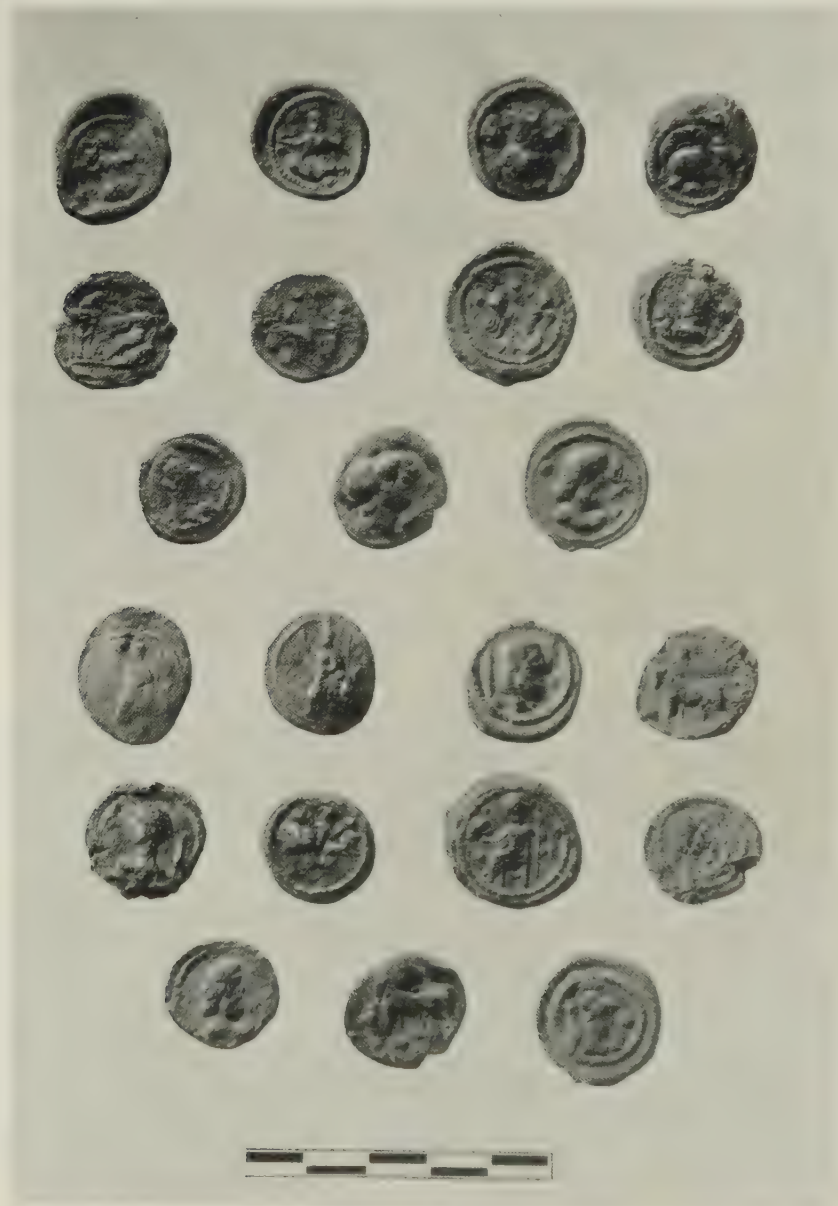


Fig. 20. Lead Seals

An extraordinary group of more than one hundred lead seals was found just north of the circular building in a stratum dating between the third and fourth centuries after Christ. There are many varieties of type, some of which are illustrated in Figure 20 as seen from obverse and reverse sides. The main types will be briefly noted. (1) On the obverse Zeus is represented seated to the left, holding a Nike in his extended right hand and with the sceptre in the left hand; on the reverse Nike is driving a chariot drawn by a pair of lions. (2) One side shows Asklepios standing and facing a female figure; between them are a star and a crescent, and beside Asklepios is a serpent. Around the edge is written the word "Good Fortune." This is countermarked with the stamp of a cock. The other side is plain. (3) On one side Asklepios is seated holding a staff around which a serpent is entwined; in the field are five stars and a crescent, and there are two countermarks of the cock. The reverse is plain. (4) On the obverse Poseidon is shown with a dolphin on the extended right hand and a trident in the left; his name is written around the edge, and the countermark of the cock is again used. The reverse either is plain or has the standing figure of a bearded man. (5) Several seals have a representation of Helios in a chariot drawn by four horses, and one example of this type shows on the reverse Nike in a chariot driving a pair of bulls. (6) On one side is a helmeted head of Athena, on the other either a bull or the bust of a bearded man. (7) On the obverse is the head of a bearded man with a knotted club beside it (Herakles or Theseus), on the reverse the upper part of a bull-headed man (Minotaur). Among the remaining types is one showing a nude figure, perhaps Apollo, seated on a rock facing a tripod, and one with a group composed of a dolphin and creatures that resemble the signs of the zodiac. This important collection will require special study for its interpretation and for a satisfactory explanation of its symbolical significance.

#### THE STOA IN SECTION TAU

Section Tau, excavated under the supervision of E. Vanderpool, lies on the south edge of the Agora. Here a long narrow stoa was partially uncovered that extends east and west just south of, and parallel to the great peripteral stoa described in last year's Report and called the "South Stoa." The building extends through the Section and has been exposed for a distance of eighty metres, but neither end has yet been uncovered. Its width is about seven metres and it has a hard-packed earth floor. The front wall on the north is preserved to the level of the euthynteria course, and the spacing of the columns of the portico can be determined by the heavier structure of the foundations at those points. The back wall is preserved in places to a considerable height. Figure 21 shows on the left the course of the great drain that runs through the area, in the centre the foundations of the north wall of the stoa, and on the right its high back wall.

Although at each end the stoa passes into unexcavated territory, its total length can be approximately determined by the limits of an ancient building at the west end and by the course of the great drain on the east. The length as thus estimated is about 118 metres,



and a niche in the back wall is treated as equidistant from each end. This stoa, which faces only to the north, seems to have been the definite southern boundary of the Agora, since its heavy back wall served also as a retaining wall to support a terrace



Fig. 21. The Stoa in Section Tau

at a higher level to the south. The date of its construction is fixed early in the second century B.C. by the objects found in the filling deposit behind the wall. It was burned at the end of the third century A.D., and some reconstruction occurred on the site late in the fourth century. The stoa cannot be identified with any building mentioned by ancient writers.

## AN EARLY BUILDING IN SECTION ETA ETA

The investigation of the Valerian Wall was continued by A. W. Parsons in the south-eastern part of the Zone. This Section, Eta Eta, lies on sloping ground considerably above the main area of the market place. The site, therefore, had been divided into a high terrace at the south and an open square lying at a lower level at the north. The Valerian Wall passes through its west side, and west of the wall is a broad stone-paved ancient street that slopes steeply up towards the Acropolis. The southern terrace had been occupied in archaic times by a small well-constructed building of which only the north wall could be cleared this season. The rest of the building will be uncovered in the next campaign when the block to the south of it is excavated. The date of the building is approximately fixed in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. by the contents of a well that was filled up at the time of its construction. The objects from this well include a black-glazed pitcher, black-figured pottery, and a piece of the base of a cup with the signature of the potter Nikosthenes.

Traces of the classical period were scanty and the remains of this and of the succeeding Hellenistic epoch must have been removed at the time of an extensive Roman reconstruction of the area. To this early Roman period belongs the arrangement of the level open square lying north of the terrace, and later in the Roman age, at the end of the third century, the Valerian Wall was built along the west side. The area was thickly settled in Byzantine times.

## THE GROUND PLAN OF THE AGORA

The six ancient buildings revealed by the present campaign have been briefly described on the basis of the reports furnished by the members of the staff in charge of their excavation. In connection with all of them further excavation and investigation will be necessary. At the present time not one can be associated with any building mentioned in classical literature, but in spite of this fact the discovery of their exact location adds greatly to the comprehension of the general plan of the area. In addition to the newly-found buildings an important topographical discovery was also made in regard to a structure that had been previously excavated. In doing some final clearance about the north end of the Stoa of Zeus, where a road for carting had been temporarily left, Thompson found in place the southeast corner of the north wing of that stoa (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 7). This provides the valuable knowledge of the exact length of the stoa, and helps to clarify the topography of the northwest corner of the area.

The restored ground plan of the main buildings of the classical period is shown in Plate IX. The plan of the buildings on the west side as far as the Tholos is safely assured by Thompson's exhaustive investigation. In the case of the other buildings while the plans in general are correct they are subject to minor modifications when the detailed study of

them, which is now in progress, shall have been completed.<sup>1</sup> As the names of the buildings are given on the plan, no further general description of it is necessary, but it may be interesting to add that evidence is accumulating for the identification of the fountain house in the southwest corner as the Enneakrounos. The large square building beside it is provisionally called the Eleusinion because of its shape and because Eleusinian coins and votive figurines of the type of Demeter were found in the vicinity, but as this site is partly occupied by the modern houses that are used as workrooms for the Coin Department and for storage purposes, the complete excavation of this structure has been temporarily postponed. It will be noted that no reference is made to the Stoa Basileios, and the problems connected with the identification of that building have not yet been solved. Thompson in his study already cited (pages 64 ff. of the present Volume of *Hesperia*) argues in favor of the view that one building was known by the two names, Stoa Basileios and Stoa of Zeus. While this interpretation, if correct, would solve many difficulties it has not yet been proved. As the publication of this Report has been delayed, it has been possible to indicate on the plan the location of the large temple northwest of the Odeion that was uncovered in the campaign of 1937.

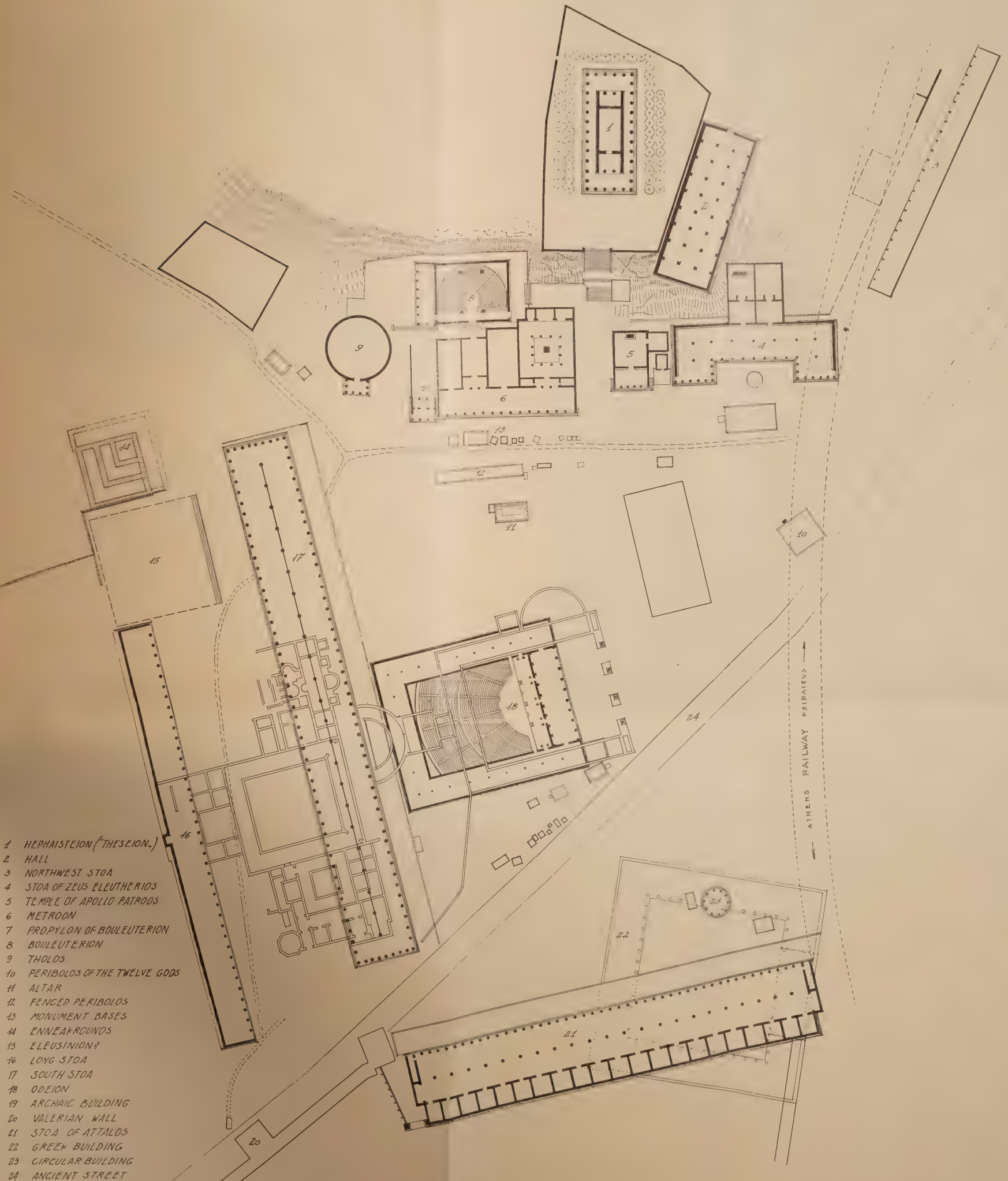
#### THE GRAVES IN LENORMANT STREET

In addition to the main field of work in the Agora a small excavation under the supervision of Miss Virginia Grace was conducted, by permission of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education, in Lenormant Street that lies northwest of the American Zone, on the lot (No. 28) of a certain A. G. Christodoulos who had come on ancient remains while digging a hole to receive the foundations of his house. The area was found to be packed with graves and cremation burials of both the Greek and the Roman periods that yielded some handsome vases and other interesting objects. There were discovered in all twelve graves, two cremation burials, a Roman ash urn, and numerous scattered vases that evidently had come from rifled graves. Pending the full publication of this material, several of the more important groups will be briefly described here.

A cremation pit of the middle of the fifth century B.C. produced the four vases illustrated in Figure 22. These are a small black-glazed lekythos, a pyxis, a squat white-ground lekythos that is decorated with a woman who holds a thyrsus in her left hand and a phiale in her extended right hand, and a large handsome white-ground lekythos. The large lekythos (height: 0.304 metres) would have held too much of the precious oil and it is, therefore, fitted with a false interior, a small tube that is attached to the neck. Its content thus would be small while its size was large and impressive. It is decorated with paintings

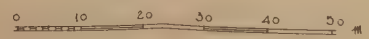
<sup>1</sup> The premature publication of the American plan of the Agora in altered form by Professor W. Dörpfeld (*Alt-Athen und seine Agora*, Berlin 1937, pl. III) is much to be deplored. It is unnecessary to point out the inaccuracies in Dörpfeld's plan as they are obvious by a comparison of his plan with the one here published. Surely scientific research is not promoted by the reiteration of unsupported statements or by the alteration of facts to suit theories.





- 1 HEPHAISTEION ("THESEION.")
- 2 HALL
- 3 NORTHWEST STOA
- 4 STOA OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS
- 5 TEMPLE OF APOLLO PATROOS
- 6 METRON
- 7 PROPYLON OF BOULEUTERION
- 8 BOULEUTERION
- 9 THOLOS
- 10 PERIBOLOS OF THE TWELVE GODS
- 11 ALTAR
- 12 FENCED PERIBOLOS
- 13 MONUMENT BASES
- 14 ENNEAKRONOS
- 15 ELEUSINION?
- 16 LONG STOA
- 17 SOUTH STOA
- 18 ODEION
- 19 ARCHAIC BUILDING
- 20 VALERIAN WALL
- 21 STOA OF ATTALOS
- 22 GREEK BUILDING
- 23 CIRCULAR BUILDING
- 24 ANCIENT STREET

# AGORA EXCAVATION ATHENS



arch. J. TRAVLOS  
1936



by a master of the period. Figure 23 shows the vase, with the few missing pieces restored, from a water-color by Piet de Jong. Slender graceful palmettes adorn the shoulder, which is separated by a narrow band of meander design from the main scene on the body of the vase. This scene represents a sepulchral group. The grave monument is a stele, around the top of which two fillets are fastened, set on a triple-stepped base. On one side of it a nude youth is standing who holds a strigil in his left hand; on the other side stands a woman dressed in a red cloak who carries an alabastron in her left hand and is tearing her hair with her right. On the wall behind the youth a sponge is suspended, while behind



Fig. 22. Vases from a Cremation Pit

the woman is an object that resembles a parasol. The drawing is admirably done, and this vase ranks among the fine examples of its type.

More vases were found in a woman's grave that is dated in the third quarter of the fifth century. No trace of a coffin or of any covering for this burial was preserved and the bones were badly disintegrated, but the contents had not been disturbed. They are four white-ground lekythoi, an alabastron, a pyxis, a black-glazed skyphos, a small bronze mirror, bronze rings, and two black-glazed feeding bottles that show considerable wear at the end of the spouts, indicating actual use (Fig. 24). One of the lekythoi is decorated in especially good style and has an interesting sepulchral scene which is shown in projection in de Jong's painting reproduced in Figure 25. Two women are represented, standing one on each side of the monument. The one on the left holds an alabastron in her extended right hand; she wears a striped chiton and has a large purple cloak wrapped about her. The one on the right is entirely enveloped in a voluminous cloak that is crimson in color. The



grave monument is a stele on a four-stepped base behind which is a large egg-shaped object of curious type. It is encircled by six fillets, of which five are red and one is black. This type of monument is known from other vases and its significance has been much discussed,



Fig. 23. Lekythos with Sepulchral Scene

but no satisfactory interpretation of it has been proposed. The suggestion that it represents the burial mound is hardly tenable in view of the undercutting at the base. It has rather the appearance of a huge egg, symbol of the resurrection, which in actual size is often found in graves of the classical period.

Among the later burials in this area the most interesting is an ash urn of the Roman period. This is a circular container, made of Hymettian marble, that was standing in place with its cover on at a higher level than the Greek graves. Within the marble container is enclosed a lead ash urn (Fig. 26). Ashes and other traces of burning were visible around the box outside, and the urn contained many charred bits of bone, an impression on gold leaf of an owl from an Athenian coin (a bracteate), and eighty-five laurel leaves of thin gold (Fig. 27). Impressions of coins in gold leaf were often placed in graves as substitutes



Fig. 24. Vases from a Fifth Century Grave

for the valuable gold coins. The gold laurel leaves were used to form a wreath, being usually fastened to a bronze frame by wire wound around the frame and the stems of the leaves. No trace of such a frame was preserved in the urn.

#### THE POTTERY

Besides the vases that have already been described much interesting and beautiful pottery was secured from the various sections under excavation. A brief account will be given of the more important pieces arranged in chronological order.

Apart from some prehistoric potsherds the earliest ware found this year belongs in the sub-Mycenaean period. Two complete vases of this class were secured from the grave of a small child that was cut in the rock just west of the Theseion and in front of its second column from the north end. The grave was covered by stones beneath which were the small, partially disintegrated bones and the vases lying in place by the skull. They are a one-handed jug and a deep two-handled bowl (Fig. 28). Both are characteristic examples



Fig. 25. Sepulchral Scene on a Lekythos

of their period in shape and in decoration, the jug having a simple scroll design in a panel on the shoulder set between vertical strokes, and the bowl being covered with a black glaze that has been partially fired to red, except on the foot which was left unpainted. Vases of this style, called by Wace the Granary Class from a deposit found in a granary at Mycenae (*B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 50 ff.; *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pp. 184 ff.), had not previously appeared in the excavations so that they make a welcome addition to the Agora collection.

Following the promise of last season more unripped graves of the Protogeometric age, about 1000 B.C., were uncovered in the bedrock of the hilltop. One of these, located south-east of the Theseion, contained fragments of a child's skeleton, a bronze brooch, three



bronze spirals, and eight small vases. The offerings are shown in Figure 29 in place in the grave as they were uncovered, and in Figure 30 as they appeared after removal and cleaning. The vases are decorated in a manner that is characteristic of their period, but the



Fig. 26. Ash Urn of the Roman Period

feeding bottle with the well worn nipple, standing in the centre of the lower row, is particularly interesting for its shape. The small flat saucer, seen at the left end of the top row, is out of place in this milieu and seems to belong to an earlier prehistoric period. Its presence here may perhaps be explained by the assumption that it had been dug up in some old deposit by the family that made this dedication.



Fig. 27. Gold Leaves from the Ash Urn



Fig. 28. Sub-Mycenaean Vases



Fig. 29. A Protogeometric Grave



Fig. 30. Objects from the Protogeometric Grave



Other similar rock-cut Protogeometric burials in the central part of the plateau yielded some fine complete vases of the period. One of these is a small pitcher, finished in excellent technique, that is graceful in shape and pleasing in the simplicity of its ornamentation (Fig. 31). Six vases were secured from an adult's grave, one of them being a well-preserved



Fig. 31. Protogeometric Hydria

two-handled goblet that is decorated with alternate rectangles of cross-hatching and checker-board pattern. Urn burials also were uncovered, one of which was made in a large amphora that was found standing intact in a hole cut in the bedrock. Besides the charred bones it contained two large iron stick pins, two iron brooches, an iron object in the shape of a hook, a curved piece of iron, a bit of bronze, and the base of a small Protogeometric cup. The amphora itself is simply decorated in the usual manner with bands and with a wavy line around the body.

Pottery of the Geometric age was found in abundance, both scattered over the surface of the plateau and lying in the filling deposits of wells. A complete plate dating from the end of the period, of which the carefully finished surface is preserved in good condition, was taken from one of the wells. Its decoration, which is limited to the under side, consists of a series of concentric bands forming an inner circle which is filled by a four-petaled rosette with a swastika between each pair of petals (Fig. 32).

Other late Geometric pottery was found in association with Proto-attic and Proto-corinthian in the filling deposit of another well on the plateau. Two of the Proto-attic pieces are especially interesting. One is a small complete vase of kantharos shape that is

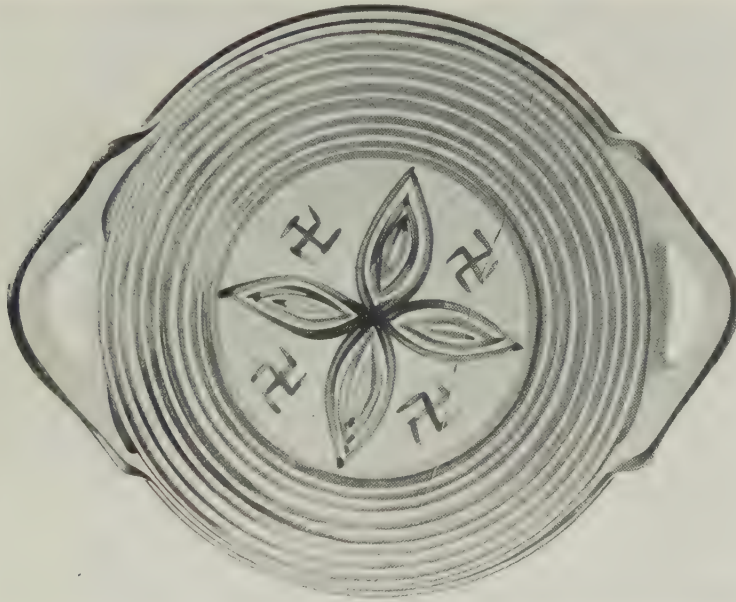


Fig. 32. Late Geometric Plate. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

decorated with rays extending up from the base and with an elaborate scroll design on its sides (Fig. 33). The second vase is a two-handled bowl that is only partially preserved (Fig. 34). It has the usual rays spreading from the base to the main zone of decoration extending around the bowl, which is occupied by a marine scene with fish swimming to the right through water that is indicated by wavy lines in the background. But the important fact about this vase is the presence of an inscription painted on the panels of the out-flaring rim at the time of its manufacture. The verb  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  in the panel on the right is complete, in the next panel to the left the preserved letters  $\dots\Upsilon\iota\omicron$  are evidently part of a name in the genitive. The ownership of the vase was thus clearly indicated just as it was on a bowl of similar shape of the late Geometric period, the "cup of Tharios," found last year (*Hesperia*, V, p. 34, fig. 34). The presence of such proprietary inscriptions implies



Fig. 33. Small Proto-attic Vase



Fig. 34. Proto-attic Bowl



a widespread knowledge of reading and writing among the Athenians in the late eighth and the early seventh century.

The same well yielded several Proto-attic and Protocorinthian skyphoi that were found together in the same stratum. A comparison of the two groups is instructive since the vases imported from Corinth have thinner walls, a more graceful shape, and more precise and skilful decoration than the rather clumsy imitations of them made in Athens. Certainly as far as this particular group of vases is concerned the superiority of the Corinthian potter



Fig. 35. Proto-attic Lid. Restored by Piet de Jong

is indisputable. But we know from other preserved vases of the period that Athens also possessed ceramic masters in the seventh century who produced admirable wares. A typical example of the Proto-attic style is the piece illustrated in Figure 35 that has been restored by de Jong from a number of fragments. But here again Corinthian relationship is apparent in the shapes of the animals and in the ornaments filling the background.

Pottery of the sixth and of the early fifth century was secured from scattered deposits on the plateau, where it had been thrown into crevices of the rock west of the Theseion. One of the better preserved black-figured vases is a large lebes that is decorated on each side with a chariot drawn by four horses (Fig. 9). The red-figured pieces include a fragment

of a psykter on which are preserved the head and shoulders of Herakles with his club carried over his left shoulder. A large proportion of the vases consists of column kraters in fragmentary condition. The scenes of revel which they display and the character of the drawing recall the work of masters who painted in the years around 500 B.C.

Another black-figured vase that is well preserved was with a small deposit of sixth century ware that came from a shallow well located just below the south end of the Kolonos



Fig. 36. Black-figured Lebes Gamikos. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

Agoraios. This is a shape of vase that is called a marriage bowl (*lebes gamikos*) because it was used in some way in connection with the wedding ceremony. It is a two-handled bowl, made in one piece with its high stand, that has a knobbed lid (Fig. 36). The base is decorated with three pairs of women engaged in domestic tasks; on the bowl at the left Hermes is standing in front of a pair of horses. The next figure to the right is a winged woman who is perhaps to be identified as Iris, and beyond her is a procession of seven women, who face to the right holding baskets on their heads.

Some fine vases of the fifth century have already been described in connection with the graves in which they were found. A group belonging to the early fourth century was secured



Fig. 37. Bowl with Name of Dionysos. Restored. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

from a pocket in the rock. These include two black-glazed kantharoi, a lamp, and a small red-figured oenochoe that is decorated with a group of playing children. Much pottery of the late fourth and early third century came from a cistern in the area north of the railroad. In addition to many baskets of sherds this produced numerous small saucers and bowls that are completely preserved, sundry complete lamps, two lead weights stamped with a dolphin, and several kantharoi. One of the kantharoi is decorated with garlands painted in white on the black ground, and has various sentiments of good omen incised on its tall neck, with invocations to Zeus, Dionysos, Friendship, Good Fortune, and Good Luck. A handsome stemmed bowl has a graceful garland as a decoration and the name Dionysos painted on it in white letters (Fig. 37). From the same deposit came a black-glazed vase of curious shape (Fig. 38). It is conical and is entirely closed except for the small opening





Fig. 38. Black-glazed Vase



Fig. 39. Hellenistic Krater with a Dedication to Dionysos and Artemis.  
From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

of the spout and for a tiny hole on the side above the vertical handle. By the pressure of the thumb on this hole the flow of liquid can be controlled. Inside the vase is a pellet that makes a metallic sound when the vessel is shaken. This vase is beautifully made and finished but the purpose for which it was used is uncertain.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 40. Hydria of Hadra Type. Restored. From a Water-color  
by Piet de Jong

Just as in the campaign of 1935 large deposits of pottery of the Hellenistic epoch were again found in various cisterns. Two vases will be sufficient to illustrate this ware, one probably a native product and one imported from Egypt. The first is a large krater that

<sup>1</sup> A similar vase is in Göttingen (P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, pl. XXI, no. 60), and Professor Orlandos tells me that he found one at Sikyon.

is decorated with an unusual pictorial group (Fig. 39). The middle of the body of the vase is encircled by a band that is filled with a series of stars and of ornaments resembling the Maltese Cross arranged alternately. Above this band the pictorial scene is represented. The front of a shrine is seen in which is standing a figure of Artemis. To the right of it is a stag and to the left a group composed of a man, evidently Dionysos, who is spearing a panther, and a dog that is charging at the beast. Below the central decorative band an inscription is incised recording the dedication to Dionysos and Artemis by a man named Menokles.

The imported vase is one of a well-known group dating from the third century B.C., of which many examples were discovered in the cemetery at Hadra near Alexandria. It is



Fig. 41. Faience Amulet of Anubis. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

a hydria in shape and is simply ornamented with a garland on the front panel (Fig. 40). This vase was found in a manhole leading down to an underground water-channel on the Theseion plateau. From the same place came many other objects including black-glazed kantharoi, saucers, and lamps. Close to the hydria was lying a statuette of the Egyptian god Anubis in the form of an amulet made of greenish glass paste (Fig. 41). The lower part of the legs is missing and the height of the figure as preserved is 0.042 metres. Anubis is represented in the usual form, with the head of a dog or jackal and with the arms held rigidly along the sides.

The steady accumulation of fine vases from the excavations, of which the more important pieces found during the past season have been described, is making the Agora Museum a valuable depository of Greek pottery, and the presence of a number of specimens of unique character adds distinction to the collection.

#### SCULPTURE AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Some important discoveries were made in the field of classical sculpture in addition to the ivory statuette of Apollo. Perhaps the most interesting piece, that came from a well on the Theseion plateau, is the head of a woman with part of the neck preserved, made of Parian marble. This head proved to be part of a figure of a woman carrying another on her back that was found in 1934 in a well cut in the rock below the east front of the Theseion. This so-called ephedrismos group is shown in Figure 42 as it now appears. It





Fig. 42. Marble Group of the Fifth Century

will be discussed by me in an article devoted to the sculpture from the Agora in a later number of *Hesperia*. For the present it will be sufficient to state that the style of the figures indicates a date shortly after the middle of the fifth century and that the group so closely resembles in style, technique, and material the figures on the frieze of the Theseion as to suggest that temple as its provenance. The other pieces of sculpture found during



Fig. 43. Archaic Terracotta Figurine



Fig. 44. Head of an Archaic Terracotta

the season, products of both the Greek and the Roman periods, will be included in the later article on the subject.

It is difficult to present in a brief report any satisfactory account of the many groups of miscellaneous objects that invariably come from excavations. These are being studied by members of the staff and will be published in separate articles. Thus two of the lead curse tablets found this year form the subject of the second article in this Number written by G. W. Elderkin. Little has been said about the important group of inscriptions which now number 4264, since these are being rapidly published by Meritt and his assistants. Many of them are of great historical significance and some have already aroused much discussion among epigraphical experts. Several of the most important documents have

been mentioned earlier in this Report but, besides these, incidental data of much value for the comprehension of many phases of Athenian history are being constantly provided by the stones. Decrees with the names and dates of archons have necessitated many additions and corrections to the Attic calendar. Other types of documents provide information about laws and treaties, about boundaries of public and private property, about sales and taxes, about the details of the administration of the state. They are authentic contemporary records of the manifold activities of ancient civilization.

The coins constitute another group of objects which require very special handling. Since they are often poorly preserved, technical experience is essential for their proper



Fig. 45. Bronze Horse

cleaning, and detailed knowledge is necessary for their identification. By the end of the season a total of sixty thousand pieces had been found in the excavations. These are being cleaned, identified and catalogued as rapidly as possible by Mrs. Shear and her assistants. An analytical table of those identified up to the conclusion of the season of 1935 (10,479 pieces) was published by Mrs. Shear in *Hesperia*, V, pp. 123-150. Since the compilation of that table many thousands more have been identified. The identification of coins is often urgently needed by the excavator in order that he may secure confirmation of the chronology of the strata in which they are found. The efficient organization of the Coin Department makes such information promptly available.

The number of terracotta lamps is constantly growing, the total now in the Agora being 2600. They date from many periods beginning in the sixth century B.C. Several interesting plastic lamps were secured this season. One is in the form of a nude youth who has the oil



basin of rectangular shape extending horizontally from his middle; another has the form of a negro's head with the mouth used as a nozzle for the wick, and with the filling-hole in the crown; still another has the shape of a baby's head with wick-hole and filling-hole similarly arranged, and with a handle extending from the forehead. Numerous examples of the Roman period have decorative scenes on the discs, and the names of the makers stamped on the bottoms.

The collection of terracotta figurines has also been largely increased by the new discoveries. Several of these are archaic products of the sixth century B.C. Two are



Fig. 46. Carved Bone Panel

particularly interesting for the contrasting types of physiognomy that they reveal. One is a seated woman who holds a child on her lap (Fig. 43). Her face is round and fat, her eyes are bulging and horizontal, and the ears are in the normal position. A strong contrast is presented by the second head with the long narrow face, the slanting eyes and the high position of the ears (Fig. 44). Clearly two distinct racial types are here portrayed. The frequent discovery of moulds for the manufacture of figurines proves that this was a flourishing trade in Athens, with factories probably in the vicinity of the Agora.

Other miscellaneous objects that may be mentioned are a few small bronze figures, including a horse of the late Geometric period (Fig. 45), a lively bull of late classical times,

handles of vases in the shape of human figures, and a small herm with inlaid silver designs. An interesting piece of carved bone was secured from a Roman deposit dating from the fourth to the fifth century A.D. It is curved at the top and is pierced by several small holes on the edges so that it had evidently been attached to some object, perhaps to the arched end of a wooden box. An unusual type of figure is carved on the plaque (Fig. 46). A beardless youth, who is clad in a Roman toga with the broad official sash folded across his chest, stands in the centre of the panel. He wears boots with tabs extending sideways from the tops. In his extended right hand he holds an object of which the identification is not certain but which resembles a helmet. He has a long staff or sceptre in his left hand. Two large oval objects, shields or bales, rest on the ground at the left side of the plaque and at the right is a large amphora. The interpretation of the scene is difficult as the draughtsmanship is summary. The closest parallel for pose and costume has been found on figures dating from the end of the fourth century A.D., and it is approximately to this date that the panel should be referred.

Remains of the Byzantine era, which are much in evidence in the upper strata, consist chiefly of foundations of houses, of walls, pottery, and coins. Some stratified deposits will be serviceable for the determination of the chronological sequence of the pottery. Many of the coins date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and with these were found some lead seals of the period, one of the best preserved being a large seal with the name of the Bishop John of Athens (1180-1182 A.D.).

Such in brief compass is the record of the season's work. Rich in all classes of discoveries the excavation continues to be of outstanding importance in the Greek world. Names famous in history are living again in the daily records of the Agora. Buildings long lost but never forgotten are taking form before our eyes. The results so far achieved have amply proved the wisdom of the undertaking, and fully guarantee the productivity of the work in the area that still remains to be accomplished.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

## TWO CURSE INSCRIPTIONS

The first maledictory inscription from the Athenian Agora was recently published in this Journal.<sup>1</sup> Two more are here illustrated and discussed, listed as Nos. II and III. These like their predecessor are inscribed upon sheets of lead. One was open when



Fig. 1. A Maledictory Diptych. Tablet II

found, the other was easily opened in the course of washing. The excellent photographs which were made soon after discovery are more easily read than the tablets themselves, and this fact seems to warrant the conclusion that chemical treatment for the rehabilitation of the lead and the removal of foreign matter tends to dull the sharpness of the letters. Tablet II is unusual in that it is a diptych (Fig. 1) which was folded between the two

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 43-49.



columns of writing whereas tablet III was rolled in accordance with prevailing practice. In both tablets parts of the text have been obliterated and in both there are erasures which were effected by lines drawn lengthwise through the words.

Tablet II, the diptych, is an unusually substantial plaque.<sup>1</sup> A nail was driven through it but this has disappeared. The left column is the better preserved and averaged perhaps 37 letters to a line. In some cases the missing words can be safely restored thanks to repetition which rendered the curse more effective. Comparison of this tablet with the one already published shows that the same general formula was used in both, which facilitates the restoration of certain missing passages.

## TABLET II

## Column I

- 1 Βαρβαφορφορβαρφορβαρ : βορα : βορβορ : βαρβα  
 2 φορβαβαιη : κραταιετρωσπαραδιδωμισοι  
 3 φιλοστρατανηρετεγοργιππιαιναντηςκαταψυξης  
 4 παναντηστοπνευματηνζωητηνδυναμιντη  
 5 ισχυντοσωματαμελητανευραταοσταταςφλε  
 6 βαστασαρτηριαστηνκαρδιαντουξονυχαστοη[α]ρ  
 7 τονπλευμοναταεντοςπανταναικιριετρωσ  
 8 εκδικησον ..... ηνετεκεν=====
- 9 .. ω κ, βοηθησοναντωοτιφιλοστρατανηρετεκε  
 10 γοργιπ[πια].....νηνιερ(ε)ωσυνηναν  
 11 τησαφ ..... αεισχουσακοινων  
 12 =====
- 13 ..... [το]υτωνεκπιουσα  
 14 αλλαρ : μορξ ..... ν .... πετειρε : αρωια  
 15 αιαι : καταψυξονπα[ντα]συνφ[ιλο]στρατ[α]νηνετεκε  
 16 γοργιππιατοπνευμα[τηνζωην]τηνδυνα  
 17 μιντινισχυντοσωματαμελητανευραταοστα  
 18 [τ]αςφλεβαστασαρτηρια[ςτη]νκαρδιαντουξον  
 19 χαστ[ονπ]λευμονατ ..... ταεντοςπαντα  
 20 κρατα[ιε]τρωσ α τε . : βασανου  
 21 εα . α . . αααααπα ..... κα]ταψυξονεπι  
 22 αφανισμω . πορα . ντηνφιλο[στρα]τανηνετε  
 23 κεγοργιππια : ια[ω]ιακουβιαιωερβηθ : ιω  
 24 βολχ[ος]ηθ : τεβαπαγαφοξαμαχ : αποψιφε  
 25 φω : σετνεφηγηωνονεσριφρεκνων.

<sup>1</sup> The inventory number is IL 372. It was found in a well in Section IIΘ at 47/B on May 8, 1936; it was associated with objects dating from the second to the fourth century A.D. The measurements are 0.225 × 0.15 m.

26 λενηξοινιρινη . φορραικενωστανταταορομα  
 27 ταψυχεταιουτωξκαιφιλοστρα[ι]ασηξετεκεγορ  
 28 γιππιακαταψ[ι]χεσθωτορν[εν]μαξωγηδυναμς

## Column II

29 ηισχυστοσωματαμελητανευρα'αιφλεβεστασστα  
 30 αιαρτηραιηκαρδιαριονχξστοηπαροπλεμ[ω]ν[ι]α  
 31 εντοςπανταναπαρλυθη . αιεωε . .  
 32 λερθεξαιωζεθρελυοδαειμαρεβαιεβα  
 33 ππιαταωαωεαιεωδηδηπαχπαχ.  
 34 κυριεντωσπαρалуσονφιλοστραταν[η]νετεκε  
 35 γοργιππιακικαταψυξονταμελητοσωματαην  
 36 δυναμιντηνισχυτοπνευμα'ηνκαρδιαν  
 37 τοηπαρτανευραταξαρτηριαςτουξονυχαςτας  
 38 χειραςτουςποδαςοια  
 39 . . . εμενησαιπαρωτιδ τε  
 40 χ . σπερ . τηξτους  
 41 λακακαπεριπ  
 42 θεοντυφωνα  
 43 ια αα διογο  
 44 φα . αυωρ κετενρεαντ  
 45 π φ ===== ετεκε  
 46 ===== φιλοστρα  
 47 τανηνετεκεν[γοργιππια] αααααπα  
 48 ραλυσηκ/κατα[ψυξη] ικεννελ  
 49 . . τυφωσκ παρ]αλυσονφιλοστρα  
 50 τανηνετεκεν[γοργιππια]αλλακαταψυξον  
 51 καταψυξονπαλιν τααλ

## TRANSCRIPTION OF TABLET II

## Column I

1 Βαρβαφορφορβαρφορβαρ : βορα : βορβορ : βαρβα  
 2 φορβαβαιη : κραταιε Τυφως παραδιδωμι σοι  
 3 Φιλοστράταν ἢν ἔτε(κεν) Γοργιππία ἵνα αὐτῆς καταψύξῃς  
 4 πᾶν αὐτῆς τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν ζωὴν τὴν δύναμιν τῇ  
 5 ἰσχὺν τὸ σῶμα τὰ μέλη τὰ νεῦρα τὰ ὀστέα τὰς φλέ-  
 6 βας τὰς ἀρτηρίας τὴν καρδίαν τοὺς ὄνυχας τὸ ἥπαρ  
 7 τὸν πλεύμονα τὰ ἐντὸς πάντα. Ναὶ κύριε Τυφὼς  
 8 ἐκδίκησον ..... ν ἔτεκεν =====

9 ..ω καὶ βοήθησον αὐτῷ διὰ Φιλοστράτα ἣν ἔτεκε  
 10 Γοργιπ[πία .....ν τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐ-  
 11 τῆς Ἀφ .....α ἐνσχοῦσα κοινὸν  
 12  
 13 ===== [το]ύτων ἐκπύουσα  
 14 ἀλλὰ ῥιμορξ .....ν ..... πετειρε:αρωία  
 15 αἰαι:κατάψυξον πά[ντα] σὺν Φ[ιλο]στράτ[ι] ἣν ἔτεκε  
 16 Γοργιππία τὸ πνεῦμα [τὴν ζωὴν] τὴν δύνα-  
 17 μιν τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸ σῶμα τὰ μέλη τὰ νεῦρα τὰ ὀστέα  
 18 τὰς φλέβας τὰς ἀρτηρίας τὴν καρδίαν τοὺς ὄνυ-  
 19 χας τὸν πλεύμονα τ[ὸ ἥπαρ] τὰ ἐντὸς πάντα.  
 20 Κραιαῖε Τυφῶς .....α ..ρε.:βασου  
 21 εα.α..ααααα πα .....[κα]τάψυξον ἐπὶ  
 22 ἀφανισμῷ. πορα.ν τὴν Φιλο[στρά]ταν ἣν ἔτε-  
 23 κε Γοργιππία:Ἰαῶ Ἰακούβια Ιω Ερβήθ:Ιω  
 24 Βολχοσηθ:τεβαπαγαφοεαμαχ:αποψρε  
 25 φω:σετνεφρηγεονεσνριφρεκων.  
 26 λευηρινιρικη. φρεαικεν, ὥς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόμα-  
 27 τα ψύχεται οὕτως καὶ Φιλοστράτας ἧς ἔτεκε Γορ-  
 28 γιππία καταψ[υχέσ]θω τὸ πνεῦμα ἡ ζωὴ ἡ δύναιμις

## Column II

29 ἡ ἰσχὺς τὸ σῶμα τὰ μέλη τὰ νεῦρα αἱ φλέβες τὰ ὀστέα  
 30 αἱ ἀρτηρίαι ἡ καρδία οἱ ὄνυχες τὸ ἥπαρ ὁ πλεύμ[ω]ν [τ]ὰ  
 31 ἐντὸς πάντα ἵνα παραλυθῇ. Αἰεαωε..  
 32 λερθεξαιωξεθρελνοωδαιεμαρεβαιεβα  
 33 πλιαταωαωαιεωιδηδιπαχπαχ  
 34 κίριε Τυφῶς παράλυσον Φιλοστράταν ἣν ἔτεκε  
 35 Γοργιππία καὶ κατάψυξον τὰ μέλη τὸ σῶμα τὴν  
 36 δύναιμιν τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν καρδίαν  
 37 τὸ ἥπαρ τὰ νεῦρα τὰς ἀρτηρίας τοὺς ὄνυχας τὰς  
 38 χεῖρας τοὺς πόδας διὰ α  
 39 ...εμενησαι παρωτιθ τε  
 40 χ.ς περ.της τους  
 41 λα κακὰ περιπ  
 42 θεδὸν Τυφῶνα  
 43 γα αα διογο  
 44 φα.αυωχο κειενρεαντ  
 45 π φ ===== ἔτεκε  
 46 ===== Φιλοστρά  
 47 ταν ἣν ἔτεκεν [Γοργιππία] ααααα πα



48 ραλύσῃ καὶ κατα[ψύξῃ] νκεννέλ  
 49 . . Τυφῶς κ [παρ]άλυσον Φιλοστρά  
 50 ταν ἣν ἔτεκεν [Γοργιππία] ἀλλὰ κατὰψύξῃν  
 51 κατὰψύξῃν πάλιν τα αλ

## TRANSLATION

## Column I

1 Barbaphorbarphorbor Bora Borbor Barbar  
 2 phorbabaie, mighty Typhos, I deliver to you  
 3 Philostrata whom Gorgippia bare in order that you may chill everything hers,  
 4 her spirit, life, power,  
 5 strength, body, limbs, sinews, bones, veins,  
 6 arteries, heart, nails, liver,  
 7 lungs, everything inside her. Yes, Lord Typhos  
 8 avenge whom bare  
 9 and aid him because Philostrata whom Gorgippia  
 10 bare dishonored(?) her priesthood  
 11 of Aphrodite(?)  
 12  
 13 from these(?) drinking  
 14 peteiere arōia  
 15 aiai, chill everything with Philostrata whom  
 16 Gorgippia bare, spirit, life, power,  
 17 strength, body, limbs, sinews, bones,  
 18 veins, arteries, heart, nails,  
 19 lungs, liver, everything inside her.  
 20 Mighty Typhos a te basou  
 21 ea aaaaaa (paralyse and) chill,  
 22 in order that she may disappear, . . . Philostrata  
 23 whom Gorgippia bare. Iaō Iakoubia Iō Erbeth Iō  
 24 Bolchosēth Tebapagaphoeamach Apopsōe  
 25 phō Setnephēcōenonesuriphreuknōn  
 26 leuēeriririkē Phoraiken, as these names  
 27 are chilled so also of Philostrata whom Gorgippia  
 28 bare let be chilled the spirit, life, power

## Column II

29 strength, body, limbs, sinews, veins, bones,  
 30 arteries, heart, nails, liver, lungs,  
 31 everything within her in order that she may be paralysed. Aieaōe

32 lerthexaiōzethreluoōdaiemarebaieba  
 33 ppiataōaōēaieōēdēdēdpachpach,  
 34 Lord Typhos, paralyse Philostrata whom Gorgippia  
 35 bare and chill her limbs, body,  
 36 power, strength, spirit, heart,  
 37 liver, sinews, arteries, nails,  
 38 hands, feet because . . . .  
 39  
 40  
 41 evils(?)  
 42 god Typhon  
 43  
 44  
 45 bare  
 46 (I deliver to you) Philostrata  
 47 whom Gorgippia bare . . . . . aaaaa, to para-  
 48 lyse and chill nkennel  
 49 Typhos (chill and) paralyse Philostrata  
 50 whom Gorgippia bare, but chill,  
 51 chill again.

## COMMENTARY

Line 1. The long magical title which occupies the entire first line and part of the second is perhaps composed of variations of the syllable βαρ in βάρβαρος. Barbarous phrases ἑήματα βαρβαρικά were employed by the priests of Cybele in their incantations, and were the more potent because people did not understand them.<sup>1</sup> If foreign language sounded like *barbar* to the Greeks, a magical title designedly unintelligible might logically be made up of that sound and various modifications of it. That this title is of Egyptian provenance is a safe inference from its occurrence in Greek magical papyri where it is applied to Hecate.<sup>2</sup> It came over to Attica along with other magical titles as is shown by the tablet already published where however I made the erroneous conjecture that it was the title of Hecate rather than of Typhon who is later invoked in the same inscription. A magical papyrus of the third century, and therefore roughly contemporary with our tablet, gives the earliest name of Typhon at which the entire universe seems to have trembled. The name had a hundred letters.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the Athenian devotees of the curse were aware of the length of the name of Typhon-Seth and of its compelling

<sup>1</sup> Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, p. 308, n. 8; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, I, p. 92. For an Ethiopic charm with secret names of deity see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 392, 397; Cumont, *T. et M.*, I, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, p. 120, line 1433.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 118: τὸ δὲ ἑκατονταγράμματον τοῦ Τυφῶνος.

power although they did not give it one hundred letters. If barbarous phrases made up of *barbar* were uttered by the priests of Cybele in the cure of disease the name Ἀβαρβαρέη for a woman well versed in the art of healing seems quite appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

Line 2. The name Philostrate is found in Attic inscriptions of the period approximately of our tablet. Kirchner cites three examples from grave stelae.<sup>2</sup> The name Gorgippia is however new but the name Gorgippos is attested for Attica in the second century.<sup>3</sup> The practice in the tablets of naming the mother of the accursed rather than the father reduces the chances of identifying the persons involved.

Lines 4-7. Here and again below where the parts of the body are listed there is a noticeable decency in the selection of parts. Comparison with other such lists shows that the juxtaposition of certain parts was perhaps a matter of traditional formula. With the grouping in line 5 may be compared that in a curse tablet which was found at Alexandria, the more significant because of the indebtedness of the Athenian curses to the Egyptian: τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν δυνάμιν . . . τὰ νεῦρα τὰ μέλη.<sup>4</sup> This enumeration is followed by a clause of purpose with ἵνα as in line 31 of our inscription. The Alexandrian tablet is dated to the third century after Christ. With the sequence τὰ νεῦρα τὰ ὀστέα compare *nervias ossu* in a curse inscription from Latium,<sup>5</sup> and with *πνεύμονας καρδίαν* on a tablet discovered at Megara<sup>6</sup> compare *cor, fulmones, intestinas* on another from Minturnae.<sup>7</sup> Why the word "nails," perhaps "finger-nails," should be inserted between the words for heart and liver, as in line 6 of our inscription, is a mystery unless the nails were conceived of as clawing the seats of passion and love. In general the original juxtaposition of parts of the body in these curses was obviously suggested by natural groupings. It will be observed that in our inscription the list of parts cursed begins and ends with the inclusive terms πάν (4) and πάντα (7).

Line 7. The repetition of the name Τυφώς with the particle καί occurs also in tablet I.<sup>8</sup>

Line 8. In this line which is for the most part beyond repair the author of the inscription may have called upon Typhon to avenge him. He seems on second thought to have erased his name and that of his mother.

Lines 10-11. The word for priesthood is certain but the restoration of the name Aphrodite depends largely upon the two initial letters of the name which are clear. Perhaps Philostrata is accused of malfeasance in her office as priestess of Aphrodite.

Line 12. This line has suffered both obliteration and erasure.

<sup>1</sup> Abel, *Orphica*, p. 124; *Lithica* 455. The name is as old as Homer (*Il.* 6, 22).

<sup>2</sup> *P.A.*, II, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 202; Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Andollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, p. 70, no. 38, lines 22 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191, no. 135 A, line 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249, no. 190, lines 9-10.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 45.



Line 14. The letters *ομορξ* may be the remnant of the participle *ομορξαμένη*.

Line 20. The author of the curse appeals to Typhon to chill Philostrata and cause her disappearance. She is to share the fate of her name which is inscribed upon the tablet. She is to disappear in the cold waters of the well on her way to Typhon. The sequence of the request here that first the offending lady be chilled and then disappear offers a possible interpretation of the phrase *φριουριγξ*<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ ἀφανισμῶ in tablet I. The first word may be a magical combination of the verbs for "shiver," *φρίσσω* and *ξηγέω*. The restoration of *πα* as *παράλυσον* is more likely than as *παταθραξ*.

Line 23. The magical names Iao Iakoubia, Io Erbeth Io Bolchoseth all occur in tablet I.

Line 27. The pronoun *ῥς* is attracted to the case of its noun.

Line 28. The form of the verb here is not clear. The restoration is made with the help of tablet I, 16.

Line 29. The previous articles explain the *τ* which the author of the tablet deletes. The second column of the inscription is for the most part repetition of the first.

Line 36. The juxtaposition of *καρδίαν* and *ῥπαρ* occurs also in an inscription from Megara.<sup>2</sup>

Line 48. The subjunctives here are certainly of purpose and dependent upon a missing *ἵνα* as is shown by comparison with lines 2-3.

This tablet is of considerable help in the reconstruction of some obliterated passages in tablet I. Both begin with an invocation of chthonic deity whose long magical titles are concatenations of the same syllables. Hence the missing initial part of this title in tablet I is to be filled in with syllables such as *βαρβαρ* while the missing final syllable is probably *η* thus giving both titles the same ending *-βαιη*.<sup>3</sup> The initial gap in the second line of tablet I is to be filled with *κραταιὲ Τυφών* of which only the *ν* survives. This tablet uses the form *Τυφών* whereas tablet II uses *Τυφῶς*. The formula of consignment which follows this name is in both cases the same. This coincidence raises the question whether in the gap in line three of tablet I we should restore *κατάψυξον*.

## TABLET III

1	. . . . εςσ[ε]βουμετοι[κ]αταγρᾱ
2	φονταχειοναπολε[σαντια]οτιουκε
3	κωναλλανανκαζ[ομεν]οςδιατους
4	κλεπταςτουτοποιεικαταγρᾱφωκεκατα
5	τιθεμεπλουτηνικεμοιρξκεπερξεφονη
6	κεερεινυσικεπαντικακωκατατιθεμεκεεκα[τη]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *φριουριγει*, Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77, no. 42, col. B 1.3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *φαβραιη* in a similar title in the Paris papyrus, Preisendanz, *P. G. M.*, I, p. 114, line 1260.

7 ξ[ρπ]ειτοφάγωκαταιιθεμεκεθεαῖς<sup>ξαιν</sup>κεθεοῖςκαταχθο  
 8 ν[ι]οῖςκερμειδιακονωκατατιθεμετουςκλέψ[αν]  
 9 ταςαποτουοικειδιουλιτοανφoδουτουκαλουμενου[ς]  
 10 κελενουκλέψανταωεκατηρανστρωματατριβ  
 11 [ω]ναμαλλωτονλευκονκενονκαναβον  
 12 τρου<sup>=====</sup>νσυνεργαλευκαχωματαλιν.τον  
 13 .αςτρειςλευκαςμαστιχηνπιπερινετικατα  
 14 τιθεμεκετουςσυνειδοταςτηκλεψεικαρν[ο]  
 15 υμ]ενουςκατατιθεμεδεκεολουςυποδεξαιδε  
 16 [ακ]ουεταενφερο μεναεκα τηκαταγραφ  
 17 ωωδεσποινα εκατηουρ ανιαεκατηκα  
 18 [τ]αχθονιαεκατητρ ιοδιτ ιεκατητριμο  
 19 ρφξεκατημον ο προ σω πεκαρδιοτα  
 20 δησ[ο]ντουςκλε ψανταστητον  
 21 [κ]λεψαντανταε ν φ ερομενα  
 22 αητεαυτου(ς)συν ειδο(ι)ταςκαταγρα  
 23 [φωε]κατη.βιουον . . . θα αλα  
 24 αλλααναιετα ν ις . . . εκ νων  
 25 τικτης ις ωαηαυτο υσηαυτογ  
 26 εηφα ωραιηατοςιςειξιςαυτοις  
 27 ετε αχαρκεογ κοψ η αυ  
 28 τους  
 29 . . . . .σβεβουμεδετονκαταγραφοντα  
 30 κετοναπο λεσαν τα

## TRANSCRIPTION

1 . . . . ες σ[έ]βου με τον [κ]αταγρά-  
 2 φοντα κέ τον απολέ[σαντα] ότι οὐκ ἔ-  
 3 κων ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαζ[όμεν]ος διὰ τοῦς  
 4 κλέπτας τοῦτο ποιεῖ. Καταγράφω κέ κατα-  
 5 τίθεμε Πλούτῳ κέ Μοῖρες κέ Περσεφόνη  
 6 κέ Ἑρεϊῦσι κέ παντὶ κακῷ, κατατίθεμε κέ Ἑκά[τη]  
 7 ξ[ρπ]ειτοφάγω, κατατίθεμε κέ θεαῖς κέ θεοῖς καταχθο-  
 8 ν[ι]οῖς κέ Ἑρμεί διακόνω, κατατίθεμε τοὺς κλέψ[αν]-  
 9 τας ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκειδίου λιτοανφόδου του καλουμένου[ς].  
 10 κελεύου κλέψαντα ὦ Ἑκάτη νᾶν στρώματα τρίβ-  
 11 [ω]να μαλλωτὸν λευχὸν κενὸν κᾶν κάβον  
 12 τρου<sup>=====</sup>ν συνεργὰ λευκὰ χῶματα λιν.τον  
 13 ας τρεῖς λευκὰς μαστίχην πίπεριν. Ἔτι κατα-  
 14 τίθεμε κέ τοὺς συνειδότας τῇ κλέψει κέ ἀρν[ο]-

15 *νμ]ένους. Καταγίθεμε δὲ καὶ δλους. Ὑπόδεξαι δὲ*  
 16 *[ἄκ]ουε τὰ ἐνφερόμενα, Ἑκάτη. Καταγράφ-*  
 17 *ω ὦ δέσποινα Ἑκάτη οὐρανία Ἑκάτη κα-*  
 18 *[τ]αχθονία Ἑκάτη τριοδίτι Ἑκάτη τριμο-*  
 19 *ρφε Ἑκάτη μονοπρόσωπε καρδιο[δαῖ]τα*  
 20 *ῥῆσον τοὺς κλέψαντας ἢ τὸν*  
 21 *[κ]λέψαντα(ν) τὰ ἐνφερόμενα*  
 22 *αἴτε αὐτοῦ[ς] συνειδό(ι)τας καταγρά-*  
 23 *[φω] Ἑκάτη... βιονον... θαλά*  
 24 *ἀλλὰ ἀναειτανίς... ἐκνήν*  
 25 *τικτησίς ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ αὐτὸν*  
 26 *ἐρηφάδωναιηροσιςενξείσεια αὐτοῖς*  
 27 *εἰσαχαρκεονθ κοψη α-*  
 28 *τούς.*  
 29 *..... σέβου μὲ δὲ τὸν καταγράφοντα*  
 30 *καὶ τὸν ἀπολέσαντα*

## TRANSLATION

1 ..... es, have regard for me the inscriber  
 2 and the loser because not willingly  
 3 but compelled by thieves  
 4 he does this. I inscribe and consign  
 5 to Pluto and Fates and Persephone  
 6 and to Furies and every evil one, I consign also to Hecate  
 7 eater of animals, I consign to underworld goddesses (the two goddesses) and gods  
 8 and to Hermes messenger, I consign the thieves who take their  
 9 name from the little house of a certain slum quarter.  
 10 Bid the thief, O Hecate, restore(?) three coverlets,  
 11 a fleecy white new cloak and even a corn measure(?)  
 12  
 13 three white poplars, a mastich-tree, a pepper-tree. Further  
 14 I consign also those who have knowledge of the theft and  
 15 deny that they know about it. And I consign all (of them). And receive,  
 16 hear this message, Hecate. I inscribe  
 17 oh mistress Hecate Urania, Hecate Katachthonia,  
 18 Hecate of the cross-roads, Hecate trimorphous,  
 19 Hecate of one person only, feaster upon hearts,  
 20 bind the thieves or  
 21 the thief who stole the things mentioned.  
 22 Bind(?) those who have knowledge of the theft.



23	I inscribe, Hecate . . .
24	
25	. . . . . either them or him
26	to them
27	
28	them
29	Have regard for me the inscriber and the loser.

## COMMENTARY

In this curse inscription (Fig. 2) the writer consigns to the underworld powers the thief or thieves who made off with some of his property. He is reluctant to address these powers but finds himself constrained to do so, thus placing at the door of the thieves any annoyance which the appeal may cause Hecate and her associates. He has no well defined suspicion as to the identity of the offenders for he mentions thief or thieves but he goes so far as to say that they get their name from a little house in a certain quarter of the town. Not only are the actual perpetrators of the deed delivered to the chthonic gods but those as well who, knowing something about the theft, deny that they have such knowledge.

This curse like numbers I and II is carefully written with only an occasional slip, and in one place there is an erasure. The use of  $\epsilon$  for  $\alpha$  and the omission of the iota of the dative may be mentioned. The tablet is very fragile along the edge. The upper part of the pronoun  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$  survives on a small fragment from the first line.<sup>1</sup>

Line 1. At the beginning the author invokes a deity whose name or more likely whose magical title ends in  $\epsilon\varsigma$ . This is probably Hecate since she is subsequently invoked under various titles. The verb  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$  occurs in another Attic curse.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 5-7. Of the deities here mentioned Hermes, Pluto, Persephone and Hecate are invoked in a curse inscription which was discovered in Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Moira and Erinyes are associated in the great magical papyrus at Paris.<sup>4</sup> The *epitheton*  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  seems to be the only possible restoration. Later (line 19) Hecate is invoked as the "feaster upon hearts." Towards the end of line 7 the author has inscribed  $\epsilon\alpha\nu$  under  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$  apparently having in mind as an afterthought Demeter and Persephone, the latter of whom has already been mentioned in line 5. The  $\epsilon$  is placed partly between the first two letters of  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$  to make its  $\theta$  serve double duty. The

<sup>1</sup> The inventory number of the tablet is IL 493. It was found in a well in Section IIθ at 6,NE on February 26, 1936; it was lying in a deposit dating from the first century A.D. It measures 0.23 × 0.177 m.

<sup>2</sup> Wunsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, no. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. 69, no. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Preisendanz, *P.M.G.*, I, p. 164, line 2862.

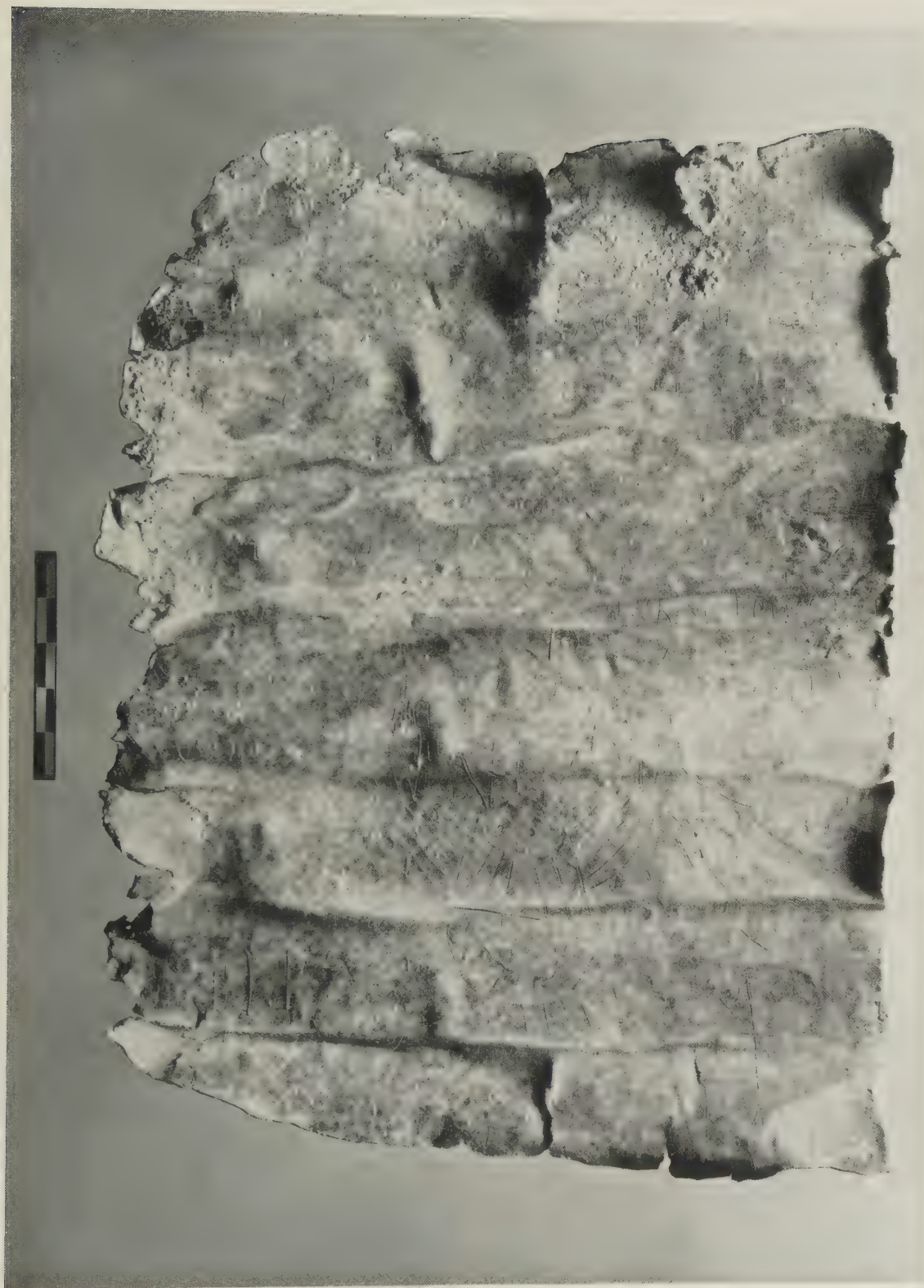


Fig. 2. Tablet III



curser consigns the offenders as entities and does not specify their various organs or faculties as is usual.

Line 9. *λιτοανφόδον* is quite clear and must be a compound of *λιτός* and *ἔμφοδον*.

Line 10. *νᾶν* presents a difficulty. It cannot mean "spin" and may be the final syllable of an infinitive part of which has been omitted.

Line 11. *κενόν* for *καιρόν*. The reading *κᾶν κάβον* is not satisfactory and the erasure following it increases the difficulty.

Line 12. What is the meaning of *συνεργὰ λευκὰ χρώματα*? Can it refer to earth of light color which was to be used in setting out the trees which are mentioned in the succeeding line?

Line 16. Starting with this line the author has sketched crudely the figure of a bat with outspread wings which reaches downward to line 29. The inscription continues across the figure but for the most part the letters are placed in the interstices of the wings and the body. The head of the bat is flanked by repetitions of the name Hecate each with an *epitheton* which is known from other sources. This juxtaposition shows that the bat is here closely associated with Hecate. Its name *νυκτερίς* "the bird of night" (*νύξ*) suggests that it is appropriate in the darkness of Hecate's abode. There is probably special purpose in its presence on the tablet which consigns transgressors to Hecate. The thieves are to go down the dark ways to Hades as did the slaughtered suitors of Odysseus who fluttered like bats behind Hermes.<sup>1</sup> In the great magical papyrus at Paris Nyx is given with Moira as a name of Hecate. The appearance of "illustrations" in the curse tablets was inspired by the similarly crude drawings in the approximately contemporary magical papyri of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> This obligation is confirmed by the appearance in the papyri of the lesser linear designs of the tablet,  and .<sup>3</sup>

Lines 18–19. The author seems to feel that in invoking the trimorphous Hecate he must mention the oneness of her person. Hence *τρίμορφε* is immediately followed by *μονοπρόσωπε*. The concluding appellative of the series *καρδιοτα* is an instance of haplography. The complete *epitheton* *καρδιοδαῖτε* occurs in the great papyrus at Paris<sup>4</sup> which, to judge from its several coincidences with the tablets from the Agora, seems to have served as a reference book for the Athenian who wished to curse an offender. The title "feaster upon hearts" which was applied to the underworld goddess may have been suggested by the importance of the heart in the scenes of judgment which appear in the Egyptian papyri.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, XXIV, 6. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* s. v. Fledermaus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Preisendanz, *P. M. G.*, II, pls. I, III.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. I, fig. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 164, line 2868.



Line 24. *αναειτα* may be Anahita or Artemis.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 29–30. The author ends as he began with an appeal to Hecate that she be considerate of him. It is but another version of the magical: Ἰλαθί μοι καλέοντι καὶ εὐμενέως ἐσάκουσον.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 2815 ff.: τοῦνεκά σε κληῖζουσιν Ἑκάτην, πολυνώνυμε, Μήνην, ἄερα μὲν τέμνονσαν ἔτε Ἀρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 2728–29, reading ἐς for εἰς in the last word so as to improve the hexameter.

G. W. ELDERKIN

## THE GARDEN OF HEPHAISTOS

An unexpected result of the Agora excavations has been the recovery of the setting of the "Theseion," now recognized as the temple of Hephaistos.<sup>1</sup> Its beauty can be most fully appreciated from the ancient level of vision—the floor of the market square. Its relation to the life of the Athenians is made vivid by the discovery of the shops of the metal-workers scattered over the hill on which stands the temple of their patron god. And finally, even the vanished temple-close can be restored, the garden of Hephaistos.

This garden survives only in rows of cuttings in the bedrock running parallel to the temple. At first their significance escaped the excavators but when pots appeared in hole after hole, the very duplicates of modern flower pots, only one interpretation was open to even the most incredulous. Yet when we look at the naked rock and gaping holes, it seems almost impossible to replant it, even in imagination.

### THE EXCAVATIONS

Figures 1–2 show the temple of Hephaistos, its precinct and its surroundings restored so far as is permitted by our knowledge to the spring of 1937.<sup>2</sup> The date of the temple need not concern us. When the building was finished, earth must have been thrown in to cover the foundations up to the euthynteria. At first this earth was probably merely banked irregularly without a retaining wall. The temenos would then have appeared exactly as it did from the years 1890–1930 of our era.<sup>3</sup> A little of this packed earth ramp survives on the east and west slopes of Kolonos Agoraios. A stairway, later covered by the precinct wall, can be traced at the southwestern corner. Pottery in the cutting for the

<sup>1</sup> For the Hephaisteion, Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 365 ff.; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 65.

In making this study, I have been assisted by many archaeologists and horticulturists to whom I am most grateful. I must name especially Professor Politis of the University of Athens and Professors Anagnostopoulos and Krimba of the Agricultural School, who generously put their knowledge and their laboratories at my disposal. The photographs are by H. Wagner and the drawings by John Travlos. The topography and history of the area I owe to my husband whose reports on further details will appear in a later number of *Hesperia*.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 2 gives the actual state of the Hephaisteion precinct including details that bear no relation to the garden. The graves marked by double crosses range from Sub-Mycenaean to Geometric times; those marked by single crosses are Byzantine. The oval cutting at the southwestern corner below the letter B is a pit for casting bronze statues; the circle below A is a small furnace. The cutting in bedrock that runs under the northwest corner of the Hephaisteion is obscure. Below the letter C on the north side is a cistern. The shaded walls and pithos cuttings are Byzantine.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially the photographs in Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, pl. I; Fig. p. 8.

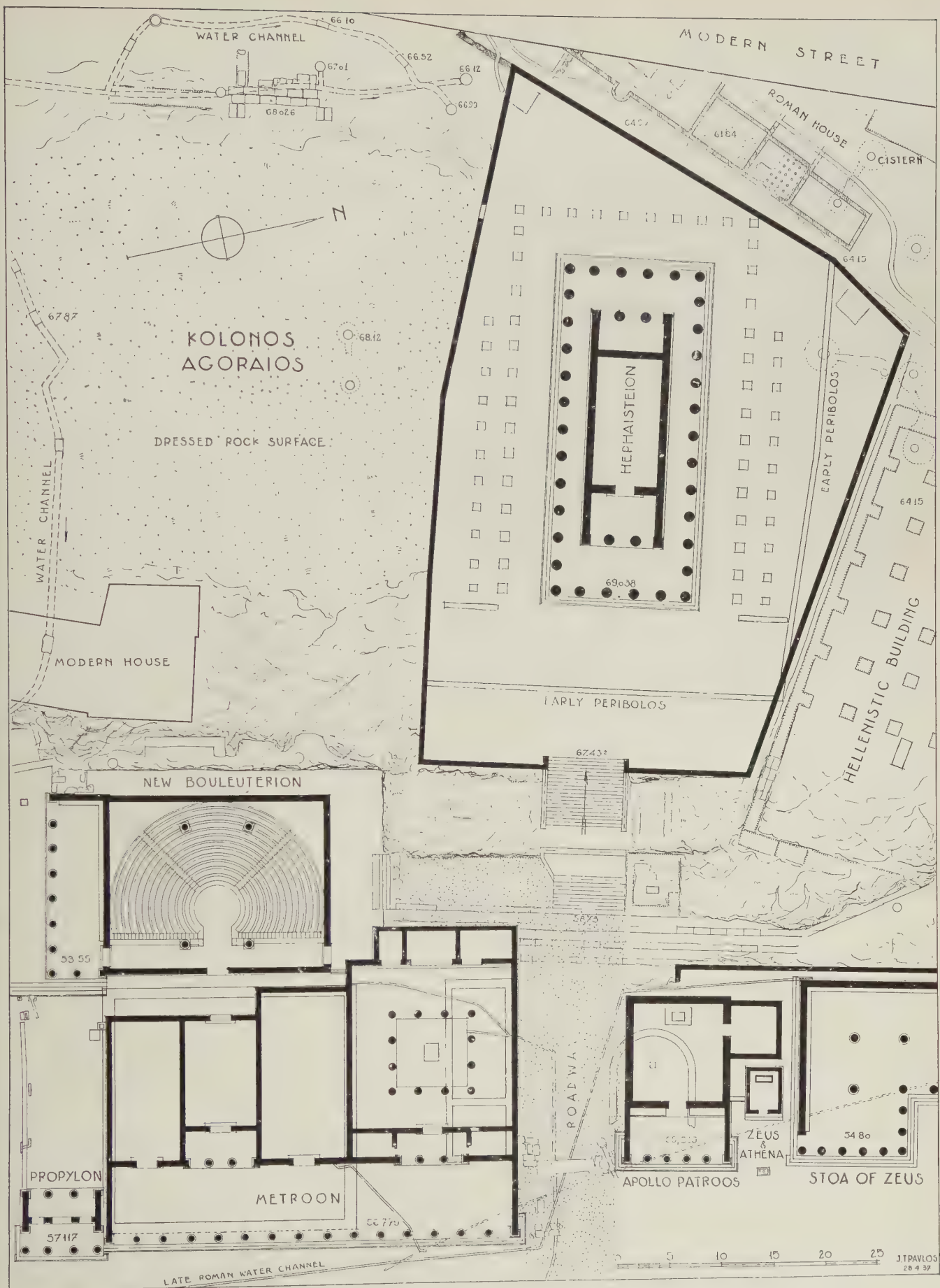


Fig. 1. Hephaisteion Precinct and Surroundings, Restored Plan



stair suggests for it a date from the turn of the fifth into the fourth century B.C. The first formal enclosure was of irregular shape extending beyond the temple about eight to ten metres on each side. It is traceable by cuttings and by the position of the drains that begin at the western corners. It is actually represented by a few blocks of conglomerate still *in situ* near the southwestern angle. The western wall of this enclosure was extended southward to retain an earth filling on the hill-slope. The curious orientation of this western side was dictated by the line of the road to the Pnyx. The northern limit of the temenos is indicated by slight traces of its wall beddings. The eastern side of the first enclosure consisted of a light terrace wall set in a shallow bedding. A ramp of earth led informally down to the market square. This ramp shows two distinct surfaces. The lower, evidently that which gathered subsequent to the building of the temple, produced pottery of the early fourth century B.C. On it lay another stratum of earth and pottery of the early third century. Other evidence indicates that at this period the top of Kolonos Agoraios, originally probably a steep and rugged hill, was dressed down to form a level area. This process involved trimming down the mouths of a double cistern outside the precinct to the south, and the chambers, fallen into disuse, were consequently filled. This cistern yielded a bronze shield, taken by the Athenians from the Lacedaemonians;<sup>1</sup> with it was found a quantity of pottery and of lamps all dating from the late fourth and early third centuries B.C.<sup>2</sup> The twenty-one coins offer a check to this dating: of these, three are to be placed in the last half of the fourth century B.C. and three in the interval 307–283 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Deposits of exactly this same period were also found in the cistern over which the northern precinct wall was set<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1). Though this period seems late for the construction of the temple precinct enclosure, it must be considered as established upon this evidence.

When the double cistern to the south of the temple went out of use, a new water supply was brought in an underground channel from the direction of the Pnyx to a draw-basin conveniently placed outside the southwestern corner of the precinct (Fig. 1). No traces of a house to be connected with this supply have survived. Presumably it served the priest or the temple garden. Nor, indeed, were there ever any other dwellings along the plateau, although abundant wells and cisterns on the east, south and west slopes attest the popularity of the region for private houses and metal-workers' establishments. But the central area must have been left open under sacred jurisdiction,<sup>5</sup> possibly to accommodate the crowds that came to the festival of the Hephaisteia.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 347–348; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 313 ff., Group A. The classification of lamps throughout this article follows that of Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, *The Terracotta Lamps*.

<sup>3</sup> For the identification and dating of the coins mentioned in the article I am indebted to Mrs. Shear.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 396, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly this area belonged to the Eurysakeion, a sanctuary for which we have evidence in the neighborhood. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> G. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 212 ff.; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 84 (421 B.C.) gives orders for the festival at which two hundred Athenian youths were required to lift the sacrificial animals on the altar.

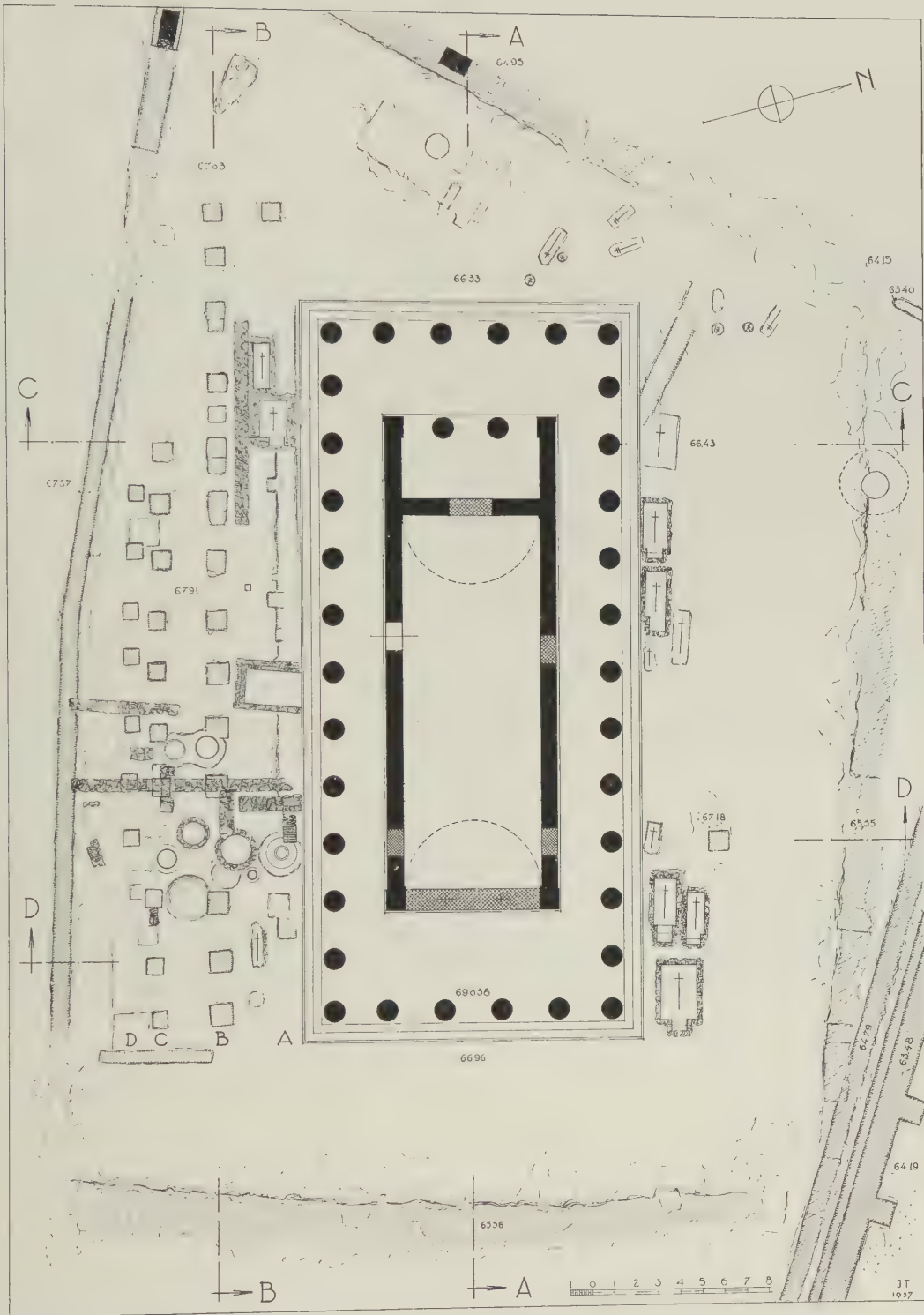


Fig. 2. Plan of the Hephaisteion. Precinct. Actual State

Some time not long after this construction of the peribolos wall in the early third century B.C., a large triple-aisled building was set into the northern shoulder of the hill (Fig. 1). Though the peribolos wall may have been extended to join the retaining wall back of this building, no certain bedding has yet been observed. The restoration of the line on Fig. 1 is hypothetical. The eastern end of the enclosure must have remained as it was first built until it was later extended eastward to join the monumental stairway.<sup>1</sup> Set on



Fig. 3. Area Southwest of the Temple seen from its Roof. Arrow points to later Draw-shaft

the axis of the thoroughfare between the Temple of Apollo and the Metroon (Fig. 1), this stairway led up to a terrace across the front of the Hephaisteion. It was built, to judge from pottery found beneath it, not earlier than the mid-first century A.D. During this early Roman period foundations of obscure purpose were erected south of the temple on the western edge of the plateau; these forced the diversion of the old water-channel around them to a new draw-shaft. Later still, some time in the early second century A.D., a sizable private house, possibly for the priest of Hephaistos, was built just to the west of

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 221.



the peribolos wall (Fig. 1). The precinct itself underwent no significant change until its final desolation in late Roman times. Possibly as early as the fourth century A.D. it was transformed under Christian auspices. The temple was converted into the church of St. George by setting an apse in the eastern end and by piercing the walls with new doors (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup>

Nearby sprang up the buildings and store-houses of the monastery that flourished here chiefly from the tenth to the late twelfth centuries A.D. Straggling walls, a cistern, and graves clustered close to the church (Fig. 2), storage jars for olives, grain and oil intruded



Fig. 4. The East End of the Area to the South of the Hephaisteion as seen from its Roof

into the area that had been once garden, confusing the plan as it appears today (Figs. 4-5). After the invasion of the Franks and of the Turks, the whole area was deserted until the visits of travellers and of tourists. And finally the excavators, having laid bare traces of the garden, are planning to replant it and to restore so far as possible a fifth century temple to its original appearance.

Looking more closely at details within the temenos enclosure (Fig. 2), we cannot detect any trace of an altar bedding or of anything else pertaining to the cult. Indeed the

<sup>1</sup> The plan of the temple given on Fig. 2 is that of its actual state as a Museum in 1936. The roof, as indicated, is a barrel-vault. The apse had been removed and a wall substituted. In the spring of 1937, the Greek archaeological authorities are removing this wall and restoring two columns in the pronaos. Cf. A. Orlandos, *Archeion*, II, 1936, pp. 207 ff.



Fig. 5. The West End of the South Area, as seen from the Roof of the Hephaisteion



Only the most fortunate of chances preserved this plan. A glance at sections (Fig. 6) taken through the temple reveals how the steep sides of Kolonos Agoraios presented a problem to the temple architect; for the original slope was so great that on the north he was forced to bed the temple several courses deep. On the south, however, he had to cut down the hill-top in order to bring the rock even so low as the level of the euthynteria.

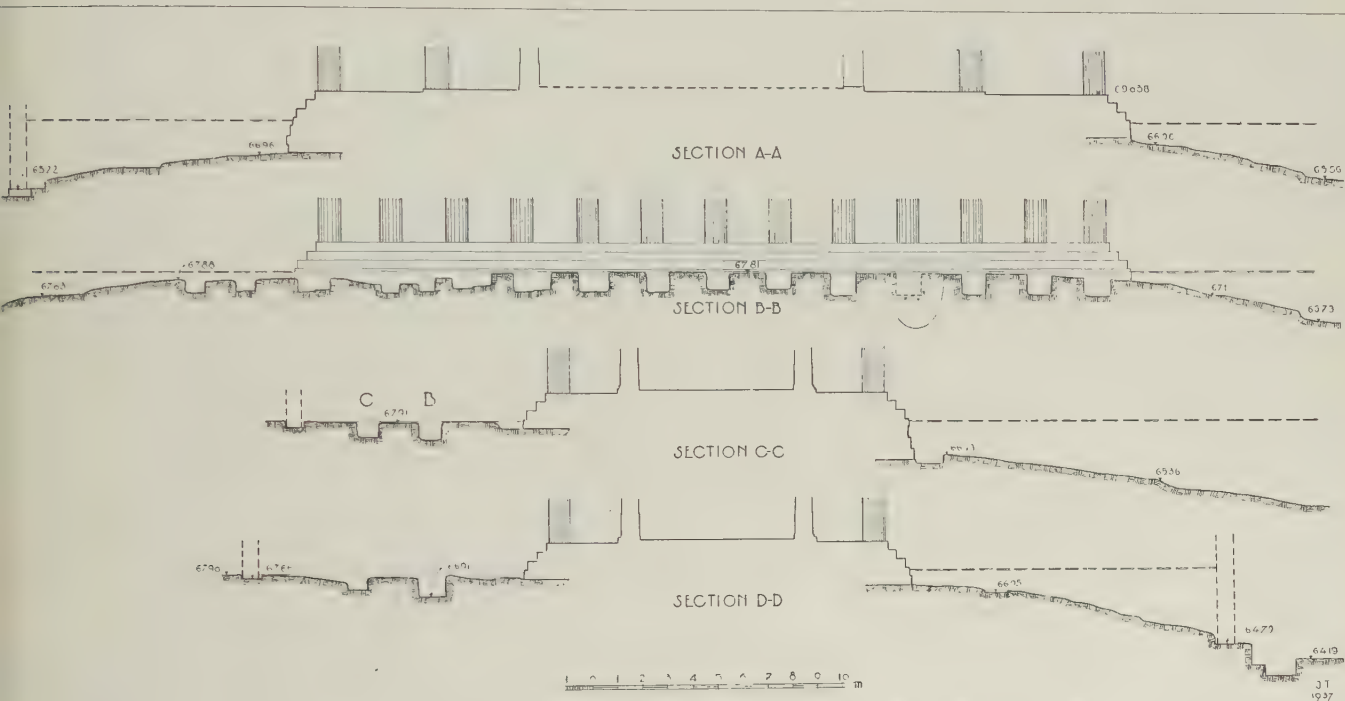


Fig. 6. Sections through the Hephaisteion

Thus it followed that planting along the south side required sizable holes in the bedrock to retain the requisite earth. Despite the confusing Byzantine intrusions, the disposition of these cuttings is clear (Figs. 2, 4-5). Two main rows catch the eye (Fig. 2, B, C), running parallel to the temple. Of these Row B extends westward for two cuttings beyond the temple, in order evidently to turn northward along the western end. The cuttings can be traced no farther to the north on account of the fall in bedrock just at this point. Again, on the northern side, the cuttings for plants would have been set in the earth filling, long since washed away. But just where the line coincides with the highest part of bedrock here on the north, the bottom of one cutting is preserved, opposite the fourth column from the east (Figs. 2, 6, D-D). The size and depth are identical with those of the cuttings of this row on the south. Thus it is established that the planting extended



around three sides of the temple. Across the front of the temple, although bedrock at the southeast corner rises high enough to be decisive, no cutting exists. Here a shallow channel, 0.45 m. wide ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  Greek feet)<sup>1</sup> marks the limit of the southern planting. The front of the temple would naturally be left open to give easy access and a clear façade to the Agora.

Along the south side, in addition to the two main rows of cuttings are two others, irregularly placed and obviously subordinate. For reference all the rows are lettered from the temple outward: A, B, C, D (Fig. 2). The individual holes are numbered according to the column opposite which they fall, counting from the east.

Row A includes only three certain cuttings in addition to Cutting A 15 which is evidently really the westward extension of Row B. Its holes are irregularly spaced; their width is 0.65 m. (2 Greek feet), their depth 0.30 m. (1 Greek foot).

Row B gives the essential line. It alone can turn the northwestern corner. Indeed, the corner cutting falls so close to the wall that the spacing would seem to have been based on this limitation. Row B passes through the narrowest section of the south side of the peribolos approximately down the centre.

The cuttings of Row B are larger than those of the other rows. From cuttings 1-9 they average 0.90 m. square (3 Greek feet) and from cuttings 10-15, 0.75 m. square ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  Greek feet). Their depth varies from 0.65 m. 0.90 m. (2-3 Greek feet). Their sides are roughly perpendicular. Except for the enlargement of cuttings 9, 10, 11, 11*a*, 13, the holes were set carefully opposite the columns. Row B alone produced flower pots, which were found as they were placed, in the centres of the holes, their lips at a depth of *ca.* 0.50 m. below the ancient ground level.

Row C is less regular. It runs parallel to Row B at an interval equal to an intercolumniation, which gives a system of planting on squares. The cuttings were set only approximately opposite each column. They stop at the eleventh column in order to allow the precinct wall to swing northward. The cuttings measure, like those of the smaller set in Row B, *ca.* 0.80 0.75 m. square ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  Greek feet) and they are markedly shallower, on the average 0.60 m. (2 Greek feet).

Row D is most irregular. The holes are badly dug, rough at the sides and very uneven at the bottom. They are *ca.* 0.75 m. square ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  Greek feet), 0.45 m. deep ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  Greek feet).

From the plan alone, it might reasonably be argued that Row B is the original row, that Row C is supplementary to it, and Rows A and D are later.

#### THE FLOWER POTS

The flower pots were found exclusively in Row B, ten being nearly complete. Fragments were also found in Cutting A 15, which, as has been noted, is really the north-

<sup>1</sup> Dimensions will be given approximately in Greek feet (Attic foot of 0.2957 m.) so that comparison can easily be made with literary statements of measurements. The cuttings are too ragged to permit of accurate measurement.

ward extension of Row B. Three small fragments from Cutting C 11 are evidently only strays brought in with the abundant pot-sherds that were found in the hole.

The flower pots are all, with one exception, similar in type and in fabric. The exception, B 5 *a*,<sup>1</sup> differs sufficiently in shape and in fabric from the other examples to suggest that it differs also in date. Since it was found in the same hole with a more complete pot, B 5 *b*, it would seem to be among the earlier specimens.

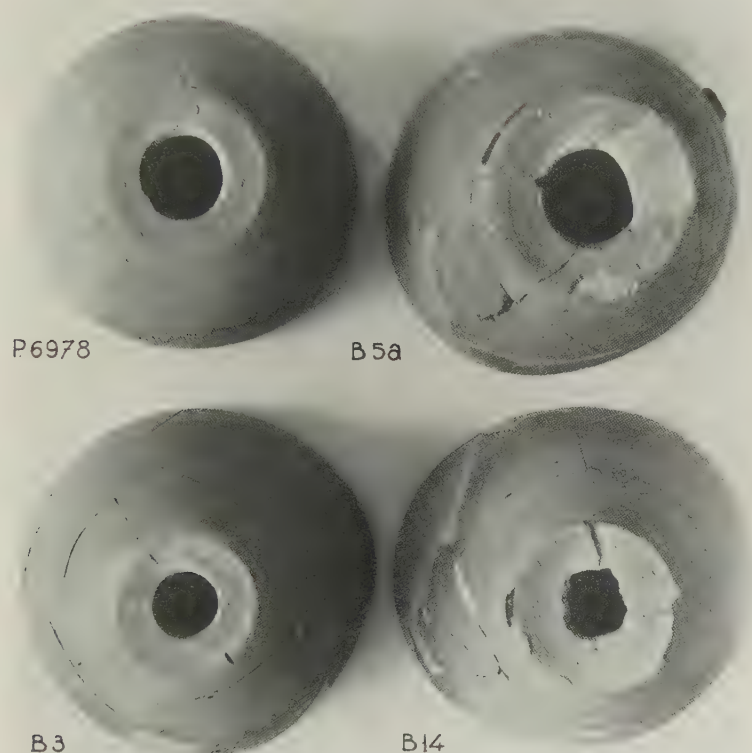


Fig. 7. The Bottoms of Flower Pots

Two groups may be distinguished among the remaining pots. Group A includes B 2, 3, 7, 10 *a*, 12, which are well-made, of fairly rounded shape. The height varies from 0.17–0.185 m., the diameter of the rim from 0.23–0.25 m. The bottoms are neatly cut so that the pots can stand alone; the holes in the bottom are larger than those of modern flower pots (Fig. 7). Group B includes B 5 *b*, 10 *b*, 11, 14. These are all less well-made, more flaring in shape and taller than those of Class A, varying from 0.182–0.21 m. The

<sup>1</sup> Flower pots will be given the numbers of the cuttings in which they were found; *a* refers to the lower, or earlier of two pots when two were found together, *b* to the upper or later.

diameter averages 0.24 m. They were roughly cut off the wheel with a string. The holes in the bottom are smaller than those of Group A.

One other flower pot has been found in the Agora (P 6978, Fig. 10), far from our garden, 150 m. to the south of the Stoa of Attalos. It stood complete, though cracked, in one layer of earth that lay flush with its lip; it was covered by another deposit. The shape is not unlike that of the flower pots from our garden but the fabric is somewhat different.

The fabric of all the pots is thin and hard-baked; wheel-marks show as grooves. The lip

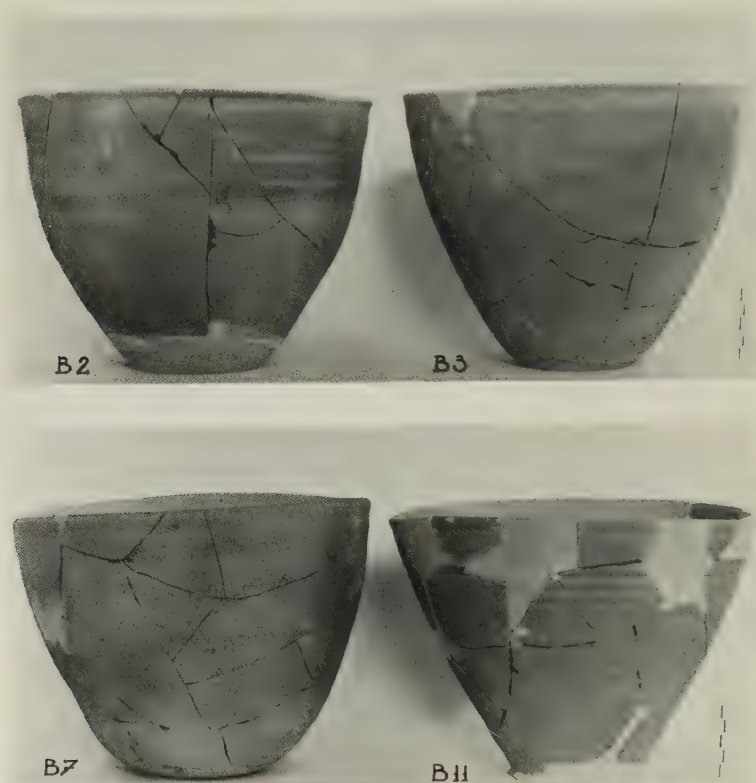


Fig. 8. Flower Pots

is sometimes thickened indiscriminately toward the inside or outside. A thin clay slip covers the surface. The firing gave a variety of colors to the slip, which vary from red to buff to bluish-gray. The core usually burned gray.

A brief catalogue follows. The numbers in parenthesis are those of the Agora Inventory.

**A 15** (P 8702)

Ten small fragments, one from the rim, one from the base.

**B 2** (P 6984) Fig. 8

H. 0.185 m., diam. at rim, 0.234 m., diam. of hole, 0.03 m. Fragments missing from the side. The hole was later deliberately enlarged. The bottom is finished to stand. Class A.



**B 3** (P 7261) Figs. 7-8

H. 0.187 m., diam. 0.22 m., diam. of hole, 0.031 m. Fragments missing from sides. The bottom is neatly finished. Class A, almost identical with B 2.

**B 5 a** (P 7052) Figs. 7, 9

H. 0.186 m., diam. 0.234 m., diam. of hole, 0.052 m. Much of one side missing. Brownish core, brownish gray slip. The sides are thick; the bottom finished to stand.

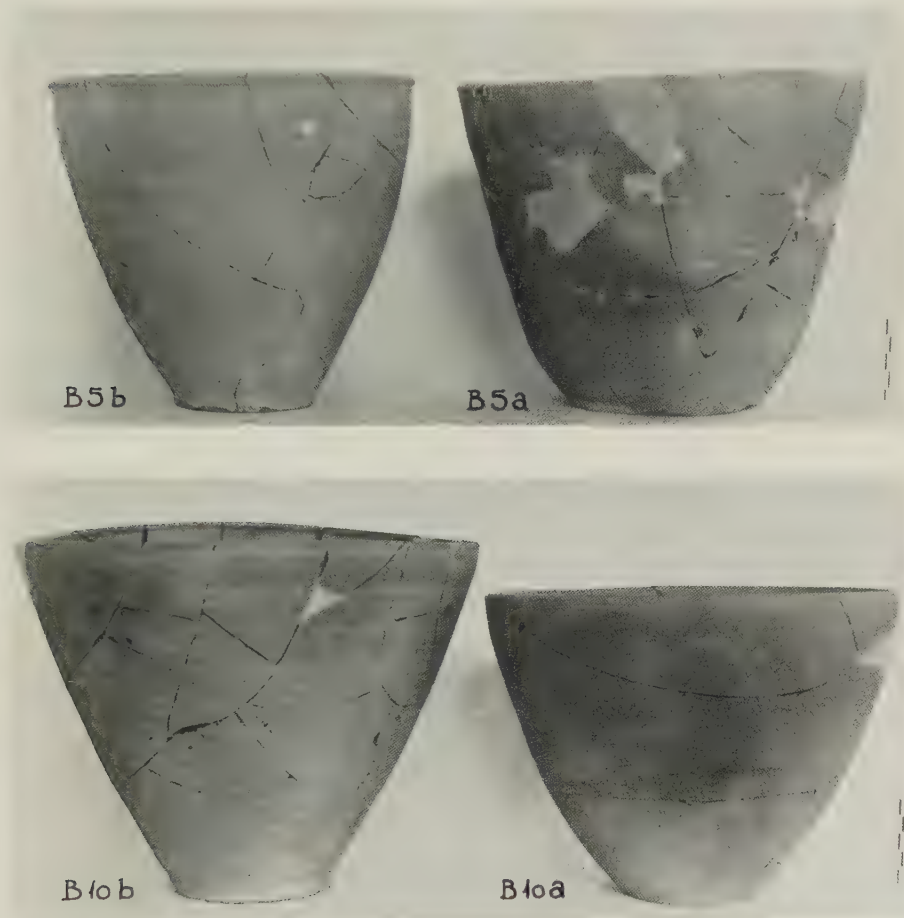


Fig. 9. Flower Pots

**B 5 b** (P 7051) Fig. 9

H. 0.19 m., diam. 0.21 m., diam. of hole, 0.031 m. One small piece missing. Bottom roughly finished, irregular hole. Class B.

**B 7** (P 7099) Fig. 8

H. 0.18 m., diam. estimated, 0.25 m. Part of the upper side missing. The bottom was not cut, but was later trimmed to stand. The hole was later enlarged. Class A.

**B 10 a** (P 7053) Fig. 9

H. 0.17 m., diam. 0.23 m., diam. of hole, 0.029 m. A few bits are missing. Rounded shape, bottom cut off with an instrument, to stand. Class A.

**B 10 b** (P 6983) Fig. 9

H. 0.21 m., max. width at rim, 0.259 m., diam. of hole, 0.025 m. Bottom roughly cut off with a cord and the hole poked carelessly through. Class B.

**B 11** (P 7098) Fig. 8

H. *ca.* 0.182 m., diam. 0.234 m. Much missing from the upper part, bottom broken away. The bottom was of the rough type. Class B.

**B 12** (P 7248)

Diam. est., 0.23 m. Fragmentary. The lower part and a portion of the rim preserved. The hole in the bottom was enlarged later with a pointed instrument; bottom finished to stand. Buff clay. Class A.

**B 14** (P 7054) Figs. 7, 10

H. 0.188 m., diam. 0.238 m. Part of rim missing. Bottom roughly cut off. The hole was enlarged later with a pointed instrument. Class B.



Fig. 10. Flower Pots

**C 11** (P 8704)

No dimensions preserved. Three fragments, one from the rim.

(P 6978) Figs. 7, 10

H. 0.16 m., diam. 0.215 m. Bottom cut off evenly. Wheel-run ridges prominent. Gritty, slightly micaceous clay, bright red in color.

Similar ancient flower pots are otherwise almost unknown. Minoan examples were gaily decorated and placed at the windows and light wells of the palace at Knossos.<sup>1</sup> An interesting fourth century specimen was found at Olynthos (Fig. 11).<sup>2</sup> Its curious shape, small size, and smooth exterior indicate that it also belongs in the ornamental class. Pots found at Pompeii seem to resemble ours more closely. They too are flaring in shape, but are

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 277, figs. 186, 187.

<sup>2</sup> Olynthos Inv. 22. H. 0.084 m., diam. 0.122 m. Unglazed. I am indebted to Dr. D. M. Robinson for permission to include this piece.

pierced not only in the bottom but also on the side one-third of the way up. They were found buried deep below the contemporary ground level.<sup>1</sup>

The flower pot found near the Stoa of Attalos (P 6978) offers a fixed point in chronology. Both the earth in which it was set and that which covered it contained eastern and western Terra Sigillata and other wares assignable to the reign of Augustus. The color, the clay, and the fabric are identical with those of a certain class of early Roman unguentaria. The flower pots from the garden, moreover, also find close parallels for their fabric in other classes of the bulbous type of unguentarium that was common at about the turn of the era. The pots themselves are susceptible of no more precise dating.



Fig. 11. Flower Pot from Olynthos

#### EVIDENCE FOR DATING

The fragments of pottery yielded by the earth in which the plants grew should also help us in dating the garden. Fig. 12 shows how Byzantine deposits overlay the rock above it. It is surprising, therefore, that in at least fourteen cuttings the original earth filling was undisturbed and was almost intact in several others. When, moreover, the flower pot was found in the condition in which it was set in the ground, the sherds in the earth were consistently late Hellenistic. Where the pots were found in fragmentary condition, late Roman or Byzantine sherds appeared in the earth around them.

The ancient pottery from the cuttings for the plants shows only two periods: latest Hellenistic and late Roman. Since the Roman belongs to the time after the Herulian sack of Athens in 267 A.D., it indicates not a period of planting but one of devastation. In

<sup>1</sup> R. Paribeni, *Not. Scavi*, 1902, p. 567. I am most grateful to Cav. Ing. L. Iacono of the Naples Museum for writing me about the Italian examples and giving me references. He mentions flower pots from Pompeii and others from Ponza, but says that none has so far been found in Herculaneum. His article, *Osservazioni sui Viridarii di Pompeii*, 1910, is deposited unpublished in the library of the Naples Museum.



only eight holes of the two main rows was it found to any significant depth and then usually the intrusive cutting was clear. It penetrated the shallow cuttings of Rows A and D in far more instances, but even there sufficient late Hellenistic or early Roman sherds survived to suggest that they formed the first filling. The coins from Rows A and D were all Greek.

The pottery from Rows B and C was abundant. The sherds in Row B were small and scanty, as befits a well-sifted garden bed. Considerable early Hellenistic and even pre-Hellenistic pottery appeared, particularly in Cuttings B 5, 7, 10, 11 *a*, 14, 15, and in A 15. It seems possible that some of these sherds survived from an early planting. The latest sherds must indicate the date of the last planting. For Row B this is the very latest Hellenistic period. Black glaze was degenerate. When this glaze was applied only over the upper part of the exterior surface of saucers the date must be late in the first century B.C. Megarian bowls with long petals, much incised West Slope ware, Gray ware, and late Hellenistic unguentaria were abundant. The very latest pieces (from Cutting B 12), a bit of eastern Terra Sigillata and a rouletted fragment, set the date of the filling down somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era. The lamp fragments consist of one of Type VII and three of Type XVIII of the late second century B.C. Since these sherds are all too small and insignificant to repay illustration, parallels are offered the reader in the publication of Group E from the Agora.<sup>1</sup> The coins support this dating: two are of Athens of the third century B.C., two of New Style, one of the Delian cleruchy after 166 B.C.

In Row C the pottery had the same late Hellenistic character as that in Row B. In several cuttings the pottery was extremely abundant, often including more than a hundred sherds and thus offering much material for study. Most of it finds parallels with that from the same Group E just mentioned but even later wares appear. A "Delian" bowl, "Blister Ware," very late stamped ware, and bits of eastern and western Terra Sigillata may be noted. Eleven fragments from Type XVIII lamps may be dated like those from Group E, but another is unglazed and the base and the shape find parallels only with the most degenerate forms of that class that are found in Augustan contexts. The coins from Row C do not help us, for four are of Greek fabric, but illegible, and one is of Athens of the third century B.C.

The first planting of Row B, then, seems to be earlier than that of the rest of the rows; the last planting of Row B is contemporary with or very little earlier than that of Row C; Row C was filled with earth some time during the reign of Augustus, and Rows A and D, though they probably originated then, were later disturbed.

The precise chronology is not clear. The logical occasion of the first planting seems to have been the elaboration of the sanctuary by the formal enclosure and the introduction of the running-water system in the early third century B.C. This was an active period for public building. It has been suggested for the construction of the Porch and Propylaia of the New Bouleuterion and for some important modification to the Tholos.<sup>2</sup> It is also the

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392 ff. Mr. A. W. Parsons gave me the benefit of his knowledge of the Roman pottery, most of which can be studied only in the unpublished Agora material.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 167.

date of the first inventory of the priests of Asklepios and of expenditures for the gods and for their festivals.<sup>1</sup> One of these festivals, the Chalkeia, was in the hands of the metal-workers. In its earlier stages, it is recorded as in honor of Athena, in its later period, Hephaistos is also mentioned. It seems not unreasonable to connect this festival with the temple of Athena and of Hephaistos which the metal-workers erected in the heart of their colony. Nor does it seem impossible to associate the beautification of the sanctuary and hill-top with this revival of Athenian attention to their gods.<sup>2</sup>

As has been noted, however, the chief period of the garden falls considerably later. History offers an explanation of this renovation of the temple garden in the late first century B.C. The excavations have revealed that the large Hellenistic building along the north side of the precinct and even the terrace wall behind it were rebuilt with concrete at no distant date. Their destruction can be accounted for only by the visit of Sulla to Athens, March 1, 86 B.C.<sup>3</sup> His soldiers, after making a breach in the wall just west of this region, committed every sort of violence to the citizens and to their buildings. No doubt Hephaistos was forced to contribute "loans" from the temple treasure to those soldiers. Any produce of his garden, had it escaped the needy citizens during the siege, would also have been confiscated by the army that had already cut trees in the Lyceum and at the Academy.

After this desolation, Athens took more than two decades in which to recover.<sup>4</sup> Then in the Agora region began enlarging, paving, and other planting.<sup>5</sup> On the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios, as we have noted, a stairway from the market-square to the temple was among the improvements. The garden, in its greatest extent, clearly belongs to this program. Its neat greenery must have been appreciated by the tourists of this period. But its life could not have been long. The undisturbed condition of the flower pots implies that they are the representatives of the last systematic planting. Some time after the reign of Nero, but still in the first century A.D., the new branch of the water-system went out of use.<sup>6</sup> Very possibly for lack of water the garden died. Or possibly plants with shallow roots or small flowers were substituted to keep the place green till the coming of the barbarians and of the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 1911, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 35 ff., considers that the connection, mentioned in late times, of Hephaistos with the festival of the Chalkeia is not significant, for Athena (called Ergane and also Archegetis in this relation) was the chief deity. Is it not possible, however, that this Athena is she who shared both the temple with Hephaistos and his festival, the Hephaisteia? Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 84 (421/0 B.C.) which is usually interpreted as referring to the goddess in our temple. Surely to this Athena and Hephaistos would a festival of the bronze-workers be most suitably dedicated. Actually, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674, 16 (277/6 B.C.) records a sum paid in connection with the Chalkeia just at the time when we trace expenditures on our sanctuary.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.*, pp. 450 ff. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, XLV, 1930, col. 89 for the burning of the Pompeion at the Dipylon.

<sup>4</sup> Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.*, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 409.

<sup>6</sup> A coin of Nero was found beneath the new branch of the water-system, yet the latest pottery that filled its man-holes dates in the first century A.D. Mr. Rodney Young informs me that the main branch stayed open into the first half of the second century A.D.

## HORTICULTURE

In order to restore the planting, we must face the final and essential question: what grew in this garden? It is tempting to picture the formal decorative planting with which present taste sets off architecture. But present taste must not dictate schemes or plants that were unknown to the temple gardeners. We must, therefore, first consider ancient fashions in gardening and then ancient horticultural usage before we attempt to choose our plants.

A surprising amount of information about ancient horticulture has survived.<sup>1</sup> The earliest garden so far excavated surrounded a festival hall at Assur; it is datable to the early eighth century B.C.<sup>2</sup> Over two hundred cuttings were found, not unlike ours, but circular in shape and joined by irrigation canals. The excavators restore rows on rows of small fruit trees, possibly pomegranates, arranged with what must have been an impressive formality. Possibly this tradition of the formal garden was taken over by the Persians to astonish the Greeks of the late fifth century B.C. Lysander, on a visit to the garden of the Persian king, expresses his admiration of its geometry even more than of its horticulture (Xenophon, *Oec.*, IV, 21 f.).

ὥς καλὰ μὲν τὰ δένδρα εἶη, δι' ἴσου δὲ [τὰ] πεφυτευμένα, ὀρθοὶ δὲ οἱ στίχοι τῶν δένδρων, εὐγώνια δὲ πάντα καλῶς εἶη, . . . εἶπεν . . . πάντα μὲν ταῦτα θαυμάζω ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἔγαμαι τοῦ καταμειρήσαντός σοι καὶ διατάξαντος ἕκαστα τοῦτων.

When the king claimed all this as his own work, Lysander, looking at his beautiful perfumed robes, at the splendor of his necklaces and bracelets, was incredulous. The king assured him that he never sat down to a meal without having first sweated at some task of war or of horticulture.

By Hellenistic times formal gardens had become popular and works entitled *κηπουρικά* instructed the gardener.<sup>3</sup> Certain cities were famous for their gardens, chiefly in Sicily and in the East, but also in Greece, notably Thebes, Kleonai, and Sikyon. Private individuals also had their gardens: that of Epikouros was willed to the city of Athens, that of Theophrastos became the *περίπατος* of the Peripatetics. Attalos III, that eccentric Perga-

<sup>1</sup> Three general articles give abundant information on the garden in antiquity: Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v. Hortus* (Lafaye), 1899; Marie Gothein, "Der griechische Garten," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, 100-144. She has also done a history of gardens in several volumes that was not available to me. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, *s. v. Gartenbau* (Olek), 1912. Giuseppe Spano is preparing an extensive work on ancient gardens.

<sup>2</sup> Andrac, *Mitt. der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 33, June, 1907, pp. 17 ff. 30 ff., Figs. 7-12. Cf. H. Thiersch, *Pharos*, 1909, p. 220 whose suggestion that the holes were cut for awning posts is invalidated by the irrigation arrangements. I owe these references to Prof. Valentin Müller.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, Int. Bk. XIX. Cf. (Plato) *Minos* 316 e τὰ περὶ κήπων ἐργασίας συγγράμματα καὶ νόμιμα. Schmid, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, VII, 1, p. 706 dates this dialogue in the fourth century B.C.

For gardens in Attica, see P.-W., *Realenc.*, *s. v. Gartenbau*, cols. 783 ff. Though many private gardens are mentioned in Aristophanes and the other comic dramatists, Demosthenes, etc., they have not appeared in the excavations of Delos, Priene, and so forth.



mene prince, cultivated his own garden, but unlike that of the Persian, his garden produced only a harvest of poisons and drugs.<sup>1</sup>

This craze for horticulture was brought back to Rome by the soldiers from their eastern campaigns. Soon the moralists of Italy began to decry the luxurious taste.<sup>2</sup> Hothouses were developed to acclimatize importations.<sup>3</sup> Columella refers to the art of gardening as once neglected but now (in the reign of Nero) much honored.<sup>4</sup> We read of these gardens in the works of Pliny and of his contemporaries: vast estates laid out in complicated mathematical patterns. Varro recommends a rectilinear system of planting (I, VII, 3):

"Praeterea quae arbores in ordinem satae sunt, eas aequabiliter ex omnibus partibus sol ac luna coquunt. Quo fit ut uvae et oleae plures nascantur et ut celerius coquantur."

This order is suggested so that the trees may be equally warmed by the sun and moon, thus producing more and earlier grapes and olives.

Vergil (*Georgics*, II, 285 ff.) lays out his paths in lines as straight as those of companies in battle, but not purely for spiritual comfort:

"Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem,  
Sed quia non aliter viris dabit omnibus aequas  
Terra neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami."

These schematic gardens set off the "nemora tonsilia," that is, the shrubs which were cut into fantastic shapes—geometric or animal, or sufficiently ambitious as to render a hunt or a naval battle or to spell the name of the artist or of the owner. This rococo invention is attributed to one Matius, a friend of Augustus.<sup>5</sup> In the time of Augustus and a little later, we note painted frescoes, as at the House of Livia, and literary compositions, as Vergil's *Georgics*, which contain something of ornamental gardens as well as of agriculture. Poetry retains for us the fragrance and charm of these gardens which were contemporary with that of Hephaistos (*Georgics*, IV, 116 ff., especially 130 ff., which gives us the common flowers).

"Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum  
Lilia verbenasque premiens vescumque papaver  
Regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens  
Nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.  
Primus vere rosam atque autumnno carpere poma . . .  
. . . illi tiliae atque uberrima tinus,  
Quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbos  
Induerat, totidem autumnno matura tenebat.  
Ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos  
Eduramque pirum et spinos iam pruna ferentis  
Iamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras."

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius*, XX; Justin, XXXVI, 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Horace, *Odes*, II, 15; Pliny, *N. H.*, XIX, 50 f.

<sup>3</sup> Seneca, *Epistles*, 122, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Bk. X, *Praef.* 6.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, XII, 13.

"Yet as he planted herbs here and there among the bushes, with white lilies about and vervain and slender poppy, he matched in contentment the wealth of kings, and returning home in the late evening would load his board with unbought dainties. He was first to pluck roses in spring and apples in autumn... Luxuriant were his limes and wild laurels (or pines) and all the fruits his bounteous tree donned in its early bloom, full as many it kept in the ripeness of autumn. He, too, planted out in rows elms far grown, pear-trees when quite hard, thorns even now bearing plums, and the plane already yielding to drinkers the service of its shade." (Translation by Fairclough.)

Pompeii and Herculaneum have preserved archaeological evidence for the gardens of this period. By cleaning out the holes left in the earth when the roots or trunks of trees or plants decayed and by pouring in plaster in order to take a cast, the Italian excavators have sometimes been able to identify at least the families of these plants. In the House of the Centenary they found the plan of a garden, lacking symmetry, but merely setting flowers and small plants around the fountain and in front of the columns. There were also traces of a wooden trellis for an arbor between the columns of the peristyle and around the fountain.<sup>1</sup> In another house the plant holes grouped themselves around a table of colored marble and a low water basin. On the north and east sides, the holes for wooden posts, each wedged in its hole by a sherd, imply a pergola facing south and west.<sup>2</sup> Many other such gardens were found, of which the most sensational is that of M. Loreius Tiburtinus in the New Excavations in which a long *piscina* extends through an orchard.<sup>3</sup> The excavators have taken great pains to restore the original plants or at least those that might well have grown in these gardens. Thus it is possible for us even now to form a clear picture of the gardens of the very period in which we are interested.

The taste for horticulture continued until the very end of Roman civilization. In the works of Alkiphron, Longos, Libanios, and Achilles Tatius,<sup>4</sup> we read of luxuriant gardens as the settings for sentimental scenes. Rich and poor, public building and temple alike enjoyed the refreshment of shade and flowers.

Now the garden of Hephaistos was public or rather sacred property. Information about temple gardens has survived only in literature and in inscriptions. Like the other more famous garden in Athens, that of Aphrodite where stood the statue of Alcamenes, ours was probably known as a *κηπος*.<sup>5</sup> The *ἄλσος* or temple grove was more pretentious, including large stands of timber, pasturage, and tilled lands like those of a mediaeval monastery.<sup>6</sup> But because our garden was a temple garden, its care and protection must have fallen under the same laws.

<sup>1</sup> *Not. Scavi*, 1902, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> *Not. Scavi*, 1905, pp. 87, 91.

<sup>3</sup> T. Price and A. W. van Buren, "The House of Marcus Loreius Tiburtinus," *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, XII, 1935, pp. 151 ff. Professor van Buren also gave me many valuable references. Cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1910, pp. 253 f.; p. 315, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Alkiphron, fr. 6, 1-9; Longos, *Pastoralia*, II, 3 ff., IV, 1 ff.; Ps. Lucian, *Am.* 12; Libanios, XI, *Antiochokos*, I, 338 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, I, 19, 2.

<sup>6</sup> A full discussion, D. and S., *s. v. Lucus* (Thédenat), pp. 1351 ff.

Pausanias mentions temple groves of ash, cypress, evergreen oak, plane trees, and pines.<sup>1</sup> At the famous sanctuary of Apollo at Gryneion, he remarks (I, 21, 7):

κάλλιστον ἄλλος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρων ὁσμῆς παρέχεται τινα ἢ θέας ἡδονήν. (A most beautiful grove of trees, both cultivated and those which, without bearing fruit, are pleasant to smell and to see.)

In these groves often grew famous trees upon which votive tablets were hung.<sup>2</sup> The tree or plant associated with the god usually formed the essential character of the garden, but no rigid connection between deity and plant was maintained. And Hephaistos seems to be the one god without a plant of his own.

Inscriptions show us that in sacred precincts practical need dictated planting. Beside this need existed also a religious impulse. Archedamos, at Vari, besides decorating a whole cave and inscribing his name everywhere founded a less enduring monument: *κάπον νύμφαις ἐφύτευσεν*.<sup>3</sup> But the economic necessity seems to have dominated. At Delos, in 434 B.C., the Amphictyony ordered the leasing of the sacred lands, gardens, and houses—all doubtless for tithes and revenues.<sup>4</sup> In Amorgos, in the fourth century, a sacred lease specified that the lessee must plough the salt lands, plant and cultivate vines and figs, tend to walls, fences, and manure.<sup>5</sup> He must plant vines according to the specifications of and in the presence of the temple board:

τὰς ἀμπέλους τὰς ἐκκοπτομένας ἀποδιδόσθωσαν οἱ νεωποῖαι. τὰς τράφας (= τάρφους) ὀρυζεῖ . . . ὅπου ἂν σταθμῆσονται οἱ νεωποῖαι τετράποδας καὶ τρίποδας· καὶ τὰ φντὰ ἐμβαλεῖ παρόντων τῶν νεωποιῶν ἀμπέλους εἴκοσι δι' ὁπόσον ἂν κελεύωσιν οἱ νεωποῖαι, συνᾶς δέκα καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

The perfect description of a temple surrounded by its lands may be read in the *Anabasis* (V, 3, 12). Xenophon, with the prize-money that he won on his Persian expedition with the ten thousand, bought land at Skillos near Olympia where he built a temple to Artemis. There, still awaiting the excavator, this small model of the Ephesian temple lies; it was immediately surrounded by fruit trees. The lands included meadows and woods, hunting, pasturage, and a small river. At the festival the goddess furnished the visitors from her lands with barley meal, loaves, wine, sweetmeats, and a share of the animals from sacrifice or chase. Beside the temple, Xenophon set up an inscription, warning the lessee in the care of the temple:

Ἰερὸς ὁ χώρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἐκάστου ἔτους· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν. ἂν δέ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.

<sup>1</sup> VII, 5, 10; II, 13, 3; II, 11, 4; II, 36, 8; 37, 1; VII, 22, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gothein, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 784. Cf. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, no. 1228, II century B.C. A Greek dedicates

[τὸν] βω[μ]ὸν καὶ [τ]ὸν ἀνθεῶνα θεοῖς.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377: [τῇ] γῇ τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις τὴν [ἐρὰν] ἐμισθώσαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ . . .

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 7, 62.



Similarly severe regulations are familiar.<sup>1</sup> They protected even the temple vine-props, which were tempting to the thief.<sup>2</sup> When suit was brought against rich Corcyraeans for cutting the vine-props in the sanctuary of Zeus and Alkinoos, the fine was large (Thucy., III, 70, 4) *ζῆμια δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ*. For these props seem to have

supported the very life of the vine<sup>3</sup> which must have formed a "shady walk" such as Kimon planted at the Academy.<sup>4</sup> These walks are recommended by Vitruvius (V, 9, 5) for planting at all the temples of the gods.<sup>5</sup> He gives two reasons: "since a refined and rarefied air comes from green things" they are good for the eyes, and because such walks are storage places for wood which can be used in times of siege (and so Sulla found them).

Besides the general history of horticulture, numerous details of ancient usage in the cultivation of orchard and of vineyard have come down to us. Less has been preserved concerning the care of flowers. We have, however, the details of the plan of the Greek, presumably Hellenistic, pleasure garden.<sup>6</sup> The main alley (ours must lie between Rows B and C) was called the *περίπατος* or *δρόμος*. This should be wide enough, as is ours, to permit the passage of a litter. Thence ran

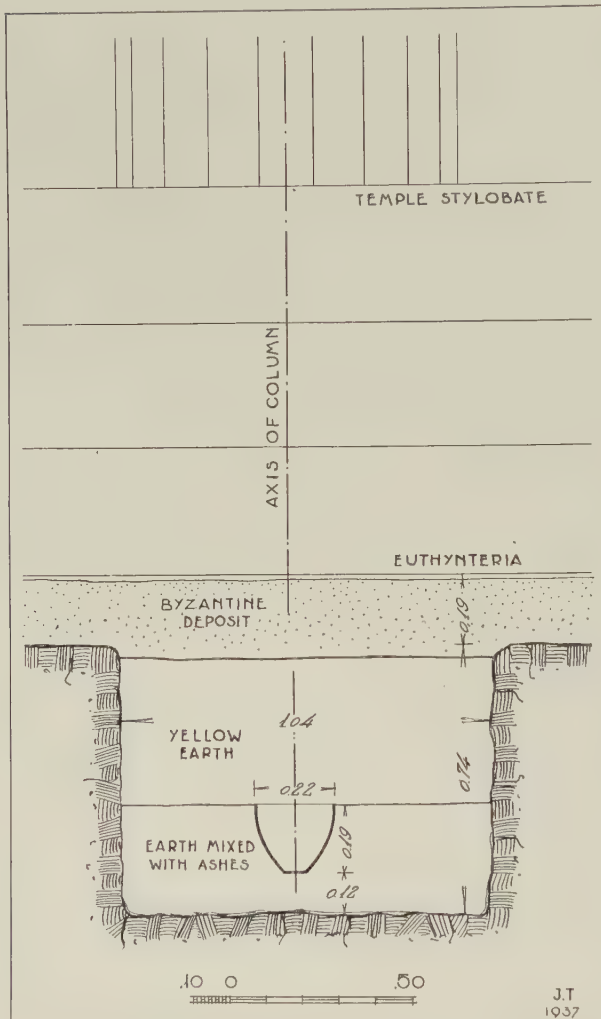


Fig. 12. Section through Cutting B3

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1291; *Ach.* 985: τὰς χάρακας ἦπτε πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ πυρὶ, ἐξέχει θ' ἡμῶν βία τὸν οἶνον ἐκ τῶν ἀμπέλων, cf. Theophrastos, *H. P.*, II, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13: ἄλσος ἡσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ στυκίοις περιπατοῖς.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, II, p. 259: Dicaearchus, 23: τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν ἔχουσα κατὰ δένδρον πᾶσαν, στοαῖς ἀντιλημμένην διτταῖς (at Anthedon).

<sup>6</sup> D. and S., *s. v. Hortus*, pp. 284 f.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 7, 62; sheep that pasture within the precinct become the property of the goddess. Cf. Protz-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, 1, no. 34 for bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1201.

side paths or *παράδρομίδες*. Flower beds were, in Roman times at least, edged by bricks arranged in elaborate designs. The columns or aligned trees were encircled by thistles or periwinkles. The wall that enclosed the garden should be obscured by hedges or trained vines. A hedge was recommended as superior to a wall in cheapness and durability.<sup>1</sup> We may, if we will, place such a hedge along the east end of our garden.

But what may we plant in the rectangular cuttings? Fig. 12 shows a section through a cutting that contained a flower pot (B 3). At first sight, at least to us, the method of planting seems strange. The pot, like all the others, is set in the centre of the hole (Figs. 13–15). Like every one of its companions, it was broken before placement (Fig. 16). The earth in which it was set lay flush with its lip; this earth had been well-sifted and it seemed to contain ashes. It is probably what modern Greek gardeners call *σταχιόχωμα*—ash-earth, to hold the moisture and to fertilize the plant. The bottom of the pot usually rested *ca.* 0.12–0.15 m. above the bottom of the cutting. Its top lay *ca.* 0.30–0.50 m. below the ancient ground level as it is shown on the temple euthynteria. Above the pot the entire cutting was filled in with light yellow earth.

A clarifying passage has been preserved by Cato (*De Agri Cultura*, LII, repeated CXXXIII):

Quae diligentius propagari voles, in aullas aut in qualos pertusos propagari oportet et cum iis in scrobem deferri oportet. In arboribus, uti radices capiant, calicem pertundito, per fundum aut qualum ramum, quem radicem capere voles, traicito; eum qualum aut calicem terra inpleto calcatoque bene, in arbore relinquito. Ubi binum fuerit, ramum sub qualo praecidito. Qualum incidito ex ima parte perpetuum, sive calix erit, conquassato. Cum eo qualo aut calice in scrobem ponito. Eodem modo vitem facito, eam anno post praecidito seritoque cum qualo. (When you wish to layer more carefully, you should use pots or baskets with holes in them and these should be planted with the scion in the

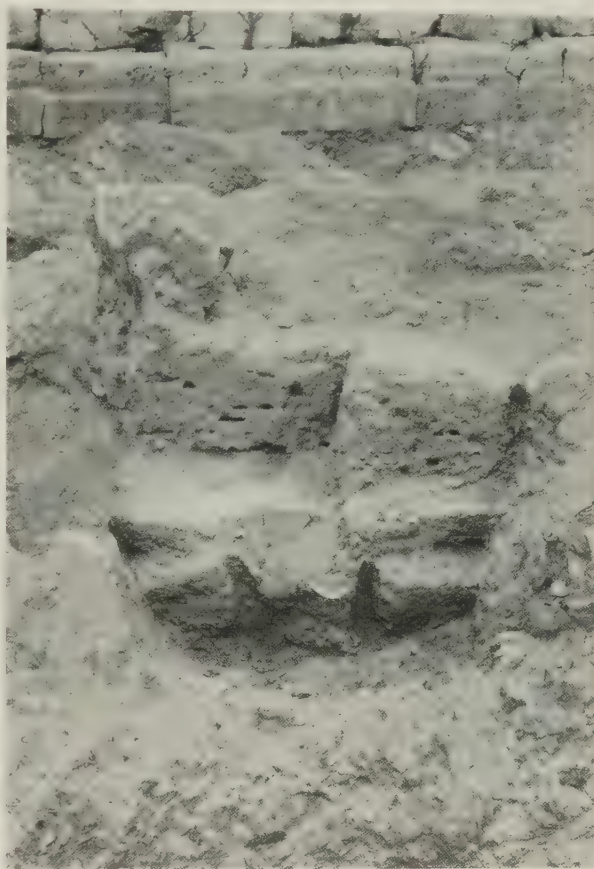


Fig. 13. Cutting B 3 partially excavated

<sup>1</sup> Columella, XI, 3, 2–7.

trench. To make them take root while on the tree, make a hole in the bottom of the pot or basket and push the branch that you wish to root through it. Fill the pot or basket with earth, press it in thoroughly and leave it on the tree. When it is two years old, cut off the branch below the basket, cut the basket down the side and through the bottom, or, if it is a pot, shatter it and plant the branch in the trench with the basket or pot. Use the same method for the vine, cutting it off the next year and planting it with the basket.)



Fig. 14. Cutting B 14 in relation to the Hephaisteion



Fig. 15. Cutting B 14, showing Flower Pot *in situ*

Certainly Pliny is echoing Cato—although he writes less clearly—when he gives directions for layering (*N. H.*, XVII, 97 f.):

“Propaginum duo genera: ramo ab abore depresso in scrobem quattuor pedum quoquo et post biennium amputato flexu plantaue translata post trimatum, quas si longius ferre libeat, in qualis statim aut vasis fictilibus defodere propagines aptissimum, ut in his transferantur. Alterum genus luxuriosius, in ipsa arbore radices sollicitando traiectis per vasa fictilia vel qualos ramis terraeque circumfartis, atque hoc blandimento inpetratis radicibus inter poma ipsa et cacumina—in summa etenim cacumina hoc modo petuntur—audaci ingenio arborem aliam longe a tellure faciendi; eodem quo supra biennii spatio abscisa propagine et cum quasillis sata.” That is, either the branch is layered into the



ground and transplanted thereafter by means of a basket or pot, or else, a more expensive method, it may be layered upon the tree itself, by drawing the root through the pot or basket, thus by a daring trick inducing a new tree to grow high among the fruit of the old. After two years this layer may be cut off and planted with the basket.

This is, indeed, a well known practice even to this day. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*<sup>1</sup> gives similar instructions for "layering by circumposition." When the branch to be slipped or "layered" is too high to admit of being turned directly down into the earth beside the parent tree so that it may take root while still attached to the parent, a stand is prepared on the branch to support the sawn flower pot or box. "But gardeners often dispense with



Fig. 16. Cutting B 7, showing Flower Pot *in situ*

the pot." A recent French treatise<sup>2</sup> discusses the layering of a vine into a basket "marcotte en panier," which should measure *ca.* 0.25–0.30 m.—a little longer than our pots. The basket should be of osier sufficiently good to last about a year so that when it is placed in the earth, it will rot, thus allowing the layer freely to extend its roots.

It seems probable that the flower pots found in the garden of Hephaistos were used for layering. This hypothesis explains the depth at which our pots were buried and the same holds for those found in the House of the Centenary at Pompeii (see above p. 414). In many cases the holes in the pots are too big for mere drainage, or, if originally small, were deliberately enlarged later. Clearly these large holes were to accommodate the branch that was passed through them for layering. It seems probable that pots would be used to

<sup>1</sup> Eleventh Edition, 1910, *Horticulture*, p. 755.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. and A. F. Hardy, *Traité de la taille des arbres fruitiers*, pp. 265 ff.

layer not low-growing plants or vines, but trees, or shrubs high enough to require "layering by circumposition." Possibly also baskets were used in the rock-cuttings that did not contain flower pots. Cutting B 9 showed clearly an oval patch of dark earth which might well be interpreted as the traces of a rotted basket (Fig. 17).

Only little more evidence has survived that can be added to that which we have considered. The damp earth, still nourishing surface grasses and weeds, did not retain the ancient root marks as they were preserved in Pompeii.<sup>1</sup> But throughout all the earth appeared bits of carbonized vegetable matter, some as thick as a finger, which upon microscopic analysis turned out to be roots.<sup>2</sup> They were unfortunately too far deteriorated to



Fig. 17. Cutting B 9, showing dark patch of earth

permit of ascription to any single plant, but in certain particulars they resembled the roots of the vine or ivy.

In Cutting B 14 the tip of a bronze blade was found in the earth. It is markedly curved and its tip is hooked (Fig. 18).<sup>3</sup> It suggests the knife described at length by Columella (IV, 25) which he calls the *falx vinitoria*. This pruning-hook or bill-hook had many parts, each named, of which mediaeval drawings survive.<sup>4</sup> The shape of our bit is not unlike that of the *scalprum* which was used to smooth down—*allevare*—the cut made

<sup>1</sup> The holes that appear in the earth in Cutting B 3 (Fig. 12) are the burrows of ground animals.

<sup>2</sup> The analysis was undertaken separately by Professors Politis and Krimba. The ivy is not the English or American ivy, but the ancient *κιστός*, a member of the grape vine family which relationship its leaf betrays.

<sup>3</sup> Agora B 388; P. L. 0.024 m. The tip only is preserved, the broader side is broken.

<sup>4</sup> D. and S., s. v. *Falx*, Fig. 2865.

in pruning. More probably is it the tip from a simple pruning-hook such as have been found in Etruria, Pompeii,<sup>1</sup> and in England.<sup>2</sup> The two examples from Luni in Etruria (Fig. 19 *g*) are so close to our specimen as to leave no doubt that it was a pruning-hook, probably to be fitted with a short handle; it is a rarer form than the less curved pruning-hook shown on Fig. 19 *b*.

A glance at the plan of the garden (Fig. 1) shows that a serious problem presented itself to the temple gardener. For along the west and north sides of the temple were normal planting conditions, that is, unlimited earth for roots. The gardener would presumably have chosen his plant as suitable for spacing of an intercolumniation, *ca.* 2.60 m., which is very close to nine Greek feet. This interval Theophrastos (II, 5, 6) names as proper for the pomegranate, myrtle, and laurel. But on the south side the gardener was restricted by having to set his plants into holes in the rock. Now for the vine and the fruit-tree, the size of the holes to be dug in the soil is clearly specified in ancient writings. Xenophon (*Oec.*, XIX, 3) gives two and a half feet for depth and two feet for breadth. Pliny (XVII, 80) and Columella (V, 5, 2) extend the depth to three or four feet. This the *Geoponica* (V, 12) increases to four feet as a minimum (showing how gardeners gradually learned more as time went on), Theophrastos, though he knows better himself, reveals the ignorance of the gardener of his day (II, 5, 2):

Ἀέγουνσι δέ τινες ὥς οὐδεμία κατωτέρω διήκνεῖται τριῶν ἡμιποδίων. δι' ὃ καὶ ἐπιτιμῶσι τοῖς ἐν μείζονι βάθει φύτεύουσιν.

(Some say that no root goes deeper than one and one-half feet and blame those who plant deeper.)



Fig. 18. Bronze Blade

It is interesting to note how closely these dimensions tally with those of our cuttings. In other words, the gardener spaced and dug his holes as though he were digging them in earth and not in rock. In order to give room for cultivation, he followed the system recorded by Columella (IV, 4), namely that of cutting vine holes square with perpendicular sides, a method unknown to us. "Id enim praecipue observandum est ne similis alveo scrobs sed ut expressis angulis velut ad perpendicularum frontes eius dirigantur. Nam vitis supina et velut recumbens in alveo deposita, postea cum ablaqueatur, vulneribus obnoxia est." The holes cut for trees should be wider at the bottom than at the top (V, 10). Actually in a number of the cuttings in Row B the sides have been hacked out to widen the bottom.

<sup>1</sup> G. Vitali, *Studi Etruschi*, V, 1931, p. 429, fig. 2; cf. *ibid.*, VII, 1933, p. 321, figs. 1–14. I owe this reference to Miss Pease.

<sup>2</sup> W. Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, London, 1917, pl. LVII, 60–67.



If we look carefully, we note other traces of the struggles of the gardener to keep the plants in Row B on the south side in good condition. We remarked that the first eight holes were larger, particularly deeper, than the rest and that most of the following cuttings were enlarged by the simple expedient of placing a supplementary rectangular cutting beside the original. Cutting 11 *a* was also inserted to supplement Cutting 12, which was set in shallow bedrock. Similarly, Cuttings B 14, 15, and A 15, falling in shallow bedrock, would permit the roots of the plant to extend and did not need enlargement. The occurrence of two pots in one hole shows that defective plants had soon to be replaced. And finally the use of pots for layering, that expensive method, indicates that every precaution

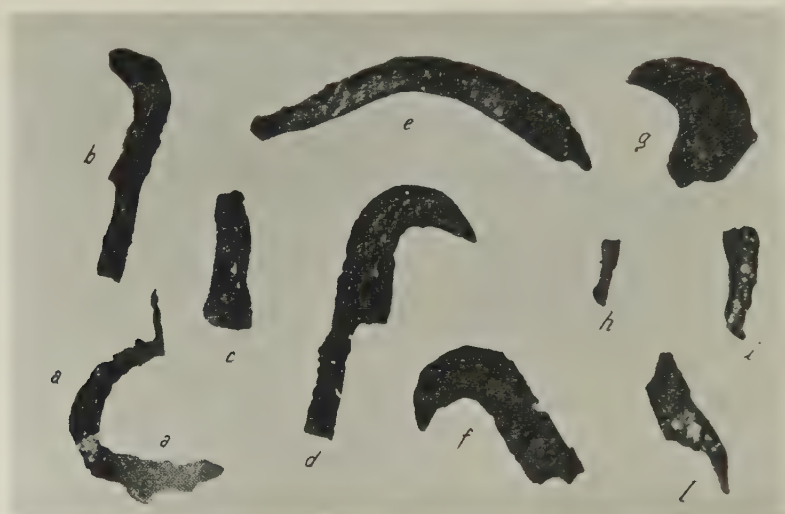


Fig. 19. Pruning-knives from Etruria (after *Studi Etruschi*, V, p. 429, fig. 2)

was needed to start the plants. Indeed, the lack of thorough replanting after the last Augustan attempt suggests that, on the south side at least, the garden was soon given up as a failure.

The purpose of layering into pots for this garden was clearly to start the plants under as good auspices as possible and to assure rapid growth. What plant is implied by the process of layering into pots? The resinous evergreens that our present taste would prefer are not layered. Cato lists for our convenience<sup>1</sup> as desirable for layering: the olive, fig, pomegranate, quince, and all other fruit trees, the laurel, the myrtle, Praenestine nuts, the plane, and the vine. The larger of these trees are eliminated from our consideration by the

<sup>1</sup> Cato, *de Agri Cultura*, LI; CXXXIII, he adds "Cyprian and Delphian laurel" plum, Abellan nuts. Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 96; cf. *Geoponica*, X, 3, which lists for layering, as well as for other ways of propagating, the following: apple-trees and their like, as the cherry and jujube-tree, a thin shelled nut, the periwinkle, and the myrtle, medlar, almond, pear, mulberry, citron, olive, quince, black and white poplar, ivy, chestnut, fig, pomegranate, fig-mulberry, butcher's broom, vine, box, willow, laburnum, apricot, plum, palm, pistache, plane, and laurel.

inadequate size of the cuttings and by the absence of sufficient water on the rocky plateau. Small fruit trees, such as the pomegranate or quince, would grow but probably not bear much fruit or reach a healthy maturity in the restricted cuttings. Remembering their probable use at Assur (see above p. 412) and that the given spacing suits them, we must consider them as a possibility.

More probable, however, for an Augustan garden are the shrubs and half-shrubs that lend themselves to topiary work.<sup>1</sup> Of these, the types of plants that are layered must be considered. They are: the laurel, box, myrtle, and chamaiplatanos or dwarf plane. The latter, however, could hardly grow so far from ground water. The box, although a great favorite in Italy, seems not to have flourished freely in Greece. It is, however, noted by Theophrastos as quick-growing, leafed like the myrtle, and suitable for exposed, rocky places.<sup>2</sup> The myrtle needs much manuring and watering, which makes it less suitable for the thin soil and the dry site than the laurel. The common laurel and the Thasian laurel (*ruscus hypoglossum*) are better candidates for the given position and great favorites in Greek gardens. This shrub could reach a height of 1.50–2.50 m. and show red or white flowers against evergreen foliage. Trimmed neatly (we hope not into fantastic shapes!) it would accent, if modestly, the rhythm of the columns.

What may we place in Row C? It has been noted that the flower pots were set in Row B and not in Row C. This suggests a difference in the care and method of planting between the two rows but it does not necessarily imply a different plant. Another gardener might discard the pot or might use a basket. But when to this difference in method of planting is added a difference in the size of the holes, two types of plant seem to be implied. Row C would have required a smaller plant to suit the smaller and shallower cuttings. Hence it follows that the height of the plants was graded downward from the temple to the precinct wall. The subordinate Rows A and D must have held the subordinate plants. Their shallowness suggests that they were dug at a time when the ground level had risen, so that the roots of the plants could reach out into the earth over the level surface of bedrock.

The bits of roots that were analyzed by the horticulturists as probably coming from the vine or ivy should now be considered. Theophrastos gives us a suggestion. He remarks (*C. P.*, III, 10, 8; cf. *H. P.*, I, 6, 3 f.) that pomegranate and apple trees because they have few and shallow roots, require but light earth and live but a short time, are suitable for planting together with the vine. Though he realizes that all parasites harm a tree, many ancient gardeners did plant the vine along the fruit trees, that is the vine called the *ἀραδενδράς*. From it a wine was made.<sup>3</sup> For although the Greek vine does not seem to have been trained regularly, as in Italy, to grow on posts and trellises, it is often thus shown. Xenophon points out (*Oec.*, XIX, 17 f.) that one should follow the suggestion of Nature,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P.-W., s. v. *Gartenbau*, col. 830 for a list of common plants for topiary work.

<sup>2</sup> *H. P.*, III, 3, 1; 6, 1; 15, 5.

<sup>3</sup> D. and S., s. v. *Vinum*, p. 918. Theophrastos, *C. P.*, I, 10, 4; III, 10, 8; V, 5, 4.

noting when the vine tries to climb a tree and providing it with a support. In Demosthenes' time these climbing "tree-vines" seem to have been a regular feature of the orchard.<sup>1</sup> Hieron, on his fantastic ship, walked the decks in the shade made by ivy and vines that grew in pithoi, watered by lead pipes (Athen., V, 207 d):

ἐν οἷς κῆποι παντοῖοι θαυμασίως ἦσαν ὑπερβάλλοντες ταῖς φυτεῖαις, διὰ κεραμίδων μολυβδινῶν κατεστεγνυμένων ἀρδενόμενοι, ἔτι δὲ σκηναὶ κιτιοῦ λεικοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλων, ὧν αἱ ῥίζαι τὴν τροφὴν ἐν πίθοις εἶχον γῆς πεπληρωμένοις, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρδενσιν λαμβάνουσαι καθάπερ καὶ οἱ κῆποι. αὗται δὲ αἱ σκηναὶ συνεσκίαζον τοὺς περιπάτους.

In Roman times, vines and ivy were commonly planted among trees or beside columns, to "form their ringlets" and to thicken the shade by making a pergola or *καλύβη*.<sup>2</sup>

Though the cuttings are inadequate for a large pergola vine, a small variety could grow, weakly, in such a hole. After all, the vine and ivy made shade for Hieron even when cramped in pithoi. From Row D a vine could be trained on posts to the precinct wall on one side, and to the trees on the other. The frequent allusions to vine-props in sanctuaries suggest that the priests or the lessees of temple gardens considered grapes and wine a requisite.

For the planting and care of vines a great body of ancient instructions has been preserved, chiefly in Book V of the *Geoponica*. Many details are of interest for us. The method of choosing the earth reads surprisingly like a modern soil test (*Geoponica*, V, 7): "To choose the earth in which to plant the vine, take a clod, put it in a glass vessel, mixed with rain water. Stir it thoroughly. When you see through the glass that the earth has settled, then taste the water and the taste will be that of the wine. For if it smells or tastes bitter, salty, or bituminous or otherwise bad, don't use it, but if sweet, plant in it." For planting, various points must be noted (V, 18 ff.): the slip should be smeared with cow's dung; acorns and broken vetch and licorice should be put in as fertilizer. A handful of dried grape-stones should be dropped in each hole, from the black grape for the white and *vice versa*. Bank the vine well with straw to keep it warm during the winter.

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, LIII, 15: ὅσα ἐν ἡν φυτὰ ἀκροδρόων γενναῖα ἐμβεβλημένα καὶ τὰς ἀναθενδράδας ἐξέκοψε...

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Longos, *Pastoralia*, IV, 2 f. (II cent. A.D.):

ἐτέρωθεν ἀμπέλον ὑψηλὴν, καὶ ἐπέκειτο ταῖς μηλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὄχραις περκάζουσα καθάπερ περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐταῖς προσερχούσα . . . ἦσαν δὲ κυνάρητοι καὶ δάφναι καὶ πλάτανοι καὶ πίτνυς· ταύταις πύσαις ἀντὶ τῆς ἀμπέλον κιτὸς ἐπέκειτο . . . ἐν μειώρῳ δὲ οἱ κλάδοι συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπήλαυτον τὰς κόμας.

Cf. Achilles Tatius, I, 15 (III cent. A.D.): ἀμπέλοι δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ δένδρου, καλάμοις ἐποχομέναι τοῖς φύλλοις ἔθαλλον καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὥραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἀνθὴν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁπῆς τῶν καλάμων ἐξεκρέματο καὶ ἦν βόστρυχος τοῦ φυτοῦ. The formal built pergola seems to have been Roman rather than Greek, D. and S., s. v. *Pergula*. A particular vine, the *vitis pergulana*, grew on it, cf. Columella, III, 2, 28.

Ps. Lucian, *Am*, 12, 410 (II cent. A.D.): παντὶ γε μὴν δένδρῳ περιπλέγδην ὁ φίλεως προσερχνυζε κιτὸς· ἀμφιλαφεῖς ἀμπέλοι πικνοῖς κατήρτηντο βότρυνσιν. "Close to every tree the ivy clung lovingly and the vines, spreading wide, were hung with thick clusters of grapes."



After so many hundreds of years, we can scarcely hope to form a more exact picture of the garden. But we may first plant a small fruit tree like the pomegranate and a sizable shrub like the laurel in the two main rows on north and south and extend one row across the back of the temple. Then we may suppose that after the straining days of Sulla's campaign, the trees or shrubs were replanted and clipped in accordance with the formal taste of the day and that vines and ivy were planted with them and beside them to stretch their shade to the precinct wall, to the trees and to the columns. A hedge would close the eastern end; flowers would follow the line of the wall and mark the edge of the walks. Birds would gather among the leaves as they do today in the modern park just west of the temple. Longos (*Pastoralia*, IV, 2) describes for us the garden of Hephaistos:

σκιὰ τε ἦν θέρος καὶ ἡρος ἔνθῃ καὶ μετοπώραν ὀπώρα, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν τροφή  
(In the summer there was shade, in the spring flowers, and in the autumn fruits,  
and for every season its own charm.)

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

## THE KNEELING BOY

### PLATE X

The finest and most important piece of archaic art that has been found thus far in the Agora excavations is a terracotta plastic vase in the form of a kneeling youth tying a fillet around his head.<sup>1</sup> The figure represents a victorious athlete and was probably intended to be dedicated to some divinity by the winner of an athletic contest. In spite of its small size (it is 0.255 m. or about 10 inches high including the vase-mouth) and the commonplace material of which it is made it is a work of art of the first rank, and as we study it we shall find that in quality it is to be compared not so much with other plastic vases and terracotta figurines as with the finest bronze statuettes and with monumental sculpture; that it is, in fact, a statue in miniature in which we can observe all the stylistic traits of contemporary sculpture.

The figure is fully modelled in the round and might be classed as a terracotta statuette except for the fact that on the top of the head there is a vase-mouth. The boy's head and body are hollow, and at the top, through the vase-mouth, there is a small round opening, so it is obvious that the piece was designed not simply as a statuette but also as a receptacle to hold some liquid, probably oil. It has been pieced together from many fragments but is complete in every important respect, only a large part of the boy's back and right side being missing.<sup>2</sup> The boy, who is nude, kneels in an upright position, his weight resting on

<sup>1</sup> Agora Inventory P 1231. Height, including vase-mouth 0.255 m. Found in September 1932 at a depth of 16.00 to 16.25 m. in a well in section A (the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft; number 2 on the plan in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, Plate III). I hope to publish the other objects from this well in an early number of *Hesperia*. Preliminary notices and photographs of this vase have appeared in *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 294 ff. and fig. 5; *Illustrated London News*, August 26, 1933, p. 327; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 459 and fig. 8; *Art and Archaeology*, 34, 1933, p. 294; *Arch. Anz.*, 48, 1933, col. 203 and fig. 5 opposite; *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 266 and Plate XVI; *Revue des Études Grecques*, 47, 1934, p. 104 and fig. 20, p. 105 (sketched from the *A.J.A.* photograph). Cf. also Kunze's attribution, *A.M.*, LIX, 1934, p. 122. The reference in *Altsamische Standbilder*, p. 49, end of first paragraph, is to the Kneeling Boy as Professor Buschor kindly writes me. Among my colleagues I am especially indebted to Mrs. Dorothy Burr Thompson for many suggestions and much helpful criticism.

<sup>2</sup> There is no direct join between the right upper arm and the shoulder, a small fragment being missing here. This arm has been fixed in a position corresponding as nearly as possible to that of the left arm. This was done in January 1937, the arm having previously been set against the shoulder and too far back with the palm almost exactly frontal (so in all earlier photographs). There are, of course, numerous minor fractures, especially along the edges of the breaks, which are readily visible in the photographs. There are no restorations. The plaster used to hold the right arm, and that used to strengthen the body inside are most clearly seen in the back view. On the original coloring, which has largely disappeared, see below.



The Kneeling Boy







Fig. 1. The Kneeling Boy. Left Side



Fig. 2. The Kneeling Boy. Right Side





Fig. 3. The Kneeling Boy. Back

his knees and sharply bent back toes. His arms, extended on either side nearly horizontally from the shoulder, are raised vertically from the elbow, and his hands, with palms turned slightly inward from full front, are loosely closed. His wavy hair is parted in the centre at the front and falls down behind in a mass of conventionalized locks to the bottom of his shoulder blades. On the top of his head is a vase-mouth of the kind found on aryballoi of "Corinthian" shape with a small flat vertical handle. This vase-mouth and handle are



Fig. 4. The Kneeling Boy. Detail of Head. Front

covered with black glaze which has an olive-greenish tinge in places. Black glaze has also been used to indicate the eyebrows, the outlines of the eyes, the pupils, and the nipples of the breasts. The other colors that were used were not as stable as the black and have consequently largely disappeared leaving only traces. Most striking was the red which once completely covered the hair and of which ample traces still remain. Red was also used on the lips, where a very faint trace can be detected, and for numerous small details, and the eyeballs were probably white.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the

<sup>1</sup> The red used was the same as the added red commonly found on contemporary pottery, and the white, of which no trace remains, was probably the same as the added white. Besides the hair and lips where it appears as a mass, red was apparently also used in small amounts to pick out details or to emphasize the modelling by deepening the shadows. For these purposes it was probably used in the following places: on the inner part of the ear, the outer part being reserved and still retaining part of its

*lasur* (clear trace in left ear); in the incised grooves in the eyes (traces in the lower grooves of both eyes, cf. below); in the hollows for the nostrils (slight trace in left nostril); on the breasts, for a circle around the black nipple within the incised line, as often on contemporary black-figured vases (no trace); in the navel (no trace); in grooves and hollows around the genitals (traces); in the deep groove between the thighs (clear traces); in the fold of flesh at the elbow and behind the knee (clear trace in the fold behind the right knee); in the hollows between the fingers and between the toes, and in the incised lines that outline the nails (traces at a number of points). That the whole figure was not red (as were, for example, some East Greek plastic vases—cf. A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 380, no. 67; and Berlin 1292, Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, p. 148—and the flesh parts of the British Museum Dionysos, E 785, C.V.A., III, I, c, pl. 37, 1) is certain, because *lasur* (see next note but one), which is clearly a finishing coat, appears all over the body and limbs but does not appear on the hair where red was certainly used. The pupil was probably differentiated from the iris by a circle of color (white?) added over the black glaze; no trace, however, remains.

figure was left in the color of the clay,<sup>1</sup> a rich buff, and the surface was here covered with a thin transparent wash (*lasur*).<sup>2</sup> This *lasur* has worn off in many places but where it is still preserved it tends to darken the color of the clay and gives the surface a polished look.

The head of the figure and the body down as far as the knees are mould made, for they are hollow, and one can see finger marks on the inside. Probably two moulds were used, one for the front and one for the back, but the parts were so carefully put together and the joints so skilfully covered up both inside and out that the line of division is nowhere visible. The hands and feet, the arms, and the legs up to the knees are solid and were made separately by hand (i.e. not in moulds) and attached, for on them the marks of the modeller's knife can be seen whereas the surface of the body is smooth. The ears were also added separately, and probably the modelling of the hair was done on the figure. The vase-mouth was made on a potter's wheel and attached.

Certain details of modelling and anatomy should also be noted, for the modelling is remarkably detailed for a terracotta figurine of the period. The forehead hair is carried up much higher on the head than is usual, and at the top, just in front of the vase-mouth, there is a short, shallow groove evidently designed to help hold the fillet in place. The eyes have a pronounced bulge and are separated from the brows above by a broad hollow and from the cheeks below by a lesser one. Within the outline indicated by the glaze there is a second outline done



Fig. 5. The Kneeling Boy. Detail of Head. Left Side

by incision in the soft clay as can be quite clearly seen in the detail photograph of the head (Fig. 4). These incised grooves were filled with red and were perhaps intended to represent the visible edge of the under side of the lid. How the fairly broad space

<sup>1</sup> The clay, which is that of contemporary Attic pottery, is firm and of very fine texture. It is definitely a vase fabric, not a terracotta fabric.

<sup>2</sup> On *lasur* see L. Hussong, *Zur Technik der attischen Gefäßkeramik*, Heidelberg Dissertation, 1928, p. 55. It is worth noting that when the vase was found the *lasur* was preserved on the resting surfaces of both knees. Now, however, although the vase has stood only on soft cloth and has been handled very little, the *lasur* has worn off under both knees and the resting surfaces have become slightly flattened. This probably implies that the vase was never used in antiquity, or at least very little used.





Fig. 6. The Kneeling Boy. Detail of Torso

between the upper groove and the upper black line was treated cannot be determined.<sup>1</sup> The ears are very clumsily modelled. This is probably due to carelessness or ineptitude on the part of the artist,<sup>2</sup> although it may be intended to represent the swollen ear of the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly it was done with white on which black lines for eyelashes were painted: cf., for example, the Acropolis terracotta no. 623, S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> W. Deonna, *Les « Apollons Archaiques »*, p. 96, "L'oreille est d'ordinaire une des parties les plus négligées des figures archaïques."

athlete, a realistic detail which is found as early as the ripe archaic Rayet head in Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup> The nostrils are indicated by narrow slits. On the torso (Fig. 6) the collar bones are indicated by two straight, slightly raised lines set approximately at right angles to each other; between them and the neck is a slight hollow. A small, delicately incised circle marks the outline of the nipples. The space inside this circle around the black dot was probably filled in with red, as often on black-figured vases. The breasts are slightly raised above the level of the lower part of the chest, which, in its turn, is slightly raised above the surface of the abdomen. The line of division between chest and abdomen is an arching curve which falls away toward the sides and carries well around toward the back. The median line is a slight hollow which runs from the peak of the above-mentioned curve down to the navel where it ends with a short, shallow, horizontal groove. Below the navel are two more similar horizontal grooves. Otherwise the divisions of the abdomen are not indicated. Arms and legs, hands and feet, are very carefully modelled, in-



Fig. 7. The Kneeling Boy. Detail of Feet

cision being used for the outlines of the nails, and the modelling was emphasized by the use of red. The shin bone is a sharp ridge. In its proportions the figure shows many of the usual mistakes of archaic art. For example, the head is rather too large in proportion to the body, and some of the features in proportion to the head; the right eye and ear are larger than the corresponding members on the left; the toes are enormous. The last, of course, is partly due to the unusual position of the foot which would increase the difficulty of getting the proportions correct, and perhaps also to the need for as broad a resting surface as possible. Finally we may note that the figure is not strictly frontal for the head is turned slightly to the right and the palms are turned slightly inward.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, Plate 2. On the swollen ear, W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On such asymmetry cf. H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis (A.M.S.A.)*, p. 20 and note 2.

The Kneeling Boy may be dated with some assurance about the year 540 B.C., or perhaps slightly later. I will present here a few reasons for this date; others will appear in what follows. The circumstances of finding give us a good *terminus ante quem*. The figure was found in fragments at a depth of 16.00 to 16.25 metres in a well of which the total depth was twenty metres. The fill in this well did not accumulate all at once, but in two main periods separated from each other by a considerable interval. In the earlier period the well filled up to about twelve metres from the top. It was then apparently covered over, for nothing fell in for about a generation. After this it was re-opened and fill accumulated again until it reached the top. The earlier fill, deep down in which the Kneeling Boy was found contained no red-figured pottery.<sup>1</sup> The latest black-figured pottery in it belongs to the third quarter of the sixth century but is all clearly pre-red-figured. Closely associated with the Kneeling Boy were a number of fragmentary "little-master" kylixes which are neither early nor late of their kind but belong to the full third quarter of the century, the heyday of this type of vase.<sup>2</sup> Thus we get 530 B.C. (the generally accepted date for the beginning of red-figured vase painting) as a *terminus ante quem*, and we may reasonably suppose that the fill in which the Kneeling Boy was found accumulated during the decade 540–530 B.C. The observation that the figure was in new condition (above, p. 431, note 2) just before it went into the well suggests that it had been made not long before. Thus from external evidence we obtain as an approximate date 540–535 B.C.

Various stylistic and other considerations bear this out. Here it will be sufficient to observe that, in spite of the unusual position of the arms and legs, the figure is clearly of the "Archaic Apollo" type, a long haired, nude, male figure in an erect, frontal pose. The outstanding statues of this type have recently been arranged in chronological order by Miss Richter and given approximate dates.<sup>3</sup> By comparing the Kneeling Boy with these it will be seen that it belongs to about the middle of the series, being rather more developed than the Volomandra, Tenea, and Melos Youths, but earlier than the Munich Youth.<sup>4</sup>

The pose of the Kneeling Boy is unique, and I know of no other existing example of a kneeling figure with raised arms. Plastic vases in the form of kneeling figures are not at all uncommon in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but in these the arms are invariably of one piece with the body and usually either rest on the thighs or are held against the chest.<sup>5</sup> These figures differ markedly from the Kneeling Boy too in that they kneel with their buttocks resting on their heels, not in an erect position. Figures with arms raised in

<sup>1</sup> Red-figured pottery was found only in the fill of the later period, from 12.00 m. up.

<sup>2</sup> Agora Inventory P 1240–1245; lip-cups and band-cups; cf. J. D. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, 42 ff. Good pictures of the torsos of the Sounion, Munich and Ptoan no. 20 Youths (I use Miss Richter's nomenclature) are now published in E. Buschor, *Plastik der Griechen*, pp. 24, 25, 27.

<sup>4</sup> I take Miss Richter's suggestion, 530–525, for the Munich Youth. Payne (*A.M.S.A.*, p. 43, note 2) dates it "near 540."

<sup>5</sup> For example: M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité, époque archaïque*, Paris, 1927, Vol. II, nos. 66, 67, 69, 128–131, 157, 158. Cf. also the bronze gorgon in the Louvre, MNC, 482, A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes du Louvre*, no. 2570.



the attitude of the Kneeling Boy occur frequently in the sixth and fifth centuries as handles of paterae and vases of various sorts<sup>1</sup> but in no case do they actually kneel. In some of the oinochoe and hydria handle-figures the hands grasp the tails of lions which lie on the rim of the vase, and the body of the figure is bent backwards, the bending being sometimes largely taken up by the knees so that, although the figure is not kneeling, the position approximates quite closely that of the Kneeling Boy.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no more than a superficial connection between the purely functional pose of these handle-youths and the pose of the Kneeling Boy. Figures with arms raised also occur occasionally as supports for bowls.<sup>3</sup> This suggests the possibility that the Kneeling Boy may have been inspired by the colossal kneeling figures which supported the great votive krater dedicated by Kolaïos in the Samian Heraion.<sup>4</sup> It seems unlikely, however, that there was any very close connection between the two, for, removed from its position as a support for the krater, the pose of the figure becomes quite unintelligible, the arms are held up in the air for no apparent reason, and the whole thing lacks unity. And why is no fillet represented when long-haired male figures of the sixth century are seldom without one<sup>5</sup> and when the change of coiffure between the forehead hair and the hair of the rest of the head absolutely requires one?

The answer to this last question gives us the correct interpretation of the pose of the Kneeling Boy. There was a fillet, an actual fillet of wool or metal, which the boy held in his hands and which passed across the top of his head just along the line of the change of coiffure. The Kneeling Boy is thus a fillet-binder,<sup>6</sup> an *anadoumenos* or *diadoumenos*, and

<sup>1</sup> Examples: patera handles; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, pp. 248 ff., nos. 703 and 707 ff.: vase handles; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes du Louvre*, no. 2784 and bibliography *ad loc.*; K. A. Neugebauer in *R. M.*, 38-39, 1923-4, pp. 343-5.

<sup>2</sup> Examples: Paris, Petit Palais, Oinochoe, Neugebauer *loc. cit.* p. 343 and Plate VIII; Sophia, Bulgarian National Museum, from Trebenischte, Bogdan D. Filow, *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenischte am Ochrida-See*, Oinochoe no. 72, pp. 59 ff. and Plates X and XI (= *Аρχ. Έφ.* 1927-8, 76 ff., figs. 35-38); Berlin 8467, Hydria from Randazzo, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Führer durch das Antiquarium I*, 1924, Bronzen, p. 68, Plate 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Linc.*, XIV, 1904, cols. 769 ff., fig. 5 and Plate 46. Also the Etruscan bowl, Louvre C 659, E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, I, Plate 27. On figures supporting bowls cf. Payne and Young, *A. M. S. A.*, p. 12 and note 2. The patera handles referred to above (note 1), on the analogy of their female counterparts the mirror handles, may also be thought of as supporting figures; W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 127 ff. and p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotos, IV, 152. E. Buschor, *Altgriechische Standbilder*, p. 49 seems to suggest this. Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 6 and 43; and above, p. 426, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> W. Deonna, *Les « Apollons Archaiques »*, p. 100, cites only one example of an unfilleted head, his number 25 (Kouros from Boeotia, British Museum B 474, F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, Vol. I, part I, Plate XLII).

<sup>6</sup> This interpretation was first proposed by H. A. Thompson shortly after the discovery of the figure, *A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 296. Payne has questioned it, *J. H. S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 266, note 2, but, as will be seen in what follows, his objections are not valid. That such a delicate figure with its arms extended was ever meant to be suspended by a string passing through the hands, as Payne suggests, is unthinkable. The obvious way to suspend it is by the solid aryballos handle (cf. C. H. E. Haspels, "How the Aryballos was Suspended," *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927-8, p. 216). Perhaps when it was thus suspended the loose ends of the string would have been carried around the vase-neck and down through the hands giving the *Diadoumenos* effect described below.

the moment represented is early in the act when the youth, having just picked the fillet up and laid it loosely across his head, is pausing an instant before adjusting and tying it.<sup>1</sup> Figures 8 and 9 show him holding a woolen fillet about the color of the added red used on contemporary vases.<sup>2</sup> At the top of the head it rests in the small shallow groove directly in front of the vase-mouth evidently intended to help hold it in place. As it runs out toward the hands it passes directly along the line of change of coiffure, a fact which



Fig. 8. The Kneeling Boy with Fillet. Front



Fig. 9. The Kneeling Boy with Fillet. Left Side

<sup>1</sup> As in the Hellenistic gem impression at the Agora, SS 415, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 298 and Plate I; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 46 and 51, and fig. 8, p. 50. Miss Grace suggests (*Hesperia loc. cit.*) that the expression *anadoumenos* "tying" suits the gesture of the boy on the seal better than *diadoumenos* "tying around" which implies crossed strands. For the Kneeling Boy too *anadoumenos* is perhaps the more suitable term.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar (*Isth.*, V, [4] 62), referring to a victor's fillet, calls it *εὔμαλλον*, "of fair wool." Dark red or purple was certainly a common color for the plain undecorated fillet (cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, IV, 6, 5) as monuments such as the Dipylon head and the Sounion and New York kouros (for references see Richter in *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, esp. pp. 28 ff.), as well as countless vase-paintings both black-figured and red-figured show us (cf. also other references given by Schuppe in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenc.*, s. v. *taenia* 1 and *mitra* 1). A fillet of dark red or purple wool is thus perfectly suitable for the Kneeling Boy in his present condition. We must remember, however, that his hair was originally dark red and this makes a dark red or purple fillet unlikely (cf. the small head of a horseman from Eleusis, Athens, National Museum 61, on

will hardly be due to chance. The hands are clearly designed to hold it. The palms are not strictly frontal, but are turned slightly inward in a somewhat more natural position,<sup>1</sup> as can be seen in the full profile view of the left side where the back of the hand is visible, but not the front.<sup>2</sup> This departure from frontality cannot but be intentional. Finally, the fingers are definitely designed to hold the fillet. As it passes through the small hole under the slightly raised index finger it gives the impression of being held between the index finger and the thumb. The three remaining fingers are loosely clasped so that it can pass between them and the palm and come out through the hole at the end of the hand by the little finger, whence it hangs down.

It is thus clear from the position of the arms and the arrangement of the hair that the Kneeling Boy is a fillet-binder. But why should he be kneeling when the kneeling position was rare among the Greeks and when we know from Pheidias' and Polykleitos' figures<sup>3</sup> that the regular attitude for a fillet-binder was standing? The archaic kneeling figures referred to above,<sup>4</sup> which are not, after all, very close in form or spirit to the Kneeling Boy, do not help us. They are apparently derived directly from Egypt, where the pose was a common one during the Saïte period (660–525 B.C.) and are usually interpreted as slaves or servants on the evidence of the Egyptian parallels.<sup>5</sup> The Kneeling Boy, however, is hardly a slave. In classical and hellenistic times kneeling figures are generally women. They can be worshippers, especially of chthonic deities, the goddess of childbirth or her votaries, mourners, and so forth,<sup>6</sup> but again none of these interpretations can apply to the Kneeling Boy. The best explanation seems to be a practical one. The artist must have realized that in a plastic vase in the form of a fully modelled nude youth such as he wished

which the hair still retains abundant traces of the original red color but the fillet is colorless; 'Aqx. 'Eφ., 1889, col. 128, Plates 5 and 6; Payne and Young, *A.M.S.A.* p. 7 and note 6; cf. also the peplos kore, Acropolis 679, where the red hair at the back was held by a green[?] band, as can be seen in the color plate 'Aqx. 'Eφ., 1887, Plate 9). If the fillet was of wool it was probably of some other color. It is quite possible, however, that the original fillet was a band of metal, perhaps silver as has been suggested for the small bronze *diadoumenos* in Berlin (8576, *Führer durch das Antiquarium I*, 1924, *Bronzen*, p. 22, Plate 36), or even gold.

<sup>1</sup> For the completely natural position cf. the hands of Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos* (references in next note but one). The slight turning of the head to the right is probably also a concession to realism: cf. Payne and Young, *A.M.S.A.* p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The right arm does not join directly. See above, p. 426, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pheidias' *Anadoumenos*; G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 228 and fig. 621. Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos*; most recently, Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, 46 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 434, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Maximova, I, pp. 131–135 and 203–204; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque. La sculpture*, I, *Période archaïque*, 1935, pp. 239–240; Buschor, *Altägyptische Standbilder* 43 and 49. Kneeling Egyptian figures were not always servants, however: cf. the basalt statue of a noble, British Museum 111, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. of plates, I, pp. 272–273, b.

<sup>6</sup> References to literary and monumental sources in Carl Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, esp. pp. 156, 177 f., 369; Paul Stengel, *Griechische Kultusaltertümer*, 3rd ed., p. 80; *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, p. 401. For figures kneeling before graves, A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Univ. of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. VII), Index IV, s. v. "kneeling figure." Kneeling is also connected with *proskynesis*, the oriental gesture of obeisance.



to make, the oil reservoir would have to be confined to the body and head. It could not extend down into the legs as well, as would be possible if the figure were draped.<sup>1</sup> This, combined with the raised and extended arms and the rather large vase-mouth on the head, would certainly make the figure top-heavy. If, to counteract the top-heaviness, the feet were firmly attached to a solid base, the figure would become quite unwieldy, and there would, besides, be the danger of breakage at the ankles. He therefore made his youth kneel, having as precedent the contemporary East Greek and Corinthian plastic vases, Kolaïos' dedication in the Heraion at Samos, and the Egyptian statues mentioned above, and thus obtained at once a more compact figure and a broad resting surface.<sup>2</sup>

The Kneeling Boy is the earliest preserved fillet-binder. Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos*, the classic example, is more than a century later, Pheidias' *Anadoumenos* is perhaps about the middle of the fifth century, and the small bronze *Diadoumenos* from Sparta is not much, if at all, earlier than the latter.<sup>3</sup> Like the other fillet-binders the Kneeling Boy represents a victorious athlete<sup>4</sup> and was probably intended as a votive offering to be dedicated by the winner of an athletic contest.<sup>5</sup>

In regard to the origin of the vase a number of opinions have already been expressed. It has been variously classed as Attic,<sup>6</sup> as Ionian or Ionizing,<sup>7</sup> and as the product of an Ionian artist working in Athens,<sup>8</sup> and, most recently, it has been associated with a group of Ionian kylixes which are thought to have been made in Samos.<sup>9</sup> I shall deal very briefly with this question here, indicating only in a general way why I think the vase is Attic, and why I think it is not Ionian; for these are clearly the two possibilities. In the first place, the vase was found in the heart of Athens and in a well which contained masses of pottery and other objects almost without exception Attic. This at once suggests, but

<sup>1</sup> As in the standing female type, Maximova II, no. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly there is a practical reason for the kneeling figures in pediments. The artist uses them because they enable him to reduce the height of his figures without reducing their scale.

<sup>3</sup> References to Polykleitos' and Pheidias' statues, above, p. 437, note 3. *Diadoumenos* from Sparta, Berlin 8576, *Führer I, Bronzen*, p. 22, Plate 36; E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pp. 70, 72, 79, Plate 36 b; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 151. The gap between these and the Kneeling Boy is in a way partly bridged by the stele from Sounion with a youth crowning himself and the Berlin alabastron associated with it by Zahn. (Sounion stele, Athens N.M. 3344; alabastron, Berlin F 2258, Neugebauer, *Führer II, Vasen*, p. 115 and Plate 55; both, R. Zahn, *Die Antike I*, 1925, pp. 273 ff. and 361–362, Plates 29 and 39.)

<sup>4</sup> That Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos* represents a victorious athlete has recently been re-affirmed by Miss Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, 51–52. That archaic kouroi sometimes represented athletic victors has been shown by Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 100, 326 ff., 334 ff. Cf. also Payne and Young, *A.M.S.A.*, p. 10, note continued from previous page.

<sup>5</sup> On the dedication of small objects by athletic victors instead of statues cf. Hyde, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27–28. If the dedicator was a victor at the Panathenaic games he may have dedicated in the vase some of his prize oil. This seems the most likely interpretation of the figure. It is also possible, however, that it was made as a grave offering. That it was meant for use, to hold oil for the palaistra, is unlikely; such a fragile figure would be too easily broken.

<sup>6</sup> Thompson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 296.

<sup>7</sup> Payne, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 266.

<sup>8</sup> Karo, *Arch. Anz.*, 48, 1933, col. 203.

<sup>9</sup> Kunze, *A.M.*, LIX, 1934, p. 122.

of course does not prove Attic origin.<sup>1</sup> Second, the clay, the glaze used on the vase-mouth and for the rendering of details, and the thin transparent wash (*lasur*) on the figure itself are all thoroughly Attic. Surely such an object, found in Athens, has a very strong claim to local origin.<sup>2</sup> A third point is the vase-mouth which is of the kind found on aryballoi of the so-called "Corinthian" type. Aryballoi of this type were not confined to Corinth but appear in a number of other fabrics. In Attica they were made for a limited period, roughly the third quarter of the sixth century, before which there were no local aryballoi, and after which they were replaced by aryballoi of "Attic" type.<sup>3</sup> An aryballos-mouth of "Corinthian" type appears on a plastic vase which is undoubtedly Attic, the *aidoion* vase in Boston which is signed by its maker Priapos, an Attic potter active in the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> As Buschor has pointed out, this is one of the earliest Attic plastic vases known and differs from others with aryballos-mouths in that it uses the earlier ("Corinthian") instead of the later ("Attic") type.<sup>5</sup> The "Corinthian" type of aryballos-mouth likewise appears on certain East Greek aryballoi and plastic vases.<sup>6</sup> It is,

<sup>1</sup> There were a few Corinthian sherds from the well, but nothing Ionian. In general it would seem that fine pottery from eastern Greece was seldom imported into Athens, to judge from the handful of sherds that has been found at the Agora and the trifling amount from the Acropolis (cf. Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, nos. 446 ff.). The few Ionian plastic vases that have been found in or around Athens (cf. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, pp. 41–43) are of the standard draped standing female types which were widely exported all over the Greek world, not, however, for the vases themselves, but rather for the perfume they contained.

<sup>2</sup> Kunze (*loc. cit.*, pp. 84 and 122) says that the clay of the Ionian (Samian) kylixes which he has grouped together can be distinguished from Attic clay only with difficulty if at all and may even have been imported from Attica, while their glaze and *lasur* are very similar to Attic. With these kylixes he therefore connects the Kneeling Boy, "an dem auch nur das Material attisch scheint, während Typus und Stil eindeutig nach Osten weisen." He thus suggests that the Kneeling Boy is Samian. If he is right, we should expect to find some close stylistic connection between it and the remarkably homogeneous group of archaic Samian marbles, bronzes, terracotta figurines, and plastic vases which Buschor has gathered together in his recent study, *Altsamische Standbilder*; I do not, however, see any such connection.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Beazley, "Aryballos," in *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927–8, pp. 194 ff. On pp. 200 ff. he lists the Attic aryballoi of "Corinthian" type. His first example, the New York Nearchos aryballos, has since been published by Miss Richter in *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 272 ff.; cf. also G. M. A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, p. 16 and fig. 103. Aryballoi of "Attic" type seem not to antedate the introduction of red-figured vase painting, about 530; Beazley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197 and 204.

<sup>4</sup> J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, p. 316. On Priapos' date, Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927–8, pp. 202 and 204. Certain plastic vases in the form of a sandalled foot which have "Corinthian" aryballos-mouths, have sometimes been thought to be Attic. Their origin, however, is disputed. Maximova (I, 93) considers one example Ionian, others Attic. Langlotz apparently considers them all Ionian (*Akropolisvasen*, I, 2669; *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, no. 151). A number, however, must be Boeotian, as Pfuhl has seen (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, paragraphs 210 and 318). Of the six examples in the National Museum at Athens which have "Corinthian" aryballos-mouths, four, as Mrs. Karouzou kindly informs me, come from Boeotia (nos. 2062, 2063, 9734, 9735) and one from Aegina (no. 2050) while the provenience of the sixth is unknown.

<sup>5</sup> E. Buschor, "Krokodil des Sotades" in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 9 and note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Examples (in both clay and faience): aryballoi, Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927–8, p. 195; plastic vases, Maximova I, p. 141, fig. 30 (*Jahreshefte*, III, 1900, Plate VI), and II, nos. 115, 118 and 133 (the last also illustrated, with a replica in London, in Buschor, "Krokodil," p. 34, figs. 49, 50).

however, distinctly the exception in the plastic vases and the few examples are scattered over a very considerable period of time from the late seventh century<sup>1</sup> to about the third quarter of the sixth.<sup>2</sup> The regular type of aryballos-mouth on East Greek plastic vases is quite different, having a small torus lip which projects but slightly beyond the narrow neck, and no handle.<sup>3</sup> Thus it appears on the evidence of the vase-mouth that the Kneeling Boy fits nicely into the beginning of the Attic series of plastic vases, less well into the East Greek. Finally, the style has a direct bearing on the question of origin. That this shows certain Ionian features, the most obvious of which are the narrow,<sup>4</sup> slanting eyes, the rather full, round face, the wavy forehead hair,<sup>5</sup> and the soft modelling of the torso, no one will deny. We have seen above, however, that the Kneeling Boy is to be dated around 540 B.C., that is, just at the time when Ionian influence had begun to make itself felt in Attic art.<sup>6</sup> Further, Buschor and others have shown that the art of making plastic vases was introduced into Athens from Ionia at just about this time.<sup>7</sup> Therefore it is clear that the Ionian stylistic traits in the Kneeling Boy do not necessarily imply Ionian origin, and that, given the Attic provenience and the Attic material and technique, the figure may be most satisfactorily explained as an Attic work under Ionian influence.<sup>8</sup> A comparison with other Attic plastic vases, insofar as they are comparable, bears this out. In them we see the same type of eye, the same nose, mouth and face as in the Kneeling Boy.<sup>9</sup> That there is among them nothing exactly comparable is not surprising. The design of the Kneeling Boy is a bold one for clay, too bold apparently to have been successful, and the fragility

<sup>1</sup> Maximova II, no. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Maximova I, p. 141, fig. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Maximova I, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> When the color is restored we see how narrow the eyes actually appeared, the white of the eyeball falling only within the incised outline.

<sup>5</sup> Wavy parted forehead hair, fairly common in Ionian sculpture (cf. the Samian-Naxian kore, Acropolis 677, Payne and Young, *A.M.S.A.*, Plates 18–19, Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, figs. 76, 80–83; and the head from one of the Ephesos drums, British Museum, B 91, F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, Vol. I, part I, p. 51 and Plate V), is also found in early Attic (cf. the gorgon head, Acropolis 701, *A.M.S.A.*, Plate 1; also the wavy hair at the temples of the Sounion kouros, *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, Plates 52–53, and the Zeus of the Introduction Pediment on the Acropolis, R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, Plate I).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Payne and Young, *A.M.S.A.*, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Buschor, "Krokodil," p. 9; Maximova I, 198; Elinor R. Price, "East Greek Pottery," p. 34 (number 13 in the *Classification des Céramiques Antiques* of the *Union Académique Internationale*).

<sup>8</sup> The suggestion that the artist may have been an easterner who was working in Athens (Karo, *Arch. Anz.*, 48, 1933, 203) is attractive as a compromise theory, but it is perhaps not possible to determine the artist's origin especially since we do not know his name; and even if he were a foreigner, his work is Attic just as the vase paintings of Lydos, "the Lydian," are Attic. (On Lydos, Richter, *M.M.S.*, IV, 1932–3, pp. 169 ff., esp. 177–178; Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931–2, p. 18.)

<sup>9</sup> The most recent studies of Attic plastic vases are Buschor's "Krokodil" and Beazley, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, pp. 38 ff. Cf. especially the face-kantharoi, *J.H.S.*, 1929, pp. 40–41, which, although they are far from perfect parallels, are much closer than any Ionian plastic vases. With the exception of the eyes we may also compare the faces of the Lyons kore, the peplos kore and the Hermes relief from the Acropolis (Payne and Young, *A.M.S.A.*, Plates 24, 32–33, and 9, 1).



of the piece probably discouraged the artist and his contemporaries from making others.<sup>1</sup> Also, the plastic vase idea did not take hold at once in Athens, and between the time of its introduction in the third quarter of the sixth century and the time when it became popular there is a period of about a generation. The early examples such as Priapos' vase and the face-kantharoi are, as it were, experimental and belong to the period before the regular types were established, and it is with these, at the beginning of the series of Attic plastic vases, that the Kneeling Boy is to be placed.

<sup>1</sup> It is not until much later times that we find such free designs in clay; cf. Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, II, *passim*.

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

This report on inscriptions found in the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora continues those which have appeared in previous volumes of *Hesperia*, and gives a preliminary discussion of twelve texts. The texts are arranged in five groups, decrees of the Demos and the Council, a decree of a tribe or religious organization, financial records, lists of offices, and dedications. Within each group the texts are placed in so far as possible in chronological order.

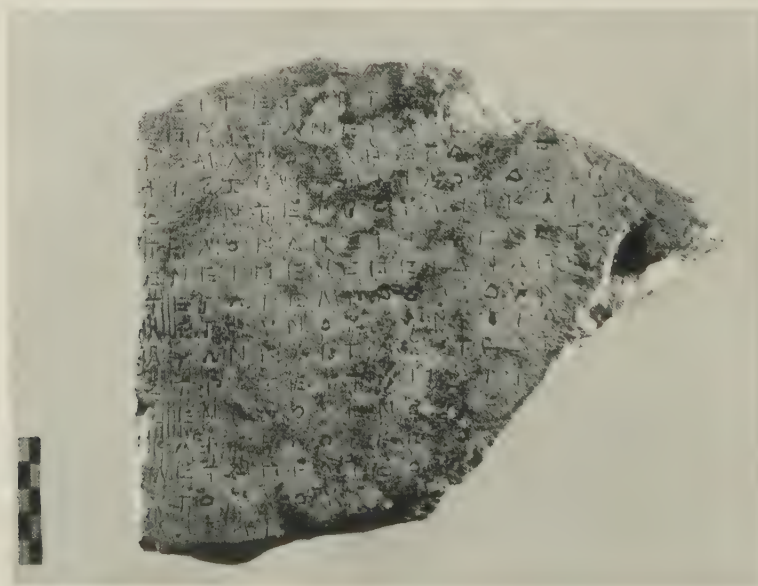
### DECREES

1. Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble with the left face and a bit of the rough-picked back preserved, found March 28, 1936, in a late wall in Section P.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.075–0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.078 m.; eight lines, 0.084 m.

Inv. No. I 3878.



No. 1

321/0 B.C. CTOIX. 26  
 [ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἔρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς .]  
 [ - - - - - ἐβδόμῃς πρυτανείῃ]  
 [ας ῥι - - - - - ]  
 [- ἐρχαμμάτευεν καὶ ἐπὶ . . .<sup>6</sup> . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . . ἐξ Οἴου ἀνα]  
 [ῥαφ]έως· Ἐλαφ[ι]βολιῶνος δωδεκά]  
 [τ]ει, τετάρτῃ [καὶ τριακοστῇ τῇ]  
 ς πρυτανείας· ἐ[κ]λ[η]σίᾳ κατὰ ψήφ]  
 ισμα βουλῆς· τῶν προ[έδρων ἐπεψη]  
 10 φισξεν Ἀμφίλοχος Ξυπ[εταιῶν· ἔδ]  
 οξεν τεῖ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ[ήμῳι<sup>v</sup>]  
 Τηλοκλῆς Τηλεγνώτο[υ] Ἀλ[ωπεκίῃ]  
 εν εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολ[ . . .<sup>?</sup> . . . ἐν]  
 τε τῷ ἔμπροσ[σ]θεν χ[ρόνῳ διετε]  
 15 λει εἵνους ὧν τῷ δῇ[μῳι τῷ Ἀθην]  
 αἰῶν καὶ τὰς στρατ[είας ἀπάσας ἐ]  
 στράτευται καὶ τ[ὰς εἰσφορὰς εἰ]  
 σενήροχεν ὅσας ἔ[πηίτει ὁ δῆμος]  
 καὶ νῦν οἴκε[τ]ος [ὧν τῶν ἐλθόντων]  
 20 μετὰ Πρωτόν[ . . .<sup>?</sup> . . . καὶ . . . ο]  
 υ τοῦ ἑοῦ ἀῖτ[ε] οὔ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτί]  
 μως ἀπ[ - - - - - ]  
 - - - - -

The calendar requirements of lines 4 and 5 and the mention of the ἀναγραφεύς in the heading of the decree are suitable only to the year 321/0. The equation Elaphebolion 12 = Prytany (VII) 34 demands an ordinary year in the period of the ten tribes. The registrar (ἀναγραφεύς) takes the place of the secretary of the Council during the three years of Macedonian control, 321/0 to 319/8, and again in 294–2 during the tyranny of Olympiodoros (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 16 ff.); the years 294–2, however, belong to the period of the twelve tribes, so this decree must belong to one of the years 321/0–319/8. The year 320/19 was intercalary and need not be here considered (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 374). For the year 319/8 there is a calendar equation Elaphebolion 29 (or 30) = Prytany VIII 21 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 388. The numerals have been restored, but there seems to be no other possible combination) which makes Elaphebolion 10 (or 11) fall upon Prytany VIII 1. By elimination, then, it must be assumed that the present text belongs to 321/0, the year of Archippos I. The name of the registrar for the year is not known, but *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 385 (assigned by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 25 to Archippos I) gives his deme as Oion and a space of twenty-three letters for his name and patronymic.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the stone, which I examined in the Epigraphical Museum, the first omicron of Οἴου falls under the gamma in ἀναγραφεύς, not under the preceding alpha as it is published in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus* and by Dinsmoor (see the photograph in *Jahreshefte*, XI, 1908, p. 98).



Line 8: See *I.G.*; II<sup>2</sup>, 554, lines 2–3 [ἐκκλησία κατὰ ψήφισι]μα δήμου and commentary by Wilhelm, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1903, p. 793.

Line 12: Possibly the Τηλοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος of 349/8 (P.A., 13580).

Lines 16–17: Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 421, lines 8–11.

Lines 17–18: Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 554, lines 9–10, ὅσας ἐψήφισται ὁ δῆμος and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 421, lines 9–10 [ἐς οἱ νόμοι αἰτιοῖς προσι]άττονσιν.

Lines 19–21: Apol - - - seems to have been on friendly terms with two men, father and son, who arrived in Athens with Proteas. The fact that Proteas is here named suggests that he was a man of some importance. One is tempted to identify him with Proteas son of Andronicus, an officer of Antipater, active with the fleet from 334 to 332 (Arrian, II, 2, 4–5; 20, 2; H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, II, p. 328). Nothing further is known of his career. After the establishment of Antipater's garrison in Munichia at the end of the Lamian War honors to Antipater and his friends were the order of the day in Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 402; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 21) and it is quite possible that Proteas, still in the service of Antipater, came to Athens during the winter of 321/0 and that Apol - - - who had influence with two men in Proteas' retinue should be honored by the city.

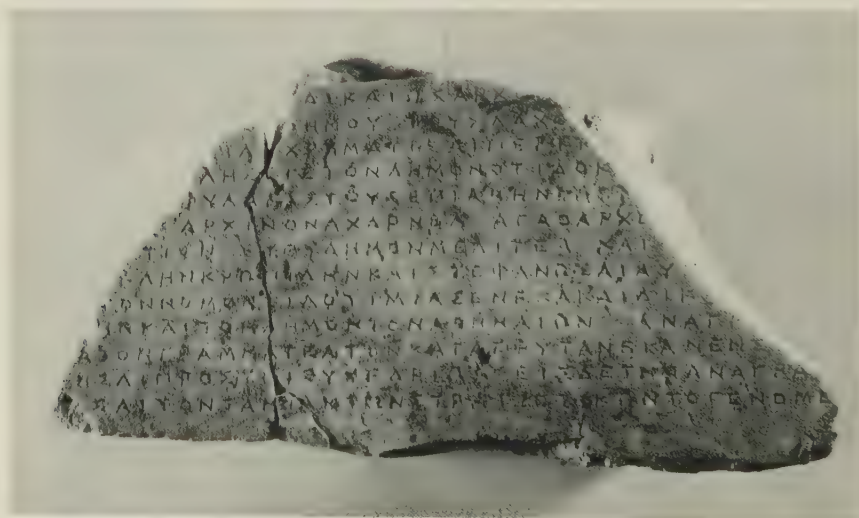
## 2. Two fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele:

A: A fragment of Hymettian marble with the inscribed face and rough-picked back preserved, found September 24, 1935, in Section II in a wall of a drain chamber of the late Roman building.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.292 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.056 m.; eight lines, 0.074 m.

Inv. No. I 3238.



No. 2. A

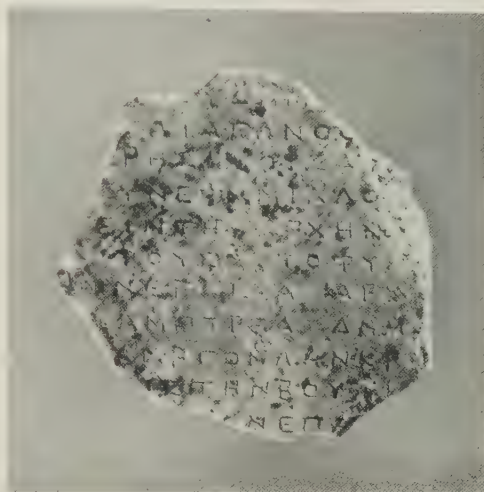
B: A fragment of Hymettian marble with the inscribed face and right edge preserved, found May 19, 1936, in late fill in Section P.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.111 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.056 m.; eight lines, 0.074–0.075 m.

Inv. No. I 4169.

Both texts are parts of decrees honoring the same board of grain-inspectors. Since the marble, letter forms, length of line and spacing correspond exactly I think the two decrees were inscribed on the same stone. Fragment A is probably part of a decree of the council which praises only the members of the board whereas B seems to be part of a decree of the Demos which included one or more others in its praises (lines 11–12).



No. 2, B

A 239/8 B.C. CTOIX, 50  
 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .] ν̄ δικαίως ἄρχει[ν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς]  
 [βουλῆς καὶ τ]ο[ῦ] δῆμον ὡς λαχόν[τας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιού]  
 [σαν ἐκκλη]σίαν χρηματίζει περὶ τ[ούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθ]  
 [αι τῆς βου]λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκ[εῖ τε] βουλεῖ ὡς ἐπαινεῖσαι τ]  
 5 [οὺς σιτο]φύλακας τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀθηνοδωρ[ου ἄρχοντος . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . ιον]  
 [Ἐρχιέα] ὡς Ἀρχῖνον Ἀχαρνέα ὡς Ἀγάθαρχο[ν Ἀμπετρεά ὡς Δημ. . .<sup>5</sup> . . . Ἀν]  
 [αφλύ]στιον ὡς Εὐθύδημον Μελιέα ὡς καὶ τ[ὸν κληρωτὸν γραμματέα]  
 [Ἐργο]κλῆν Κρωπίδιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτ[οὺς ἡλλοῦ στεφάνωι κ]  
 [αὐτὰ] τὸν νόμον φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα καὶ δικα[ιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τὴν β]  
 10 [ουλ]ήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἀναγρ[άψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφιν]  
 [σμη]α τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ περυσίαν ἐν σ[τήλει λιθίνει καὶ]  
 [σ]τήσαι πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὡς εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφ[ὴν τῆς στήλης μ]  
 [ερε]ῖσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμε[νον ἀνάλωμα vacat]  
 vacat

B 239/8 B.C. CTOIX, 50  
 [- . . . . .<sup>40</sup> . . . . .] το[ῦ] δῆμ[ου . . .]  
 [- . . . . .<sup>40</sup> . . . . .] -]φι ἀγωνοθ[έτ]  
 [ημ] . . . . .<sup>36</sup> . . . . . χ[ρη]σίμους δ[έ . . .]  
 [- . . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .] ὅπως ἂν ο[ἱ] ἐν ἐφάμιλλο[ν]  
 5 [εἰ] τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι προθύμως καὶ δικαίως ἄρχ[ειν] τῇ[ν] ἀρχήν [ο]

[ἀγαθῇ τύχει ὡς δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ὡς ἐπαινέσ]αι τοὺς σιτοφύλ  
 [ακας τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου ἄρχοντος . . . ὧς . . .]ιον Ἐρ[χ]ιέα ὡς Ἀρχ  
 [ῖον Ἀχαρνέα ὡς Εὐθύδημον Μελιτέα ὡς Ἀγάθαρχον] Λαμπτρέα ὡς Δημ  
 [. . . ὧς Ἀναφλύστιον ὡς καὶ τὸν κληρωτὸν γραμματεῖ]α Ἐργοκλῆν Κο  
 10 [ωπίδην ὡς φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ε]ἰς τὴν βουλὴν  
 [ν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτρι]ον· ἔπα[ιν]  
 [έσαι δὲ καὶ - - - - -]

The board was in office during the year of Athenodorus, 240/39 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 556, 585) so the decrees presumably belong to the following year, 239/38.

According to Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 51, 3 the grain-inspectors were originally ten in number, five for Piraeus and five for Athens, and were elected by lot, but in his time the number had been increased to twenty for the city and fifteen for the Piraeus. It is clear from this inscription that at least by 240 the number had again been changed back to the original ten with its two divisions, five for Athens and five for the Piraeus. With the two secretaries, each of the twelve tribes would be represented. It is to be noted that six tribes are represented by the six named in these decrees.

A, lines 1-2: [κατὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τ]ο[υ] δῆμου, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, l. 20.

A, lines 5-7; B, lines 7-9: Archinos of Acharnae and Euthydemos of Melite cannot be the men of the same names known in the fourth century (P.A. 2523 and 5540). Agatharchos of Lamptraí is probably the son of Pyrgion, son of Agatharchos, of Lamptraí (P.A. 12487) who was a proedros during the year of Anaxikrates, 279/8.

A, line 7; B, line 9: See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1710 and 1711, both from the Piraeus and both of the second century B.C.; the latter, which is complete, is a list of five officials plus a γραμματεὺς κληρωτός, a γραμματεὺς αἵρετός and a ὑπογραμματεὺς, who crown four of their members including τὸν κληρωτὸν γραμματεῖα and τὸν αἵρετὸν γραμματεῖα. In a list of offices found in the Agora, I 113 (see below, No. 8) the secretary of the grain-inspectors for the city is listed either as the last of the elected officials or the first of those chosen by lot. Since an allotted secretary is named here, it seems probable that there he heads the list of allotted officials.

A, line 12: σ]τῆσαι πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ.

Two unpublished inscriptions found in the Agora also mention the synedrion, using the word in its meaning of "meeting place," not of a "meeting": I 4266, an honorary decree for the archon Euthios, 285/4?, and his two paredroi is to be set up ἐμπρόσθε τοῦ συνεδρίου and I 1567, an inscription of ca. 220 A.D. provides for a bronze object to be placed ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς ἱερᾶς γερονσίας καὶ τῷ πρυτανείῳ.

The only other clear evidence of a specific building in Athens called the synedrion is found in Xenophon (*Hell.*, II, 4, 23) where it is stated that the Thirty on returning to Athens after their defeat by Thrasyboulos in Piraeus in 403 συνεκάθηρτο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. The use of the definite article shows that a specific place is meant.



Unfortunately for us the word *συνέδριον* has a very broad meaning; it is used for meetings, councils, colleges, and also for meeting places (Liddell and Scott, and Kahrstedt in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* 4, A<sup>2</sup>, 1932, s. v. *συνέδριον*). Plato (*Theait.*, 173 D) offers a good example of the vagueness of the term:

οἷτοι - - - μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν οὐκ ἴσασι τὴν ὁδόν, οὐδὲ  
 δέπου δικαστήριον ἢ βουλευτήριον ἢ τι κοινόν  
 ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον.

In Athens the word is used of the council of the Areopagus (Aesch., I, 92, and Deinarch., I, 54) and of the colleges of the thesmothetae (Hyper., *Eux.* 6; for Roman times see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3640 and Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 74) and of the archon Basileus (Demosth., LIX, 83; this speech is placed in the years 343 to 340 B.C. by Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, V, 1905, s. v. Demosthenes, p. 188). Since the word has the two meanings it is not possible to state definitely whether the last two references are to colleges or to meeting places. The usual interpretation of college seems preferable for the first (Hyper., *Eux.* 6) where *θεσμοθετῶν συνέδριον* is named with other magistracies. In the second (ps.-Demosth., LIX, 83), however, there is nothing to indicate which meaning of the word is used: the archon Basileus ἀπελάνει his paredros ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου (see Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, p. 1060, note 1, where this text is used as evidence of a college).<sup>1</sup>

The nine archons had a common meeting place for their common business which was probably in the Agora<sup>2</sup> (Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1074, note 3). Aristotle (*Αθ. Πολ.* 3, 30) calls it the *θεσμοθετεῖον*, Hypereides (Pollux, IV, 122) calls it the stoa, the Scholiast to Aeschines (II, 85) ἀρχεῖα.<sup>3</sup> Since the word synedrion is used both in connection with the archon Basileus and with the thesmothetai and since a decree in honor of an archon<sup>4</sup> was to be set up in front of the synedrion, it is possible that the synedrion was the building or part of a building in which the archons had their common office, and that this is to be equated with the thesmothesion.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lysias (IX, 9—10) οὐκ εἰσέλθον εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον - - - - - εἰ γὰρ φανερός εἰμι μὴ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον - - -. The ἀρχεῖον from the context is clearly the office of the generals. εἰς τὸ συνέδριον seems to mean "into the meeting."

<sup>2</sup> The office of the Archon Eponymous was certainly there (ps.-Andoc., IV, 14). I see no reason for disassociating this from that of the other archons.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in Demosthenes (XXI, 85) τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἶκημα has been interpreted as a reference to the office of the forty, not of the archons (Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1074, note 3).

<sup>4</sup> The only other decrees in honor of archons for which the place of erection is known are *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 668 and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 13. The former honors the Archon Eponymous, his two paredroi, and οἱ τῆς πομπῆς ἐπιμεληταί and is to be set up in the temenos of Dionysos. The inclusion of the ἐπιμεληταί τῆς πομπῆς probably explains the choice of place. The latter, on which the title of the archon, whether Basileus, Polemarch or Eponymous Archon, is not preserved, is to be set up in front of the stoa of Zeus (see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 417 for the implications).

<sup>5</sup> The thesmothesion is placed by Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 303, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis. The dedications of the thesmothetai to Apollo ἐπ' Ἀρχαῖς found there are not however definitive.

There is no obvious connection between the archons and grain-inspectors but the general term ἀρχεῖα used by the scholiast to Aeschines for the archons' office makes the assumption possible that the building was also used by other magistrates.

The location of the building cannot be decided on the present evidence. The complete stele with the decree honoring the archon, I 4266, was found used in a late Roman wall over a drain in the north room of the Metroon, but it may have been brought from some little distance for it was serving a useful purpose there. The places of finding of the two pieces of decrees in honor of the grain-inspectors have no special meaning, for both pieces are small and easy to carry. It is perhaps suggestive that the three definite references—excluding the inscription of the third century A.D.—to the synedrion, the two third century decrees and the meeting of the Thirty in 403, fall in the period after the new Bouleuterion was finished, late in the fifth century (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 156) and before the Hellenistic re-building of the old Bouleuterion in the second century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 195).

The interior arrangement of the Old Bouleuterion at this time is quite uncertain, but it is conceivable that part of the building was used as an office or meeting place of the archons. Similar accommodation for those officials may have been provided also in the still more spacious Hellenistic building on the same site.<sup>1</sup>

B, line 2: An omega and alpha are written on top of each other; the stone-cutter presumably wrote the alpha first and not bothering to erase it wrote the omega on top. This line must have contained some provision relating to the proclamation of the honors. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 677, ll. 14–16.

**3.** Part of a stele of Hymettian marble found in August, 1934, in Roman fourth century fill in Section Z. The original right face and rough-picked back are preserved, the left face is splintered but the first letters of some of the lines are legible.

Height, 0.65 m.; width, 0.445 m.; thickness, 0.10–0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.006–0.007 m.; eight lines, 0.09 m.

Inv. No. I 2361.

Between 224 and 196 B.C.

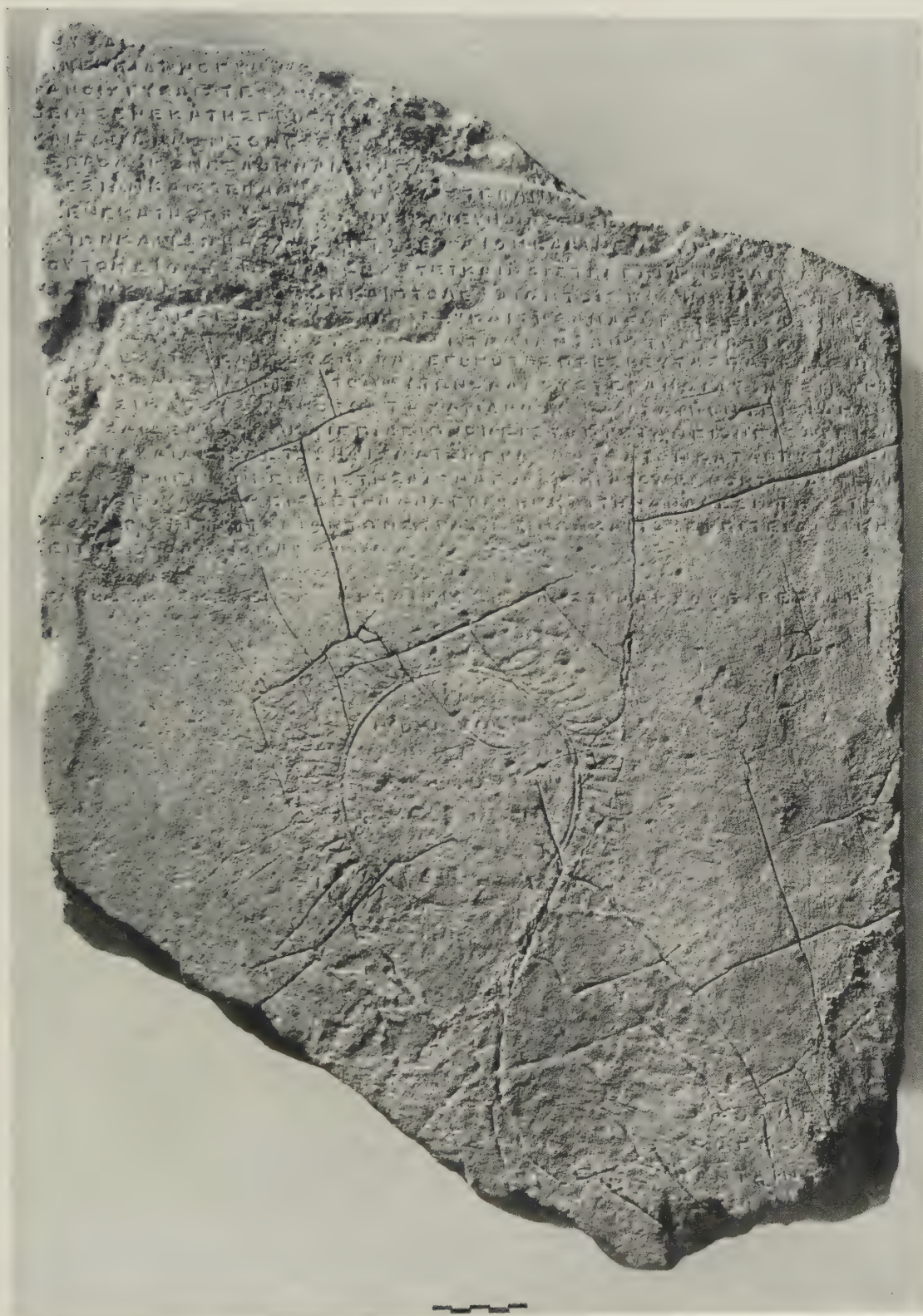
NON CTOIX. 49–53

.. ΟΥΣΔΕΙΚΟ

.. ΙΝ ἐπειδὴν ὁ γυμνα[σίαρχος ὁ πανηγύρεως γυμνασιαρχήσας (?) στε]  
φανοῖ χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [----- 26-30 ----- εὖσε]  
βείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς [θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν]  
5 καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων]  
[θ]εωροδόκον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντ[ων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν]  
[Ἐφ]εσίων καὶ στεφαν[ῶ]σαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσεβεί]

<sup>1</sup> In *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 215, note 4, the suggestion was made that the synedrion might be equated with the Bouleuterion. Since, however, the term Bouleuterion was in regular official use at the time of the above noted references to the synedrion, it would seem preferable to postulate for the latter a separate building or a distinct part of a building.





No. 3



[α]ς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τ[ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη]  
 ραίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν [στέφανον]  
 10 τοῦτον Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τραγωιδόις καὶ Πανα[θη]  
 ναί[ω]ν καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν·  
 [τῆς δὲ] ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμελ[η]  
 [θῆναι] τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κα[ὶ τὸ]ν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν vacat  
 [ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ τοὺς παραγεγονότας πρεσβευτὰς παρ' Ἐφεσίων  
 15 [καὶ στε]φανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ Διονισικλῆν  
 [Διονι]σικλέους ὃ Νικο[φ]ῶντα Χαριδήμου ὃ [Πάν]ταινον Τεισιδήμου  
 [καλέ]σαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον·  
 [ἀνα]γράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτα[ν]εῖ  
 [αν] ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι  
 20 [δ]ος Βουλαιάς· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στή  
 λης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικί  
 σει τὸ γεινόμενον ἀνάλωμα. vacat  
 vacat

θεωροδόκος κεχειροτόνηται Πρ[α]ξι[τέ]λης Τιμάρχου Εἰρεσίδης

ἡ βουλὴ

ὁ δῆμος

[τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν

[Ἐφε]σίων

[ἡ βουλὴ]

[ἡ βουλὴ]

[ἡ β]ουλὴ

[ὁ δῆμος]

[ὁ δῆμος]

[ὁ] δῆμος

[Διονισικλῆν]

[Νικοφῶντα]

[Π]άνταιν[ον]

[Διονισικλέους]

[Χαριδήμου]

Τ[ε]ισιδ[ήμου]

#### TRANSLATION

When the gymnasiarch [who is acting as gymnasiarch for the festival] crowns with a golden crown - - - - - because of piety towards the gods and good will towards the Council and the Demos of the Ephesians; [and (be it resolved) that the Demos of the Athenians elect] a theorodokos from all the Athenians; and that they praise the Demos of the Ephesians and crown it with a golden crown according to the law because of piety towards the gods and good-will towards the Demos of the Athenians and King Ptolemy and that they proclaim this crown at the new contests of the Dionysia in the city and at the gymnastic contests of the Panathenaia and of the Eleusinia and of the Ptolemaia; that the generals and the treasurer of the military funds care for the making of the crown and for the proclamation. And (be it resolved) that they praise the ambassadors from Ephesus who are now here and crown each one of them with an olive crown (i.e.) Dyonisikles son of [Dyoni]sikles, Nikophon son of Charidemos, [Pan]tainos son of Teisidemos and invite them also to dinner in the prytaneion on the morrow; that the prytany secretary inscribe this decree on a stone stele and place it

in the Agora by the altar of Artemis Boulaia; that the treasurer of the military funds and the board of the administration apportion the expense incurred for the inscription and the erection of the stele.

Praxiteles son of Timarchos of Eiresidai was elected theorodokos.

	The Council	
	The Demos	
	The Demos of	
	Ephesus	
[ The Council	[ The Council	The Council
The Demos	The Demos	The Demos
Dyonisikles	Nikophon	Pantainos
son of Dyonisikles ]	son of Charidemos ]	son of Teisidemos

## COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 2: The gymnasiarch, if the restoration be correct, is clearly an Ephesian official whose duty it is to confer the honorary crowns at the games. In the as yet unpublished Ephesian inscriptions collected for TAM, he is associated with the agonothetes and is given the title *γυμνασιαρχίας παρηγύσεως* (according to Oehler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s. v. *γυμνασίαρχος*, VII, p. 1982). In inscriptions from Smyrna (*C. I. G.*, 3185, ll. 15–16) and from Cyzicus (*J. H. S.*, XXIII, 1903, pp. 89–90) the gymnasiarch is ordered to give the crowns.

Line 3: Perhaps [*τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἶσε*] or name, patronymic and demotic of an Athenian.

Line 5: No exact parallel for the restored phrase has been found; the Demos of the Athenians is perhaps named in full in order to avoid confusion with the Demos of the Ephesians.

Line 6: The theorodokos in this case is the person elected to act as official host to the committee that has come bringing an invitation to a festival (for a full discussion of theorodokoi and of epangelia decrees see P. Boesch, *θεωροί*, 1908, and L. Ziehen, s. v. *Theoroi* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, II, 5, 1934). The provision for his election shows that the ambassadors from Ephesus, ll. 14 ff., have come with an invitation to a festival which in this case must almost certainly be the Ephesia celebrated in honor of Artemis (Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 336 ff.). Decrees such as this, however, answering an invitation have been found only in the case of a new festival or the re-establishment of an old one (Boesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–104) and nothing is known of the re-establishment of the games at Ephesus in the late third century.

Line 9: King Ptolemy is either Ptolemy IV, Philopater, 221–203? B.C., or Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, 203?–181, for a *terminus post quem* 224/3 is given by the mention of the Ptolemaia in line 11, which were probably not celebrated until after the creation of the tribe Ptolemais in 224/3 or 223/2 (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 53) and a *terminus*

*ante quem* 196 by the association of Athens, Ephesus and Ptolemy. In 197/6 Ephesus passed out of Ptolemaic control into the hands of Antiochus (Meyer, *Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, p. 141).

Line 14: The three ambassadors from Ephesus are the committee bringing the invitation to the games. In the epangelia inscriptions they are called indifferently *θεωροί* or *πρεσβευταί* (for *πρεσβευταί* in this sense, see *O.G.I.*, 305, Michel, 699; Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, 23, 31, etc.).

Line 15: The upsilon in *Λυονσιελῆν* is clear. No other occurrence of this spelling of the name has been found.

Line 19: No other reference to an altar of Artemis Boulaia in the Agora has been found. The prytanies regularly offered sacrifices to Artemis Boulaia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790, 890, 977, etc.), so the presence of an altar for her in the vicinity of the Tholos would not be surprising. This stele was found in a sandy fill of the fourth century A.D. about ten metres northeast of the Tholos, and it seems probable that it was not far from the spot where it originally stood. At present there is nothing in this region that can be definitely associated with the altar of Artemis Boulaia. The reason that this particular decree was to be set up by this altar lies probably in the fact that Ephesus is honored by it and that the decree concerns the festival of Artemis.

Line 23: A Praxiteles son of Timarchos of Eiresidai (P.A. 12169) was priest of Asklepios either in 256/5 (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 37 ff.) or in 253/2 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 169). It is possible that the same man in his old age was elected theorodokos shortly after 224 B.C. On the other hand the theorodokos may be not the priest, but his grandson, not otherwise known. In that case one would prefer a date close to the end of the period in which this decree must be placed, about 200.

Although by the provision for the election of a theorodokos this decree clearly falls in the category of answers to an invitation to a festival, yet there are several features in it that do not usually occur in epangelia decrees. First, in lines 2–4 one would expect the concluding phrases of acceptance, descriptive perhaps of the games (see Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, 37, ll. 25–29; *O.G.I.*, 305, ll. 12–14); instead one finds that someone is to be crowned because of goodwill towards Ephesus. Secondly, in line 9 Ephesus is praised for its friendly attitude towards King Ptolemy.

If one accepts the argument *ex silentio* that there was no re-establishment of a festival at Ephesus in the late third century, there is a third peculiarity, namely, that an invitation to an already established festival is answered by a formal published decree. This third deviation is of course explained by the first two. The Ephesian ambassadors presumably invited the Athenians to the games and at the same time announced that either Athens or an Athenian would be crowned at them. The Athenians then took this opportunity to praise Ephesus.

The decree must fall between 224 and 196, as has been seen. The historical requirements, Athens, Ephesus and Egypt all on friendly terms, are fulfilled throughout



the period. In all probability, however, the reference to Ptolemy was made before the disastrous defeat of Ptolemy V at Panium in 200. The election of Praxiteles son of Timarchos as theorodokos makes a date close to either end of the period preferable. In 201 Athens when threatened by Macedon, appealed to Ptolemy V and Attalos for help (Pausanias, I, 36, 5). Philip in that year was in Caria, and Athens may well have hoped that Ephesus would have offered opposition to him in Asia Minor. Since the honors are to be proclaimed at the Ptolemaia, the fourth year of an Olympiad would fit the requirements (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 265).

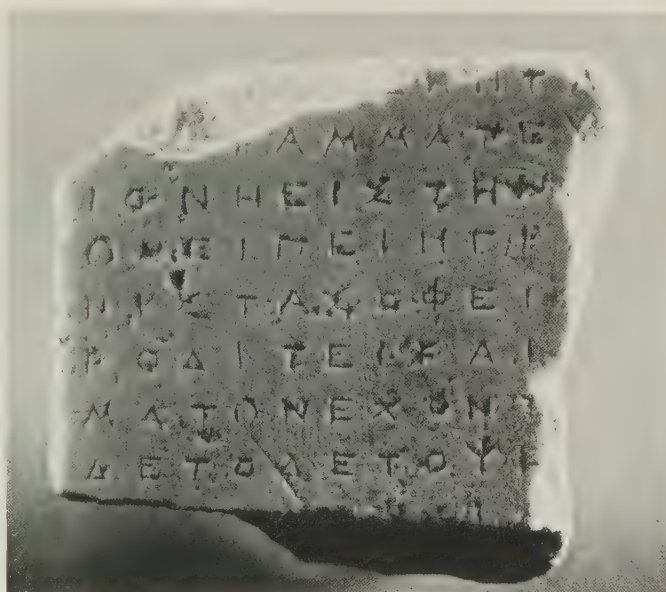
#### DECREE OF A TRIBE OR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION(?)

**4.** A fragment of white marble found January 29, 1936, in disturbed fill in Section N; the original left edge is preserved.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.123 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.07–0.071 m.; eight lines, 0.084 m.

Inv. No. I 3241.



No. 4

CTOIX.

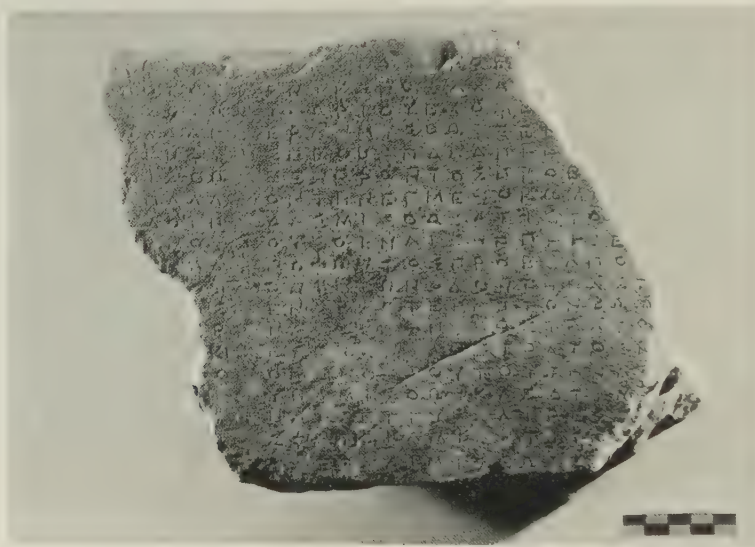
[----- το]  
 [ὅς ἐπιμ]ελητὰς[ οἷς -----]  
 ἐγραμμάτευ[εν -----]  
 ION ἡ εἰς τῆς -----  
 5 ΩΝ εἴπει ἢ γρά[ψηι -----]  
 ΝΙΣ τὰς δφειλ[ούσας ----- τῇ Ἀφ]  
 ροδίτει καὶ -----  
 ΜΑ τῶν ἐχόν[ων -----]  
 δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φισμα -----]  
 10 [ἀναγράφαι ὃ[ἐ -----]

The letter forms suggest a date in the middle of the third century. The mention of ἐπιμεληταί and their secretary in lines 2 and 3 suggests that this is perhaps part of a decree of a tribe or of a religious organization (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1277, a decree in honor of the ἐπιμεληταί and secretary of a thiasos, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1291, a decree of ἐραισταί honoring their treasurer, secretary and ἐπιμεληταί. For the ἐπιμεληταί of a tribe see Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, p. 974, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1138, etc.).

Lines 5-6: Perhaps [- - - ἐρα]νιστᾶς δφειλ[όντας - -].<sup>1</sup>

#### FINANCIAL RECORDS

**5.** A fragment of Hymettian marble found May 6, 1936, in a modern wall in Section Σ; original back preserved, broken on all sides.



No. 5

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.07 m.; eight lines, 0.074 m.

Inv. No. I 4133.

<sup>1</sup> This reading was suggested by Eugene Schweigert.

343/2 B.C.		CTOIX. 29	
	VI I	.... ο[-----μισθ <sup>24</sup> ω-----]	
	-- ἀπὸ τοῦ	.. εστου [Π]ροβ[: pretium: <sup>17</sup> ἐγγυ -----]	
	-- ΥΣΟΔΩ	ς Νίκωνος Ἀχαρχ[ν : ..... <sup>15</sup> .....]	
5	-- ΠΔΔΔΗ	υ χωρίου ἐχομέ[ρου ..... <sup>12</sup> ..... ἐτ]	
	-- ο]ν Κηφι	ἐραν μισθω : Ξεν ..... <sup>16</sup> .....	
	-- μισθω	ς Προβ : ΠΔΔΔΠΗΗ[. I : ἐγγυ : Ξενοφῶν]	
	-- ΠΔΔΔ	Ξενοφῶντος Προβ[: ..... <sup>9</sup> ..... τὴν ὁδ]	
	-- ΔΟΥΠ	ὄν τὴν ἐγ ΜΕ.ΟΚΩΜ[. .... <sup>14</sup> .....]	
10	---- ΟΥ	ΔΑΣ μισθω : Ἀριστό[δημος Ἀριστοκλέ]	
	----- Δ	ους Οἰναῖ : ΗΠΠΗΗ : ἐ[γγυ : Ξενοφῶν Ξε]	
	----- Ω	νοφῶντος Προβ : ΑΠΟ ..... <sup>13</sup> .....	
	----- Σ	ΟΝΤ. τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀστ[ίαν ..... <sup>9</sup> .....]	
	----- Ρ	ἐν ἀριστερ[ᾱ]ι τὸν βωμ[ὸν μισθω : ....]	
15	---- ΚΙ	ΝΑ[....]ς Νικοστράτο[υ ..... <sup>11</sup> .....]	
	-- ο	ἐγγυ : Νικόστρατος Ν[.... <sup>10</sup> ..... ἐχ]	
	υ	όμενος τούτου τὴν λύ[σιν ..... <sup>9</sup> .....]	
		ΥΝ μισθω : Κλεότιμ[ος ..... <sup>11</sup> .....]	
		ΗΠΗ : ἐγγυ : Χαλρέστ[ρατος ..... <sup>8</sup> .....]	
	-- Ι	Σφητ : κάμψαντι το[..... <sup>13</sup> ..... ἐ]	
20	--	υ δεξιᾷ μισθω : Ἐ ..... <sup>15</sup> .....	

This piece belongs with two stones in the Epigraphical Museum, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 and 1591, which record the property leased by Athena Polias in the year 343/2. None of the three pieces joins, but the marble, letters, spacing, length of line and thickness of the stones correspond exactly. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1591 is published as a separate inscription but described as "eadem manu incisae atque in t. praecedenti." Sundwall (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, p. 65) considered it a piece from a different record arguing that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 had only one column because its restored heading occupies the space of a single column twenty-nine letters wide. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1591 contains parts of two columns of which column II, the better preserved one, can be restored with a twenty-nine letter line. The piece from the Agora also has parts of two columns, of which the more complete one can be restored to twenty-nine letters. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 would be a badly proportioned stele were it only one column wide; for it is 0.12 m. thick and the single column would give a maximum width of 0.30 m. Therefore in spite of the heading it seems better to consider it as part of a stele of two or more columns and thus remove the only objection to assigning the three stones of identical appearance and measurements to the same stele.

Line 3: Νίκωνος Ἀχαρχ[ν Nikon of Acharnae, P.A. 11107, father of the guarantor is found in a prytany list of 360/59 B.C.

Line 8: ἐγ Με[.]οχωμ --. No other occurrence of this place name has been found. It is perhaps the name of one of the κῶμαι of Attica (Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>,



p. 175, cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1598, line 9). The only clue to its geographical location is given by the demes of the lessee and guarantor, for it seems probable that the property in which they were interested was somewhere near their homes. Probalinthos and Oinoe both are in northeastern Attica in the region of Marathon (Milchhoefer, *Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung*, pp. 18, 35). The fact that there are two other men from Probalinthos named in this column, lines 2 and 6, also suggests that the property with which this piece of the record is concerned lay in the general region of Marathon. Leases in Kydathenaion, i.e. in the centre of Athens, are listed at the beginning of the document, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590, and leases in the suburbs south of the city in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1591, which, like the new piece from the Agora, is part of the second or third column.

Lines 9–10: See P.A. 1878, — — — *μὸς Ἀριστοκλέους Οἰναῖος*, inspector of the shipyards in 333/2.

Line 12: cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10, lines 121–122.

**6.** Fragment of a stele of white marble found January 24, 1936, during the demolition of a modern house in Section P; left edge preserved.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.094 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.061–0.062 m.; eight lines, 0.065 m.

Inv. No. I 3247.



No. 6

CΤΟΙΧ.

[ - - - - - ] ἡ ἀ[ ]  
 πε[ρ] γασία - - - - -  
 ἀπὸ τῆς μνᾶς γιγ[νεται] (?) - - - - - σιτα[ ]  
 θυὸν χρυσίου τοῖς Ε - - - - -  
 5 ἡ ἀπεργασία : ΠΔΔΔΔ : Ι - - - - -  
 τούτου ἐκ τετάρτων - - - - -  
 [.] εἰ ὁ σταιγῆρ : ΠΗΗΠΔ - - - - -  
 [χ] αὐ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς - - - - -  
 [.] σ τῶν τιμῶν Νικον - - - - -  
 10 [ε] δόθη ὅσων ἐλάττον [- - - - - ἐμέ]  
 [ρ] ισαν οἱ ἀποδέκται  
 [.] τους : ΧΗΗΗΗ vacat  
 [λ] οιπὸν περιεγένη[το - - - - - ]  
 [.] Ν : ΔΔΔΔΔ : τοῦτων - - - - -  
 15 [.] ἐντων : ΤΗΗΗΗ - - - - -  
 vacat

This is a fragment from the accounts covering some public work, or from the annual accounts of some regular board covering the expenses of repair or new work. The character of the writing suggests a date in the second half of the fourth century, the mention of the apodectai, l. 10, a date before 321/320 (see Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, p. 931, note 4. They are last mentioned in the year 323/2).

Lines 1, 4: ἀπεργασία, "finishing off," "completing." Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1670; lines 18–19. τὰς ἔδρας ἀπεργάζεται.

Line 7: Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 30.

#### LISTS OF OFFICES

**7.** Fragment of a stele of white marble found March 22, 1934, in the wall of a Byzantine tomb in Section K; right edge preserved.

Height, 0.365 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.153 m.

Height of letters: lines 1–10, *ca.* 0.005 m.; lines 11–18, 0.006–0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 1659.

ΟΤ Ο

- - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - - Η - - - - -  
 5 - - - - ΜΟΝΗΣΤΟ - - - - -

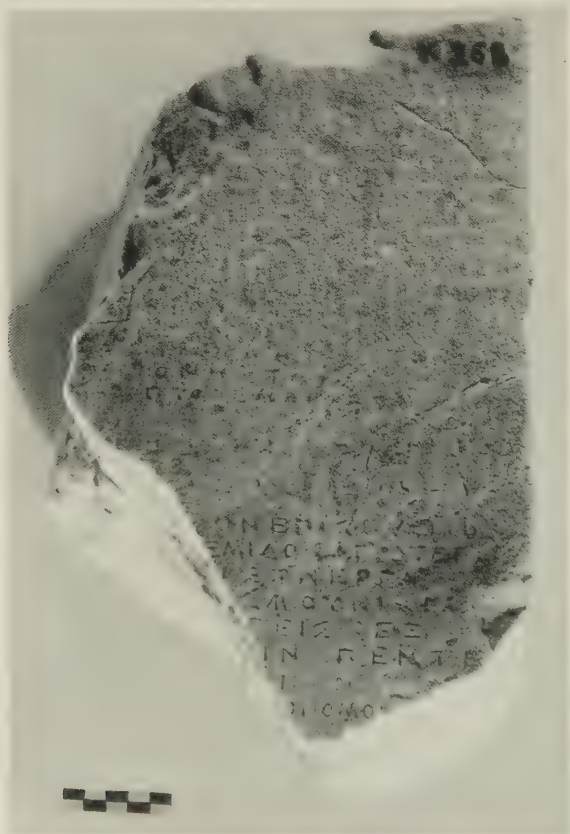
----- ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ -----  
 vacat  
 -----  
 ----- Σ ----- vacat  
 10 [- - - <sup>ca. 10-11</sup> - - -]ων ἐπὶ Σούνιον  
 [ἱερεὺς Ἀρτ]έμιδος Ἀγροτέρας  
 [ἐπιμελητὴς (?) εἰς τὰ ἔργα  
 [στρατηγὸς εἰς Μουνηχίαν  
 15 [- <sup>ca. 5</sup> - - εἰσαγω]γεῖς ἕξ  
 [ἀστυνόμοι εἰς πόλιν πέντε  
 [ἵππαρχος εἰς Μύριναν  
 [γραμματεὺς μετρ]ονόμοις [εἰς ἕστυ]  
 [εἰληχῶς] vacat

The inscribed face is very badly worn; below what seems to have been a continuous text there is a list of officials inscribed in large letters. The letter forms suggest a date

about the middle of the second century B.C. and the mention of an officer for Myrina dates the inscription after 167/6. Compare the list of officials originally published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, 31, republished here, No. 8.

Line 11: Perhaps [ἡγεμῶν τῶν ξένων]ων ἐπὶ Σούνιον. In a decree of the garrison at Eleusis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, l. 94 a ἡγεμῶν heads the list of the ξένοι who were serving there. In a decree of the garrison at Sounion, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1300, a hegemon is mentioned in line 4, of which the context is not clear. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2858. (See Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, p. 128, note 3, who in discussing the armies of the Hellenistic period says "Die Bedeutung von ἡγεμῶν ist eine vielfache: es kann einfach allgemein heißen 'Offizier' oder 'rangältester Offizier einer Garnison' oder . . .")

Line 12: For Artemis Agrotera see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 209. The ephebes took part in her festival, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 1028, etc.



No. 7



Line 13: εἰς τὰ ἔργα "for the mines."

Lines 14–17: The same officers in the same order are named in lines 3–6 of the following text.

Line 14: Cf. Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 61, 1.

Line 15: The first preserved letter is a gamma. Perhaps [δικῶν εἰσαγωγ]γεῖς. See Aristotle *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 52, 2 for εἰσαγωγγεῖς, the magistrates who brought into court the cases that came to trial within a month. In the fourth century there were five elected by lot, each one in charge of the business of two tribes. Six then is the number one would expect in the period of the twelve tribes.

Line 16: Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 50 and 51) names four groups of officials of which there were five for the city and five for the Piraeus, ἀστυνόμοι, ἀγορανόμοι, μετρονόμοι and σιτοφύλακες.<sup>1</sup> Ἀστυνόμοι, the shortest of the words, best fills the space requirements of line 16. Even so, this restoration makes the most crowded line by one letter in this text and by two or three letters in line 5 of the following text. Since there were five σιτοφύλακες for the city (see above No. 2) even after the addition of the two new tribes, it is probable that the other boards kept their original number.

Line 17: cf. Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 61, 6, also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 672, line 6, 1224, line 10.

Line 18: See Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 51, 2, and Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 95.

Line 19: The only preserved space in this line, between the first omicron and the mu of μετρονόμοις in line 18 is vacant: [ἐλληχῶς]. Each of the secretaries listed in No. 8, lines 8–20 is described as "chosen by lot." The implication is that the officials named in the preceding lines without the qualifying participle were not so chosen but were elected. Since lines 14–17 of No. 7 are the same as lines 3–5 in No. 8, it is probable that we also have a list of elective officials in No. 7 in lines 11 through 17. The general and the hipparch were clearly elected officials. The εἰσαγωγγεῖς and ἀστυνόμοι, however, are both listed as allotted officials by Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 52, 2 and 50, 2. In the Hellenistic period there was a general trend away from the use of the lot towards the election of officials.<sup>2</sup> There is clear evidence that the archons, the superintendents of the Dionysia and the superintendent of the harbor, all of whom are named by Aristotle as officials chosen by lot, were elected in Hellenistic times.<sup>3</sup>

Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 51, in discussing No. 8, says that the fact that the secretaries are not placed on the list immediately following the official or board which each served, suggests that in each case the board or official was elected and therefore would be

<sup>1</sup> For the number of σιτοφύλακες see above, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, pp. 47 ff., and *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1932, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> For the archons see Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 52; for the superintendent of the Dionysia, Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 56, 4 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 896, line 34 and for the superintendent of the harbor, Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 51, 4 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1012, lines 19–20. Aristotle names ten ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταί and the inscription a single ἐπιμελητής ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα. See Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 51, note 2 for the identity of office.



Line 2: Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2864.

Lines 3–6: The same offices in the same order are named in the preceding text, ll. 14–17.

Line 7: Cf. *Pap. Herc.*, no. 1418 and *Riv. di Fil.*, 1927, p. 501; also *Att. Urkunden*, III, pp. 34ff.

Line 8: See above, No. 2, A, line 7, B, line 9.

See commentary on preceding text for discussion of elected and allotted officials.

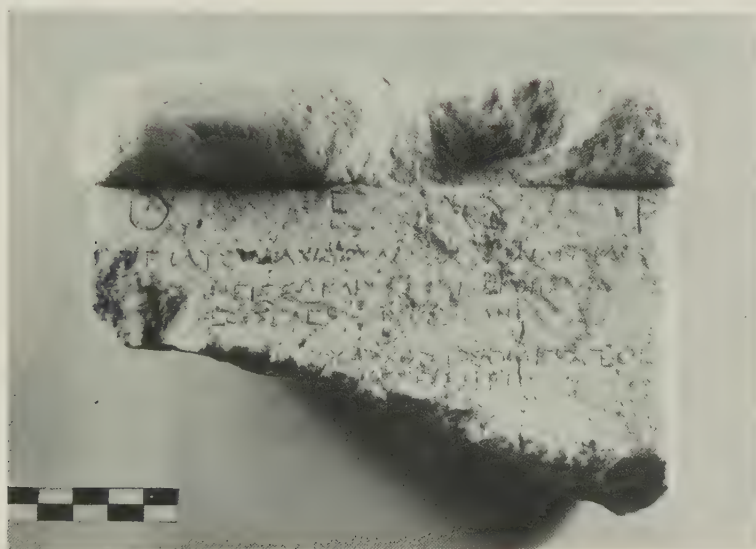
## DEDICATIONS

9. The upper part of a small stele of white marble found March 3, 1936, in a late fill in Section N; original sides, top and smooth-finished back preserved.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, of moulding at top, 0.19 m.; of inscribed face, 0.169 m.; thickness, at left, 0.042 m.; at right, 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 3679.



No. 9

339/8

NON CTOIX.

Θ	ε	ο	ι	
ἐπὶ Ἀνσ[ι]μαχίδ[ο]ν ἄρχ[ο]ντ[ο]ς Ἀλαντίδος				
[πρὸντ]άρεϊς ΣΩΚΛΕ[. . . .] ΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑ[.]Α vacat				
[. . . .] ΕΟΥΣΕΑΕ [. . . ἀνέθ]ηκαν vacat				
vacat				
[ἐπὶ Ἀνσιμα]χίδον ἄρχοντος οἶδε κατέθε				
[σαν -----] ΕΙ: ΗΙΝ vacat				
----- Σ -----				



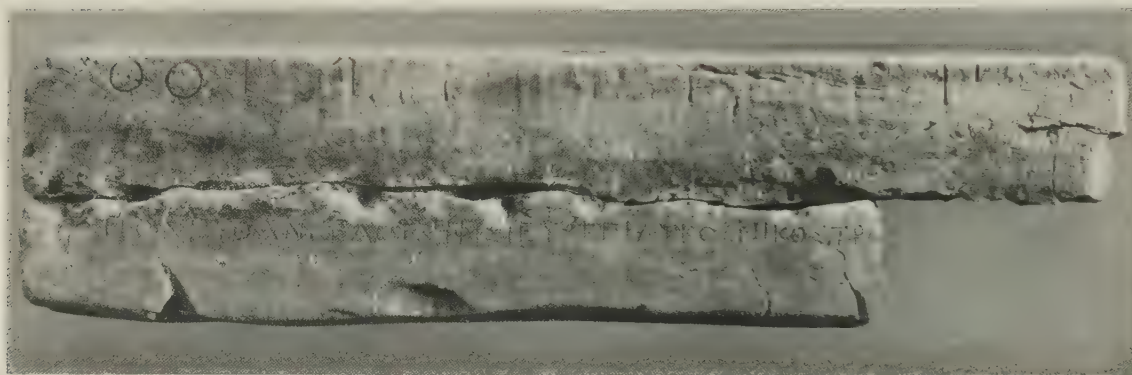
This seems to be a dedication by the prytaneis or some members of the prytany of the tribe Aiantis followed by the list of those who made deposits towards it.

**10.** Two joining pieces of Hymettian marble found in Section N during the demolition of the church of *Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ* on October 28 and November 9, 1935. The original surfaces are preserved at the top, bottom and left; the right end is not an original surface but chisel marks show that it was purposely broken here for re-use. The lower right corner is missing.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 1.21 m.; maximum preserved thickness, 0.42 m.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.035–0.047 m.; line 2, 0.02–0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 3185.



No. 10

[[Ο]] Ο [[Ι Ι]] Ι [[Π Π]] Ι [[Η Η]] Λ]] Π  
 Εἰς τῶν Πευθαγέλου Κηφισιεύς : Ἐπίλυκος Νικοσιρά[τον Γαργήτιος

This inscription was read by Fourmont "ad *Παναγίας τοῦ Βλασσαροῦ*" *I.G.*, II, 2174. At that time the missing right hand corner was in place and he read the demotic of Epilykos.

In line one there are two inscriptions one written over the other. Either the block was re-used or the stone-cutter made a mistake in the spacing of the line and, partially erasing some of his first letters, wrote the second copy and relied on the color that was to be added to the final letters to make his first unnoticed by the casual reader. The earlier partially erased letters are set on a slightly higher line and are spaced more closely than the second set. The readings of the sixth and seventh letters of the first inscription present difficulties. They seem to be eta and epsilon. However, the ending  $\eta\epsilon\varsigma$  for nouns with a nominative singular in  $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  is unknown in Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 140). Since it is barely possible it is perhaps better to read the seventh letter as sigma and so have a normal ending  $\eta\varsigma$ . The surface of the

block at the right end is worn and there are no recognizable traces of letters. The reading then of the first cutting is οἱ ἱππῆς and the same is to be restored for the second, οἱ ἱπ[πῆς].

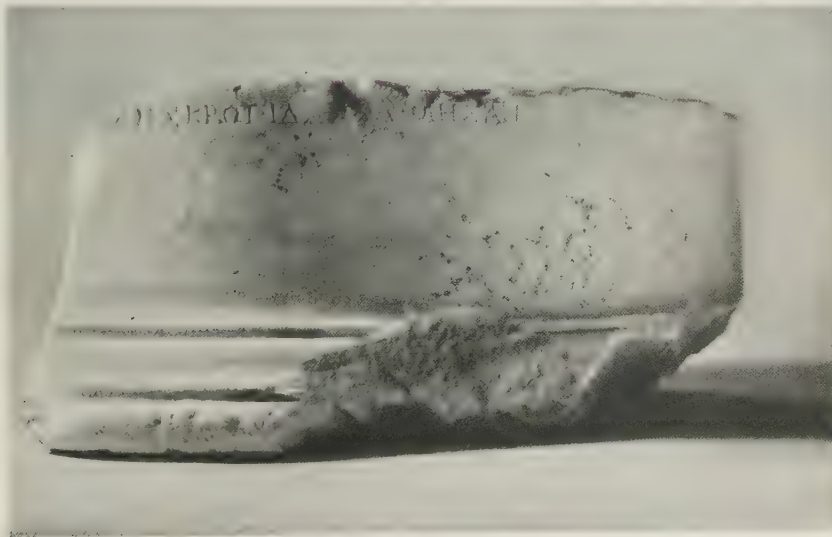
The block is part of a monument dedicated by the knights (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1955). The first line continuing perhaps on one or more blocks to the right would contain the full dedicatory formula, the second the list of the dedicants. Kirchner (*Hermes*, XXXI, 1896, pp. 262–263) places Epilykos of Gargettos, son of Nikostratos, in the second half of the fourth century. The ending ῆς of ἱππῆς makes a date later than 325 B.C. improbable.<sup>1</sup>

**11.** Part of a circular base of Hymettian marble with a simple moulding at the bottom found March 6, 1936, in the foundations of a modern house in Section P. Original top and bottom surfaces and about one-third of the circumference are preserved. The top is a joint surface with an anathyrosis band 0.085 m. wide.

Height, 0.188 m.; maximum preserved diameter, 0.44 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3699.



No. 11

[Εὐχαιοὶ καὶ Εὐβου]λίδης Κρωπίδα[ι ἐ]ποίησαν

Six other bases with these two signatures, of father and son, have been found in Athens (*I.G.*, II–III<sup>2</sup>, 3474, 3867, 4293–4295, 4297). Loewy (*Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, p. 166) dates their joint work *ca.* 150 B.C.

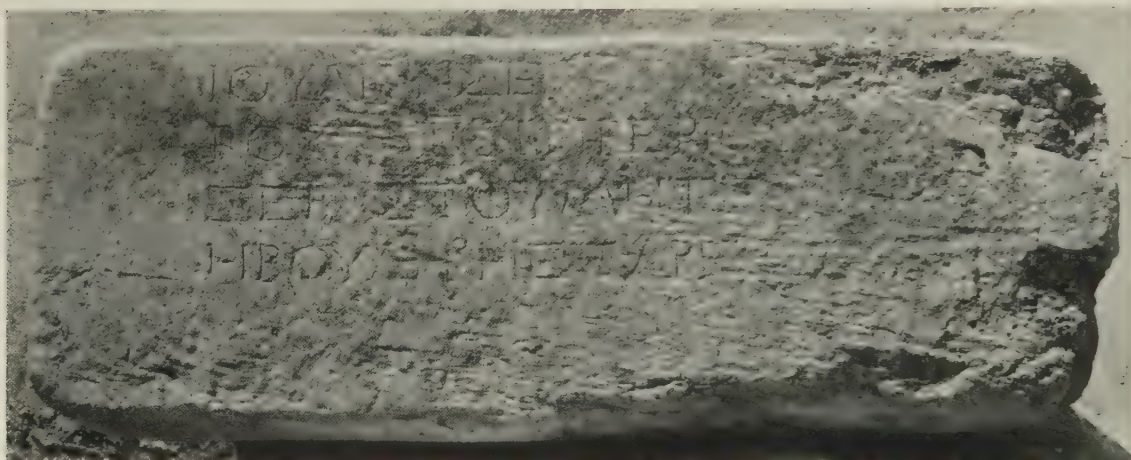
<sup>1</sup> See Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 141, note 1222.

**12.** A base of Hymettian marble found April 16, 1936, in a late wall in Section N at 014/AB. The full dimensions are preserved; on the top surface there are two cuttings *ca.*  $0.24 \times 0.04 \times 0.045$  m. deep, for the tongues by which the statue was attached to the base.

Height, 0.315 m.; width, 0.835 m.; thickness, 0.70 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4012.



No. 12

Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστήν  
 Βουλ[ι]αν Τιβερίου  
 Σεβαστοῦ μητέρα  
 ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείο[v π]ά[γ]ου

The statue of Livia of which this is the base must have been set up between 14 and 37 A.D. Livia took the title *Julia Augusta* in 14 A.D. (Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 156). The dedication was probably made before her death in 29 A.D. and certainly before the death of Tiberius in 37 A.D. There are two other public dedications to Livia in Athens, *I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, 3238 and 3242, and three private ones, *I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, 3239-3241 (the attribution of 3240 to Livia has been questioned, Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 156, note 5).

I have found no other occurrence of the epithet *Βουλαία* for Livia, but just as she is given the epithet *Πρόνοια* in the dedication by the gate to the Roman Market, *I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, 3238, so in a dedication in the Agora near the Bouleuterion it is not unnatural to find the epithet *Βουλαία*.

The base was found in a late wall about fifty-five metres east of the Bouleuterion and about forty metres northeast of the Tholos. The wall was shabbily built of stones



of varying sizes and gave no indication of care in construction sufficient to bring such a block from any great distance. An altar of Zeus Boulaios and of Athena Boulaia stood in the Bouleuterion (Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 347). An altar of Artemis Boulaia in the Agora is named in an inscription found near the Tholos, I 2361 (see above, No. 3) which is probably the altar at which the prytaneis made their sacrifices to Artemis Boulaia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790, 890, 977, etc.). Thus it seems safe to assume that the base originally stood somewhere in the vicinity of the Tholos and Bouleuterion, not far from the spot where it was found.

## INDEX

## NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

- Ἀγάθορχος Λαμπρεὺς, grain-inspector in 240/39 B.C., 2 A 6, [2 B 8].  
 Ἀθηνόδωρος, archon in 240/39, 2 A 5, [2 B 7].  
 Αὐφίλοχος Ἐνπεταίων, chairman of the proedroi in 321/0 B.C., 1 10.  
 Ἀπολ . . . . ., subject of honorary decree in 321/0 B.C., 1 13.  
 Ἀριστόδημος Ἀριστοκλέους Οἰναῖος, 5 II 9—10.  
 Ἀριστοκλῆς (Οἰναῖος), father of Ἀριστόδημος, 5 II 9—10.  
 Ἀρχίνος Ἀχαρνέυς, grain-inspector in 240/39 B.C., 2 A 6, 2 B 7—8.  
 Ἀρχιππος, archon in 321/0 B.C., [1 1].  
 Ἀημ . . . . Ἀναφύστιος, grain-inspector in 240/39 B.C., [2 A 6—7], 2 B 8—9.  
 Ἀημίτριος, king of Macedon 239—229 B.C., [2 B 11].  
 Ἀντισικλῆς Ἀντισικλέους, Ephesian ambassador, 3 15—16, 30—31.  
 Ἐπίλυκος Νικοστράτου Γαργήτιος, 10 2.  
 Ἐργονκλῆς Κρωπίδης, secretary of the grain-inspectors in 240/39 B.C., 2 A 8, 2 B 9.  
 Ἐὐβουλίδης Κρωπίδης, 11 1.  
 Ἐὐετίων Πυθανγέλου Κηφισιεύς, 10 2.  
 Ἐὐθόδημος Μελιτεύς, grain-inspector in 240/39 B.C., 2 A 7, [2 B 8].  
 Εὐχειρ Κρωπίδης, 11 1.  
 Κλεότιμος, 5 II 17.  
 Λυσιμαχίδης, archon in 339/8 B.C., 9 2, 5.  
 Ν - - -, father of Νικόστρατος, 5 II 15.  
 Νικοκ - - -, 6 9.  
 Νικόστρατος, father of [- -]ΝΑ[. . .]ς, 5 II 14.  
 Νικόστρατος Ν - -, 5 II 15.  
 Νικόστρατος (Γαργήτιος), father of Ἐπίλυκος, 10 2.  
 Νικοφῶν Χαριδήμων, Ephesian ambassador, 3 16, 30.  
 Νίκων (Ἀχαρνέυς), father of [- -]ς, 5 II 3.  
 Ξεν[- -] Προβαλίστιος, 5 II 5—6.  
 Ξενοφῶν Ξενοφώντος Προβαλίστιος, 5 II 6—7, 10—11.  
 Πάνταινος Τεισιδήμων, Ephesian ambassador, 3 16, 30.  
 Πραξιτέλης Τιμάρχου Εἰρεσίδης, theorodokos, 3 23.  
 Πρωτέας, 1 20.  
 Πτολεμαῖος, Ptolemy IV or V of Egypt, 3 9.  
 Πυθάνγγελος (Κηφισιεύς), father of Ἐὐετίων, 10 2.  
 Τεισιδημος, father of Πάνταινος, 3 16, 31.  
 Τηλέγνωτος (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), father of Τηλοκλῆς, 1 12.  
 Τηλοκλῆς Τηλεγνώτου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, orator in 321/0 B.C., 1 12.  
 Τιμάρχος (Εἰρεσίδης), father of Πραξιτέλης, 3 23.  
 Χαιρέστρατος Σφήτιος, 5 II 18—19.  
 Χαριδημος, father of Νικοφῶν, 3 16, 31.  
 [- -]εστος (Προβαλίστιος), father of - - -, 5 II 2.  
 . . . . . ιος Ἐρχεύς, grain-inspector in 240/39 B.C., [2 A 5—6], 2 B 7.  
 [- -]να . . . .ς Νικοστράτου, 5 II 14.  
 [- -]ος (Κηφισιεύς), father of - -, 5 I 6.  
 [- -]ς Νίκωνος Ἀχαρνέυς, 5 II 3.  
 [- -]ς (Προβαλίστιος), father of Ξεν[- -], 5 II 5—6.

## EMPERORS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Livia: Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστήν Βουλαιαν Τιβερίου Σε- Tiberius, see Livia.  
 βαστοῦ μητέρα, 12 1-3.

## GEOGRAPHICAL

Ἀθηναῖος: Ἀθηναίων, 1 15-16, 2 A 10, [2 B 11],  
 3 [5], 6, 8-9.  
 Αἰαντής: Αἰαντίδος, 9 1.  
 Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, 1 12-13.  
 Ἀναφλύστιος: Ἀναφλύστιον, 2 A 6-7, [2 B 9].  
 Ἀχαρνεύς: Ἀχαρνέα, 2 A 6, [2 B 8]; Ἀχαρν,  
 5 II 3.  
 Γαργήτιος, 10 2.  
 Εἰρεσίδης, 3 23.  
 Ἐρχεύς: Ἐρχιέα, [2 A 6], 2 B 7.  
 Ἐφέσιος: Ἐφεσίων, 3 5, 7, 14, 27.  
 Κηφισιεύς, 10 2; Κηφι, 5 I 6.  
 Κρωπίδης: Κρωπίδην, 2 A 8, 2 B 9-10;  
 Κρωπίδαι, 11 1.  
 Λαμπτρέυς: Λαμπτρέα, [2 A 6], 2 B 8.  
 Μελιτεύς: Μελιτέα, 2 A 7, [2 B 8].  
 Μονιχία: Μονιχίαν, 7 14, 8 3.  
 Μύρινα: Μύριναν, 7 17, 8 6.  
 Ξυπεταιών, 1 10.  
 Οἰναῖος: Οἰναῖ, 5 II 10.  
 Οἶον: ἐξ Οἶον, [1 5].  
 Προβαλίσσιος: Προβ, 5 II 2, 6, 7, 11.  
 Σούνιον, 7 11.  
 Σφήτιος: Σφητ, 5 II 19.  
 Φυλή: Φυλεῖ, 8 16.

## FESTIVALS, MONTHS, GAMES, AND DEITIES

Ἄρτεμις: Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀργοτέρας, 7 12; Ἀρτέμιδος  
 Βουλαιας, 3 19-20.  
 Ἀφροδίτη: Ἀφροδίτει, 4 6-7.  
 Διονύσια: Διονυσίων, 3 10.  
 Ἐλαφηβολιών: Ἐλαφηβολιώνος, 1 6.  
 Ἐλευσίνια: Ἐλευσινίων, 3 11.  
 Παναθήναια: Παναθηναίων, 3 10-11.  
 Πτολεμαῖα: Πτολεμαίων, 3 11.

## GENERAL

ἀγαθός: ἀγαθῇ, [2 B 6].  
 ἀγορά: ἀγοραί, 3 19.  
 ἀροτέρα: Ἀροτέρας, epithet of Artemis, 7 12.  
 ἄρων: ἄρων, 3 11.  
 ἀγωνοθέτης: ἀγωνοθέτη, 2 B 2.  
 αἰρέω: ἐλέσθαι, [3 5].  
 ἄλλος: ἄλλην, 8 19.  
 ἄν, [2 B 4].  
 ἀναγόρευσις: ἀναγορεύσεως, 3 12.  
 ἀναγραφεύς: ἀναγραφέως, 1 5-6.  
 ἀναγραφή: ἀναγραφῆν, 2 A 12, 3 20.  
 ἀναγράφω: ἀναγράφαι, 2 A 10, 3 18, [4 10].  
 ἀνάθεσις: ἀνάθεσιν, 3 20.  
 ἀνάλωμα, [2 A 13], 3 22.  
 ἀνατίθημι: ἀνέθηκιν, 9 4.  
 ἀνείπον: ἀνειπεῖν, 3 9.  
 ἀπαιτέω: ἀπηίτει, [1 18].  
 ἅπας: ἅπάντων, 3 6; ἀπάσας, [1 16].  
 ἀπεργασία, 6 1-2, 5.  
 ἀπό, 5 I 3, 6 3.  
 ἀποδέκτης: ἀποδέκται, 6 11.  
 ἀριστερός: ἀριστεραί, 5 II 13.  
 ἀρχή: ἀρχήν, [2 A 1], 2 B 5.  
 ἄρχω: ἄρχειν, 2 A 1, 2 B 5.  
 ἄρχων: ἄρχοντος, [1 1], [2 A 5], [2 B 7], 9 2, 5;  
 ἄρχοντι, 8 12.  
 ἄστιος: ἀστίαν, 5 II 12.  
 ἄστυ, [7 18], 8 8; ἄστει, 3 10.  
 ἀστυνόμος: ἀστυνόμοι [7 16], [8 5].  
 αὐριον, 3 17.  
 αὐτός: αὐτοῦ, [1 21]; αὐτῶν, 3 15; αὐτοῦς, 2 A 8,  
 3 17.

- βασιλεὺς*: *βασιλέα*, [2 B 11], 3 9.  
*βουλαῖος*: *βουλαιας*, epithet of Artemis, 3 20;  
*βουλαῖαν* epithet of Livia, 12 2.  
*βουλῆ*, 3 24, 28; *βουλῆς*, 1 9, 2 A [2], 4; *βουλῆτι*, 1 11;  
*βουλεῖ*, [2 A 4]; *βουλῆν*, 2 A 9–10, 2 B 10–11,  
 [3 4].  
*βουλῆ* (*ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου*), 12 4.  
*βωμός*: *βωμόν*, 3 19, 5 II 13.  
*γίγνομαι*: *γίγνεται*, 6 3; *γενόμενον*, 2 A 13, 3 22.  
*γνώμη*: *γνώμην*, [2 A 3].  
*γραμματεὺς*, [7 18], 8 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18; *γραμματέα*,  
 2 A [7], 11, 2 B 9, 3 18.  
*γραμματεῦω*: *ἐγραμμάτευεν*, [1 4], 4 3.  
*γράφω*: *γράφητι*, 4 5.  
*γυμνασιαρχέω*: *γυμνασιαρχήσας*, [3 2].  
*γυμνασιαρχος*, 3 2.  
*γυμνικός*: *γυμνικοίς*, 3 11.  
*δέ*, 2 A [3, 10], 12, [2 B 3, 12], 3 [5, 6, 12], 14, 17,  
 18, 20, 4 9, [10].  
*δεῖπνον*, 3 17.  
*δεξιός*: *δεξιᾶι*, 5 II 20.  
*δήμος*: *δήμος*, [1 18], 3 25, 29; *δήμον*, 2 A 2,  
 2 B 1; *δήμωι*, 1 11, 15, [2 B 6]; *δήμον*, 2 A 4, 10,  
 [2 B 11], 3 5, [6, 8], 26.  
*διατελέω*: *διετέλει*, 1 14–15.  
*δίδωμι*: *ἐδόθη*, 6 10.  
*δικαιοσύνη*: *δικαιοσύνης*, 2 A 9, [2 B 10].  
*δικαίως*, 2 A 1, [2 B 5].  
*διοίκησις*: *διοικήσει*, 3 21–22.  
*δοκέω*: *δοκεῖ*, 2 A 4; *ἔδοξεν*, 1 10–11; *δεδόχθαι*,  
 [2 B 6].  
*δωδέκατος*: *δωδεκάτει*, [1 6–7].  
*ἐβδομος*: *ἐβδόμης*, [1 2].  
*ἐγγνητής*: *ἐγγν*, 5 II [2, 6, 10], 15, 18.  
*εἶμι*: *εἶ*, [2 B 5]; *ὦν*, 1 15, [19].  
*εἶπον*: *εἶπεν*, 1 13; *εἶπει*, 4 5.  
*εἶς*, 2 A [2], 4, [9], 12, 2 B 10, 3 [4], 8, 17, 20, 4 4,  
 7 13, 14, [16, 17, 18], 8 3, 5, 6, 8.  
*εἰσαγωγεὺς*: *εἰσαγωγεῖς*, [7 15], [8 4].  
*εἰσφέρω*: *εἰσηνήροχεν*, 1 17–18.  
*εἰσφορά*: *εἰσφοράς*, [1 17].  
*ἐκ*, 6 6; *ἐγ*, 5 II 8.  
*ἐκαστος*: *ἐκαστον*, 3 15.  
*ἐκκλησία* (*κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς*), 1 8–9;  
*ἐκκλησίαν*, 2 A 3.  
*ἐλάττων*: *ἐλαττον*, 6 10.  
*ἐμπροσθεν*: *ἐμπροσσοθεν*, 1 14.  
*ἐν*, [1 13], 2 A 11, 3 10, 19, 5 II 13, 19–20.  
*ἐνεκα*, 2 A 9, [2 B 10], 3 4, 8.  
*ἐξ*, [1 5], 3 6, 12 4.  
*ἐξ*, 7 15, 8 4.  
*ἐπαινέω*: *ἐπαινέσαι*, [2 A 4], 2 B [6], 11–12,  
 3 [6], 14.  
*ἐπειδάν*, 3 2.  
*ἐπειδή*, 1 13.  
*ἐπειμι*: *ἐπιοῦσαν*, [2 A 2–3].  
*ἐπὶ* (with genitive), [1 1, 4], 2 A 5, [2 B 7],  
 9 2, 5; (with dative), 3 21; (with accusative),  
 3 17, 7 11, 8 [2], 18, [19].  
*ἐπιμελέομαι*: *ἐπιμεληθῆναι*, 3 12–13.  
*ἐπιμελητής*, [7 13]; *ἐπιμελητάς*, 4 2.  
*ἐπινηφίζω*: *ἐπηνήφισεν*, 1 9–10.  
*ἐργον*: *ἔργα*, 7 13.  
*ἐρχομαι*: *ἐλθόντων*, [1 19].  
*ἐτερος*: *ἐτέραν*, 5 II 4–5.  
*εὐνοία*: *εὐνοίας*, 3 [4], 8.  
*εὐνους*, 1 15.  
*εὐσέβεια*: *εὐσεβείας*, 3 3–4, [7–8].  
*ἐφάμλλος*: *ἐφάμλλον*, 2 B 4.  
*ἔχω*: *ἐχόντων*, 4 8; *ἐχόμενος*, 5 II 15–16;  
*ἐχομένον*, 5 II 4.  
*ἦ*, 4 5.  
*θαλλός*: *θαλλοῦ*, [2 A 8], 3 15.  
*θεός*: *θεοί*, 9 1; *θεοῦς*, 3 [4], 8.  
*θεωροδόκος*, 3 23; *θεωροδόκον*, 3 6.  
*ιερεὺς*, [7 12].  
*ἵππαρχος*, [7 17], [8 6]; *ἱπάρχους*, 8 14.  
*ἵππεύς*: *ἱππῆς*, 10 1.  
*ἴστημι*: *στήσαι*, 2 A 12, 3 19.  
*καινός*: *καινοῖς*, 3 10.  
*καλέω*: *καλέσαι*, 3 17.  
*καλῶς*, [1 21].  
*κάμπτω*: *κάμπραντι*, 5 II 19.  
*κατά* (with accusative), [1 8], 2 A [1, 8–9], 11,  
 3 [7], 18.  
*κατατίθημι*: *κατέθεσαν*, 9 5–6.  
*κληρωτός*: *κληρωτόν*, [2 A 7], [2 B 9].  
*λαγχάνω*: *λαχόντας*, 2 A 2; *εἰληκῶς*, [7 19], 8 9,  
 11, 13, 15, 17, 20.  
*λίθινος*: *λιθίνει*, [2 A 11], 3 19.



λοιπός: λοιπόν, 6 13.  
 λύσις: λύσιν, 5 II 16.  
 μερίζω: ἐμέρισαν, 6 10—11; μερίσαι, 2 A 12—13, 3 21.  
 μετά (with genitive), 1 20.  
 μετρονόμοι: μετρονόμοις, 7 18.  
 μήτηρ: μητέρα, 12 3.  
 μισθός: μισθοῦ, 6 8; μισθόν, 8 18.  
 μισθωτής: μισθώ, 5 I 7, II [1], 5, 9 [13], 17, 20.  
 μνά: μνάς, 6 3.  
 νίκη: νικῶν, 6 9.  
 νόμος: νόμον, 2 A 9, [3 7].  
 νῦν, 1 19.  
 ξυμβάλλω: ξυμβάλλεσθαι, [2 A 3—4].  
 ὄδε: τόδε, [2 A 10], 3 18, 4 9; οἶδε, 9 5.  
 ὁδός: ὁδόν, 5 II 7—8, 12.  
 οἰκίος, 1 19.  
 οἰκονομία: οἰκονομίαν, 8 19.  
 ὀπως, [2 B 4].  
 ὄς: ἤι, [1 3]; οἷς, 4 2.  
 ὅσος: ὅσῳ, 6 11; ὅσας, 1 18.  
 ὅτι, 2 A 4.  
 οὖν, 2 B 4.  
 οὗτος: τούτου, 5 II 16, 6 6; τοῦτον, 3 10; τούτων [2 A 3], 6 14.  
 ὀφείλω: ὀφειλόνσας, 4 6.  
 πάρος: πάγον, 12 4.  
 πανήγυρις: πανηγύρεως, [3 2].  
 παρὰ, 3 19; παρ', 3 14.  
 παραγίγνομαι: παραγεγονότας, 3 14.  
 πέντε, 7 16, 8 5.  
 περὶ (with genitive), 2 A 3.  
 περιγίγνομαι: περιεγένετο, 6 13.  
 ποιέω: ἐποίησαν, 11 1.  
 ποιήσις: ποιήσεως, 3 12.  
 πόλις: πόλιν, [7 16], 8 5.  
 πρεσβευτής: πρεσβευτάς, 3 14.  
 προέδρος: προέδρων, 1 9; προέδρους, [2 A 2].  
 προθύμως, [2 B 5].  
 πρὸς (with dative), 2 A 12; (with accusative), 3 4, 8.  
 πρυτανεία: πρυτανείας, 1 [2—3], 8; πρυτανείαν, 2 A 11, 3 18—19.

πρυτανεῖον, 3 17; πρυτανεία, [8 2].  
 πρύτανις: πρυτάνεις, 9 2.  
 σιτοφύλακες: σιτοφύλαξιν, 8 8; σιτοφύλακας, 2 A 5, 2 B 6—7.  
 σταθμός: σταθμόν, 6 3—4.  
 στατήρ, 6 7.  
 στέφανος: στεφάνον, 3 12; στεφάνωι, [2 A 8], 3 3, 7, 15; στέφανον, 3 9.  
 στεφανώω: στεφανοῖ, 3 2—3; στεφανῶσαι, 2 A 8, 3 7, 15.  
 στήλη: στήλης, [2 A 12], 3 20—21; στήλει, 2 A 11, 3 19.  
 στρατεία: στρατείας, 1 16.  
 στρατεύομαι: ἐστράτευται, 1 16—17.  
 στρατηγός, [7 14], [8 3]; στρατηγοῖς, 8 7; στρατηγός, 3 13.  
 στρατιωτικός: στρατιωτικῶν, 2 A 13, 3 13, 21.  
 συνέδριον: συνεδρίωι, 2 A 12.  
 συνηγορος: συνηγόροις, 8 10.  
 ταμίας (ἐπὶ τὰ πρυτανεῖα), [8 2]; ταμίαν (τῶν στρατιωτικῶν), 2 A 13, 3 13, 21.  
 τε, 1 14.  
 τέτταρες: τετάρων, 6 6.  
 τέταρτος: τετάρτει, 1 7.  
 τραγωιδός: τραγωιδοῖς, 3 10.  
 τριακοστός: τριακοστῇ, [1 7].  
 τύχη: τύχει, [2 B 6].  
 υἱός: υἱοῦ, 1 21.  
 ὑπηρέτης, [8 7].  
 φιλοτιμέομαι: φιλοτιμείσθαι, [2 B 5].  
 φιλοτιμία: φιλοτιμίας, 2 A 9, [2 B 10].  
 φιλοτίμως, 1 21—22.  
 φυλέτης: φυλετῶν, [8 14].  
 χειροτονέω: χειροτονήται, 3 23.  
 χρηματίζω: χρηματίσαι, 2 A 3.  
 χρησίμος: χρησίμους, 2 B 3.  
 χρόνος: χρόνωι, 1 14.  
 χρυσίον: χρυσίου, 6 4.  
 χρυσοῦς: χρυσῶι, 3 3, 7.  
 χωρίον: χωρίου, 5 II 4.  
 γήφισμα, 1 8—9, [2 A 10—11], 3 18, 4 9; γηφίσματα, [2 A 1].





Fig. 1



## A CALYX-KRATER BY EXEKIAS

In the recent excavations<sup>1</sup> on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens the krater shown in figures 1–10 was discovered.<sup>2</sup> The subjects of decoration are: A, the introduction of Herakles into Olympos; B, the fight over the body of Patroklos; lower zone, A and B, two lions bringing down a bull; over each handle, a female figure (maenad?) sitting beneath a vine; below each handle, a running satyr. Nearly all the fragments were found together close to the bottom of a well, *ca.* 18 m. deep, but a few insignificant pieces were subsequently recognized among the sherds culled from the late fill in the vicinity, and one fragment came from another well filled up in the first half of the fifth century B.C. The first well seems to have been filled up not much later than 520 B.C. The fragments of the vase were probably brought from some nearby sanctuary, and as they were dumped into the well a few small pieces were scattered about, one of them later finding its way into the second well. A coarse pithos had been broken up and thrown into the well together with the krater, and a large circular stone mill and one rectangular mill stone had been thrown down at the same time. In view of the fact that most of the fragments were recovered from the fill directly below these heavy stones, the condition of the krater as shown in figures 1 and 2 is remarkably good.

About one third of the vase is missing with rather more than half of the rim and all the upper part of side B. Most of the lower part of the vase and practically the whole base are preserved. Both handles are missing, but the ends are preserved, and one handle has been restored in plaster. The krater was broken and repaired in antiquity. The base is mended with lead in five places, and one of the handles shows similar signs of repair. In most places the ancient lead rivets still remain, but some had to be removed in order to fit the pieces together properly.

Plaster reconstructions in the figured areas show clearly in the photographs. On face A three figures at the left, Dionysos, Athena, and Herakles, are missing, but the spear of

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of these excavations will be published in a subsequent number of this journal, but the unusual interest aroused by the discovery of the krater makes it desirable to present this discussion in advance of the general report. Some photographs of the vase with a brief description appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for August 28, 1937. I am indebted to Miss Lucy Talcott for invaluable help and for many corrections in the manuscript, and to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool for important suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Measurements: Total height, 0.445 m.; outer diameter at top, *ca.* 0.53 m.; diameter of base, 0.29 m.; height of upper zone of decoration, 0.222 m.; height of lower zone, 0.097 m.; height of border of double palmettes at upper edge, 0.037 m.; thickness of fabric at top, 0.011 m.; at thinnest point, 0.006 m.; at bottom, 0.013 m.

Athena is preserved, and part of Herakles' name appears above the head of Apollo. On the right side of the same scene a triangular break cuts away the chests and forelegs of the horses and the lower part of three of the figures. The warrior scene is preserved in its entire width, but the upper part is missing. Two figures, that of Diomedes and the body of Patroklos, are practically complete. Of the decorations in the lower zone one scene is almost intact; of the other, one lion and the front part of the bull are missing. The motif above the handle is entirely preserved on one side; on the other, only the lower part of the woman and a bit of the vine remain. Beneath the handle to the right of the warrior scene the head of the running satyr, part of his right arm, his right foot, and the tip of the tail are preserved; of the corresponding figure below the other handle all but his legs and tail is lost.

The clay is brick red, fired somewhat lighter at the core than at the surface. The inside is covered with glaze, black except at the bottom which has fired red. The base and the rim are mottled red and black.<sup>1</sup> The red background, covered with a thin wash and highly polished, is slightly darker than the clay itself, but the surface has suffered from being immersed in the water of the well so that on many of the pieces the true color of the clay is exposed. The accessory colors, freely used on the figures, have largely disappeared, but in most cases it is possible to determine with certainty where they were applied.<sup>2</sup> The surfaces, once painted white or purple, have a somewhat dull texture which reflects the light in a special way, distinguishable from the reflection on the truly black glaze. Very little white remains. One small fragment, preserving the right hand of the female figure who stands in front of the horses on face A, was found higher up in the well, before the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the mottled effect on the base is due partly to the heating of the pieces when the lead was poured for the repairs. The variation in color in some cases tends to follow the ancient breaks.

<sup>2</sup> White was used for the nude parts of all the female figures, on the upper part of the lyre of Apollo, on the thorax of Diomedes and on the shield of the figure directly in front of him. The teeth of the lions and the lower part of their bellies were also painted white. Furthermore all the incised lines appear to have been filled with white color. See note 3 on p. 472.

Purple was applied, in alternating stripes and in the centres of the rosettes and swastikas on the outer garments of Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, and Aphrodite. It was further used for the dots and upper border of the chiton of Apollo, the dots on the chiton and the small crosses on the chlamys of Hermes, the leaves on the wreaths worn by Apollo and Poseidon, the fillet and bracelet of Aphrodite, the brim of Hermes' hat, and the crosspieces of Apollo's lyre. Furthermore the face of Poseidon was painted purple. Purple was used for rows of small dots on the chiton of Diomedes, dots and stripes on the chiton worn by the protagonist on the Greek side, the crest and sword belt of Diomedes, the preserved rims of the shields, various decorations on the greaves of the three Trojans and on those of the protagonist of the Greeks, and for the blood issuing from the wounds of Patroklos. On the lions in the lower zone purple is used to indicate the ribs, and the muscles of their haunches, and there is a row of purple dots on the shoulders directly behind their manes. The ribs of the bull, the ripples on his neck, and the blood dripping down his side from the mouths of the lions are likewise purple. The best preserved of the two "maenads" has a purple fillet and purple stripes alternating with black on her peplos. The corresponding figure on the other side has purple stripes on the upper part of her garment. Purple is used on the hair and beard of the satyr whose face is preserved. Finally the decorations at the attachments of the handles consist of alternating purple and black tongues.



Fig. 2

water level was reached, and this accounts for the excellent preservation of this piece. The purple of the bracelet on the white hand and of the drapery stands out in sharp contrast to the other parts of the same figure where both white and purple have largely disappeared. Large parts of the black figures have turned reddish brown (plainly visible in the photographs, especially on the bulls and lions and on the horses). The lighter spots are limited to the inner parts of the figures, the reason being that the black glaze round the edges was more thickly applied. The discoloration is due to the effects of the water and mud, as is



plainly shown on some of the fragments that have suffered less from such agencies. The rear part of the bull in figure 8 has turned red, whereas the black glaze on the front part is unimpaired, the change in color following the line of the break.

A. The scene shows a procession of divinities conversing and moving from left to right. In the foreground, in front of the figures, is a chariot drawn by four horses, which were not distinguished by different colors. The near horse, largely hiding the others from view, wears a wreath of ivy as a collar,<sup>1</sup> and on his haunch is a small rosette.<sup>2</sup> Above his back appears the yoke of the harness through which the reins pass. It is joined to the chariot by one line at the top and double lines below. Tails and manes of the horses are rendered by fine wavy lines, incised and filled with white.<sup>3</sup> Of the chariot only the pole, part of the wheel, and the front line of the guard (*δ'ιφρος*) are preserved at the edge of the break. Most probably three figures are lost. Athena, whose spear is preserved, must have stood in the car, and Herakles probably appeared in front of her, walking beside the chariot. His name is partly preserved at the upper edge of the vase. The last figure in the procession was probably that of Dionysos.

The first preserved figure, from left to right, is Apollo, who stands, facing right, holding the lyre in his left hand and the plectrum in his right. He wears an embroidered outer garment richly decorated with various designs, swastikas, rosettes, and small hooks, and edged with a border of simple guilloche within double lines. The chiton, reaching to his feet, is covered with small purple dots in rows, and at the bottom is a border rendered with incised lines. His name, which appears above the harp, is written with a single *lambda*. Next to him is Artemis, facing left, who wears a peplos with a pattern of squares and disconnected maeanders, and an outer cloak held up in front with her right hand. It has alternating purple and black stripes, further decorated with small stars. She wears a tall, elaborately wrought crown, but is not otherwise distinguished by any attributes. Her name is written behind her. The next figure is Poseidon who is walking along with the

<sup>1</sup> The larger leaves of the wreath were made by scratching away the black glaze within the incised outline. There is no indication that any other colors were applied on the clay exposed in this manner.

<sup>2</sup> An amphora in the Louvre bearing the signature of Exekias (Hoppin, *Handb. of B.F. Vases*, pp. 100–101, No. 6; Beazley, *Attic B.F.*, p. 18) shows a similar rosette on the haunch of a horse, and on the amphora in New York attributed to Exekias (Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, No. 15; Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, p. 61, fig. 1; Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 4) there are two rosettes on one of the horses. Similar marks appear on other vases, cf. Swindler, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pl. XII, and see Dar. & Sagl., *Dict. d. Ant.*, II A, p. 800, where there is a brief discussion of marks (*ἐγκαύματα*) on horses. Figures of Pegasos on Roman monuments sometimes have a small cross on the chest, cf. *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 173, No. 428, and similar marks are found on horses from early Christian times. Presumably these marks reflect a practice, common throughout ancient times, of branding horses to show ownership or to distinguish them for some other purpose.

<sup>3</sup> The white filling of the incised lines is clearly distinguishable on the better preserved fragments, especially in the heads of the horses, the hair of Poseidon, the face of Apollo and in the harp, the strings of which are incised in the red background. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, p. 242, inclines to the view that the practice of filling the incised lines with white is the exception rather than the rule.

horses, his head turned in the opposite direction, but his body seen in full view. Like Apollo he wears a wreath of olive, and he holds his trident in his right hand. His right shoulder and chest are bare, but his embroidered cloak, possibly thought of as blown over his left shoulder from the back, can be seen behind his right arm-pit and, falling in full folds, behind the horses' bellies. Directly in front of the horses is a woman's figure moving

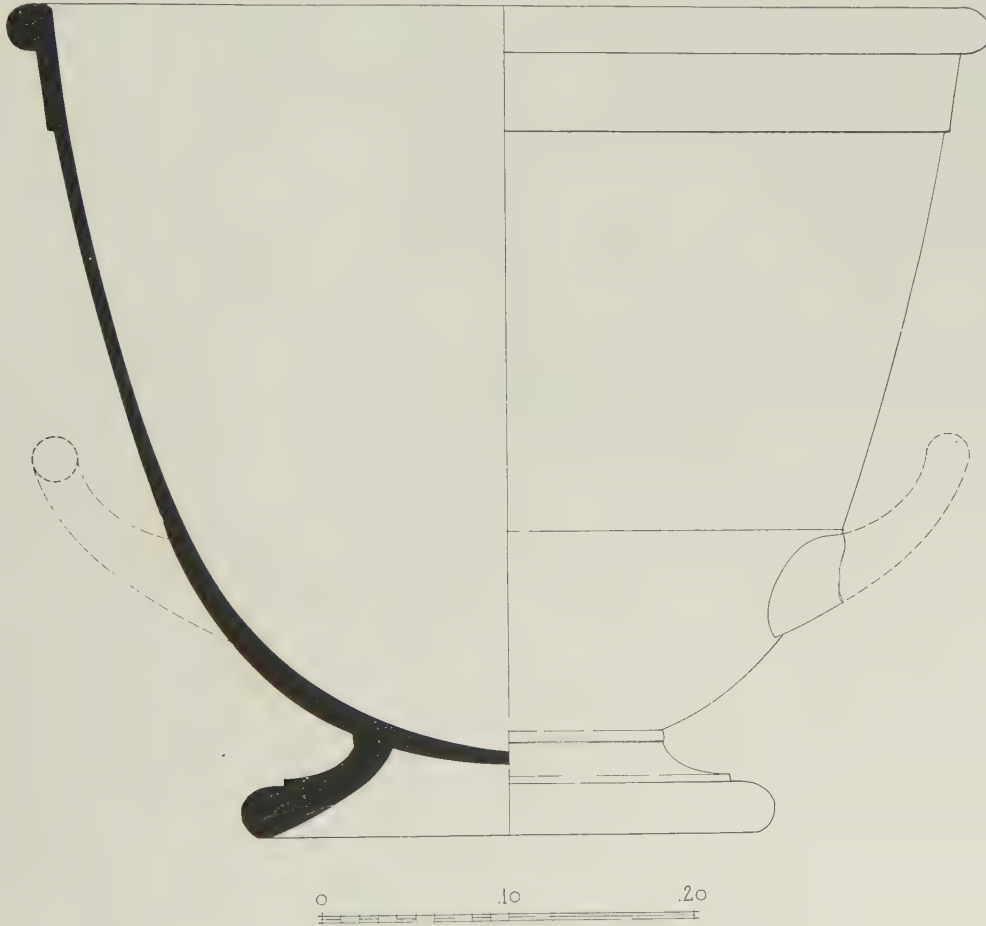


Fig. 3

toward the right. Her face, and the lower portion of her body, from her waist to her ankles, is missing. She wears a bracelet, and has a fillet round her hair, but she has no attributes to distinguish her. Her peplos resembles that of Artemis but the ornaments within the squares are slightly different. If her name was written out, it has been lost with the missing part of her body. She is presumably Aphrodite. Above her appears the inscription **ONETOPIΔE[Σ] ΚΑΙΟΣ**. In front of her is Hermes, leading the procession but looking back at the group of deities behind him. He wears the petasos, a chiton with purple dots,

and an embroidered cloak decorated with incised swastikas and rosettes and with small crosses in purple color, and he has the kerykeion in his right hand.

B. Although much is missing on this side of the vase the composition of the scene is clear. In the centre lies the naked body of Patroklos on the ground with his arms stretched out above his head and his eyes closed. On his left thigh blood issues from a fresh wound. The artist has sacrificed naturalism to his composition or to convention by representing the dead body in the common archaic manner with the right knee raised. Over the body stand three warriors on either side, with Hektor as the protagonist on the Trojan side, probably facing Ajax, whose name is not preserved. The only complete figure of the warriors is that of Diomedes on the extreme left. He wears a thorax which is painted white, a helmet, and greaves covering both thigh and shin. The drapery beneath the thorax is decorated with purple dots and edged with a border of hook patterns. He has a circular shield in his left hand and in his right a long spear reaching back across the decoration over the handle. His name is written retrograde between his legs. In front of him a second warrior, perhaps Menelaos or Odysseus (upper part lost), is in the act of thrusting his spear at one of his adversaries. The shaft of the spear appears across the palmette pattern at the upper edge below the rim. Of the protagonist on the Greek side the lower part from the hips down and part of his shield are preserved. The three warriors were apparently armed in the same way, but their chitons and breastplates are different.

Of the three Trojans only the legs, from slightly above the knees, are preserved. Hektor, whose name is spelled with a *gamma* and written retrograde, stands directly over the head of Patroklos. He is followed by two heroes, probably Glaukos and Aineas.<sup>1</sup> If the signature of the artist appeared on the vase, it was probably written above this scene to correspond with the kalos-name on the other side.

The space between the handles in the lower zone is filled with a group of three animals on either side. Two lions are tearing a bull, who has already fallen on his knees, with streams of blood dripping from the mouths of the lions or issuing from the wounds inflicted on the bull. The two lions are arranged in a formal manner with their heads in profile in front of the bull, their claws digging into his flanks, but they are not biting across his back as is common in similar groups of animals. The scene is powerfully rendered but with less attention to detail than is the case with the figures in the upper zone. The head of the bull is badly drawn, probably due partly to the difficulty of working on the lower curve of the vase and partly to a deliberate neglect of details which do not readily appear to the eye. The two groups of animals are practically identical.

<sup>1</sup> According to Homer the chief among the Achaians in the battle over the body of Patroklos were Ajax and Menelaos, while Ajax, son of Oileus, Idomeneus, and several others are named. Neither Diomedes nor Odysseus are mentioned in connection with this battle. Among the Trojan heroes Hektor, Glaukos, and Aineas play the leading rôles. A kylix by Oltos (Hoppin, *Attic R.F. Vases*, II, 249), with the same theme has Aineas and Hipasos on the Trojan side, and Ajax and Diomedes on the Greek.





Fig. 1

The two scenes of the upper zone are separated above the handles by intertwined grapevines and a seated female figure. On the side which is best preserved, to the right of A, the vines begin from above the right attachment of the handle, and the woman's figure is nearly in the middle. Below her is a curving line of dilute glaze, probably intended to indicate a rock on which she is sitting. Beneath the handle between the two circles of tongue pattern which surround the attachments there is a figure of a satyr running toward the right. There is no indication of the woman's identity, but it is obvious that she has nothing to do with the two main groups of figures. Her position beneath the grape-laden vines and the presence of the satyr below would seem to show that she was intended as a maenad, although there is nothing in her pose or appearance to support such an identification.

The picture over the other handle was of a similar nature but differed in some details. The woman, who is more elaborately attired, is here sitting on a box, although her pose seems to have been the same as that of the corresponding figure on the other side. Of the vine very little is preserved. The two satyrs were not alike, but they are too poorly preserved to tell for certain what the difference was. The seated women face each other with their backs toward the warrior scene. The two satyrs, on the other hand, are running in the same direction, though one at least is looking back.

Decorative patterns apart from the scenes described above are few, the chief one being the broad band of double anthemion below the rim. This border is painted black without the use of incised lines or purple color. The tongue patterns at the base of the handles, on the other hand, are rendered with alternating purple and black units. There are also two little horn-like knobs at each handle. Below the animal zone there is an undecorated band, 0.045 m. wide.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the name of the maker there is little room for doubt. When the vase was first discovered, as soon as the larger fragments began to appear from the well they conveyed an immediate impression that none but Exekias among the masters in the black-figured style could have designed and executed it. So strong was this impression that for two days, while the pieces were being removed one by one from the mud and water in the well, each new fragment was eagerly examined for traces of the signature. Although our hopes in this respect were not realized, the style of decoration, as revealed more fully after the fragments had been cleaned and assembled, is so unmistakably Exekian that no further proof is needed. In connection with the description on the preceding pages a few points of comparison have been noted; the relationship between the new vase and Exekias' other works will be discussed below. There is every probability that the missing portion above the warrior scene contained the artist's signature, as it appears on three of the amphoras

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding bands on all the amphoras of Exekias as well as on the Munich cup are decorated with a pattern of rays.



Fig. 5

which carry the kalos-name Onetorides. This name, we may recall, is used chiefly by Exekias and his immediate circle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name appears on three signed amphoras of Exekias: on the Berlin neck-amphora (Technau, *Exekias*, No. 12), the Vatican amphora (*ibid.*, No. 8), and on the London amphora (*ibid.*, No. 13; cf. Hoppin, *Handb. of B.F. Vases*, Exekias, 2, 3, 9); and on other vases attributed to Exekias (Hoppin, *op. cit.*, 16,



The difficult problem of fitting figured scenes to the various shapes of vases occupied the attention of the black-figure masters, and in the solution to this problem Exekias played an important rôle. In general three distinct tendencies may be noted. In the first of these the available space, with complete disregard of the shape, is divided into strips, each decorated with pictures unrelated to each other and to the space which they occupy on the vase. This tendency is best represented by the François vase, but the tradition continued into the red-figure period as exemplified especially by the two-zone kraters. The second tendency is the antithesis of the first. The dominating importance of the vase shape is recognized, and the figured decoration, limited to a panel on either side or to a single panel in front, is applied to the vase like a painting hung on a wall.<sup>1</sup> The third is the most difficult but certainly the most satisfactory solution to the problem. The vase is regarded from every point of view; shape and function, as well as purely decorative considerations are taken into full account. This type of decoration would test the ability of the greatest of masters, and rarely is the result wholly successful. In many cases, as in some of the neck-amphoras, there is too strong a contrast between the picture proper and the ornamental designs. The latter must not be allowed to degenerate into mere space fillers. Obviously the shape of the vase determined to a great extent the choice between these types of decoration. Among the extant works of Exekias there are examples of all three tendencies. The neck-amphoras with figured zones on the shoulder and on the lower part show lingering traces of the first, but in general Exekias did not favor this type of decoration, which in his day, partly through his influence, was on the wane. Most of his products belong to the second and third types.

In view of these observations a comparison of our krater with other vases of Exekias will throw an interesting light on the development of his art. He loved chariot scenes in his pictures, and the perfection of his art can best be appreciated in his masterful rendering of the horses. A row of figures, human or divine, against the background, standing or moving with the procession, and conversing with each other, with a four-horse chariot in the foreground: this is a common type of picture on many of his amphoras as well as on

17 bis), or associated with his school (A. Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, 419, and 1936, 403 f., No. 419 and fig. 1; see also Hoppin, *op. cit.*, p. 109, note 1).

A hydria in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*Bull. Metr. Mus.*, X, 1915, pp. 122 f. and fig. 2), on which the kalos-name Onetorides occurs, is so similar to our krater in many details as to appear like a simplified copy. The heads and hind quarters of the horses, the single rosette on the haunch, the incised lines indicating musculature, details of collars and reins are practically identical. The figures of Apollo with the harp, though much simplified on the hydria, are alike in all essential details. These similarities cannot be explained on the basis of stylistic relationship alone; repeated duplications of individual lines can only be due to deliberate imitation. Is this a case of a less renowned master copying figures from the krater of Exekias, or is the hydria by the hand of Exekias himself, a preliminary study in preparation for the more important vase?

<sup>1</sup> Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Gr. Vasen*, p. 25, declares this to be "eine untadelige Lösung des Problems." To me it seems the least satisfactory solution to the problem; it is certainly the easiest.



Fig. 6

most of the funeral plaques. On one of the amphoras from Orvieto<sup>1</sup> he has treated the same theme as in the chariot scene on our krater, the introduction of Herakles into Olympos. The number of figures on the two vases was probably the same and the order in which they appear varies but slightly. On the amphora Dionysos stands at the left extremity of the scene directly behind the chariot, and the same was probably true of our krater. Athena stands in the chariot and very close to her Herakles walks along with the procession but looks back at his patron goddess. The name of Herakles and Athena's spear on the krater show that their relative position on the two vases was probably the same. Then follow on the amphora: Artemis (?), Apollo, Poseidon, Hermes and Aphrodite (?), whereas the krater has the same deities in this order: Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, Aphrodite (?), and Hermes. The order is unimportant, but the grouping is not. On the amphora Artemis and Apollo stand near the middle of the picture with their backs to each other, dividing the eight gods into two groups of four each. The picture falls apart at this point, and the horses with the chariot are necessary to preserve the unity. On the krater, too, there is a break in the grouping near the centre of the scene, but here the same two deities face each other, thus focusing the attention at this point instead of dividing it. The division which would naturally appear between Artemis and Poseidon the artist has avoided by making the latter look in the opposite direction from that in which he is moving.

Another no less important difference is due chiefly to the exigency of space. On the amphora the panel narrows abruptly at the top, in such a way as to leave too little space for the heads and upper parts of the figures. The head of Hermes is entirely hidden behind the heads of the horses, and Dionysos' face is partly cut off by the figure of Athena. There is no such crowding among the figures on the krater. The figure of Apollo holding his lyre stands almost free between the horses and the chariot, and there is ample space in front of him for Artemis to show to advantage her richly embroidered peplos and delicately wrought crown.

For the other side of the krater we have no equally close analogy among the works of Exekias, but similar scenes of six warriors fighting over the body of a fallen hero appear at the handles of the Munich cup. Here again the composition on the krater is vastly superior, but the comparison is not quite apposite. On the cup the handle intervenes between the two groups of warriors who stand stiffly arrayed with left foot forward and spear raised as if rehearsing their parts in a play. On one side only is there a variation in the pose, motivated by a varying action on the part of one of the champions who is bending down to raise the body of the fallen. The scenes are well adapted to the space round the handles, but there is an obvious absurdity in interposing the handle between the contending warriors as if it constituted the object of their attack. Even Exekias cannot successfully convert a major composition into a handle ornament.

<sup>1</sup> Conte *Faina* 187, *Technau* No. 3, and pls. 9-10.



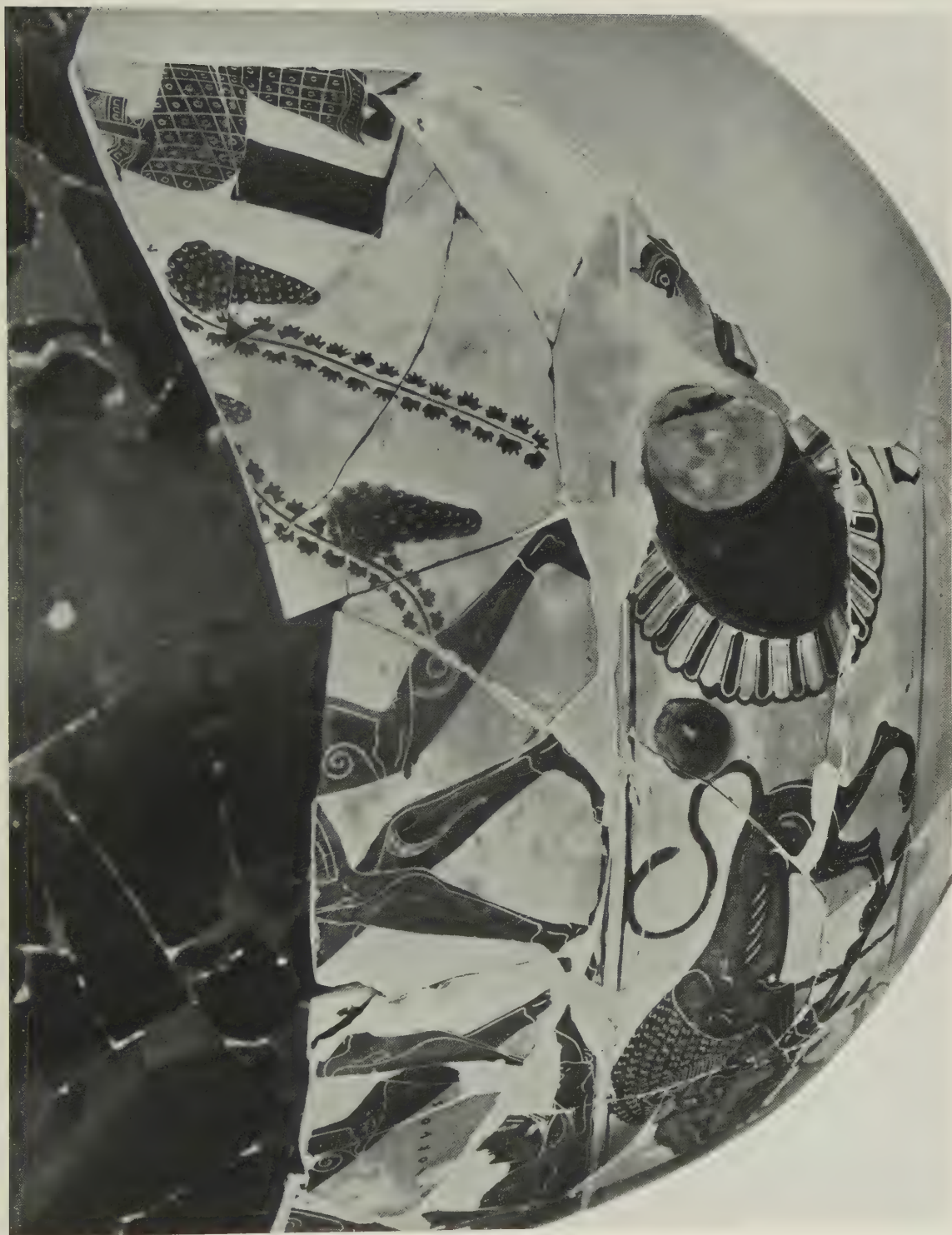


Fig. 7

The composition of the warrior scene is extremely simple, but variations in dress and armor as well as in the pose of the individual figures lend life and interest to the whole picture. It may be compared to the scene of Herakles and the Lion on the neck amphora in Berlin, and, less aptly, to the figures of Ajax and Achilles on the famous Vatican amphora.

The animals in the lower zone are no less successfully grouped and rendered. As separate pictures they are monumental and yet full of vigor and action,<sup>1</sup> and they are especially well adapted to the space which they fill on the vase. Though far more interesting than the stereotyped ornaments which are usually found in this space on calyx-kraters of the red-figure period, they are nevertheless subordinated to the main compositions above.

The decorations above the handles are likewise so designed as to enhance the main compositions at the same time as they serve to fill the space. The two female figures seated among the vines face the group of deities which is the more loosely composed of the two scenes. The warrior scene, already closely held together by the arrangement of its own figures, needs no such outside aid to focus the attention on the main point of action.

At the same time as these subordinate scenes admirably fill the artistic requirements, they are appropriately chosen with a view to the use of the vase. The grape-vine is not a common handle ornament. It is used frequently in Dionysiac and Satyr scenes where it plainly has a symbolical meaning. Here it serves the same purpose. The krater was used for mixing water and wine, and we may assume that the particular vessel under discussion was employed at ceremonial functions. An allusion to these functions is embodied in the decoration without being allowed to become the dominating idea. The artist was above all interested in making a beautiful vase; his themes were chosen and the compositions developed with this aim in view. The twofold restrictions governing his choice of decoration, imposed on the one hand by the exigencies of space as determined by the shape of the vase and on the other by the function which the krater was destined to serve, Exekias here met by letting the one problem solve the other. Having relegated the symbolical elements, the vine, the maenads, the satyrs, to subordinate fields, more commonly filled with conventional designs, he was free to develop his main compositions as he desired.

Our vase occupies a unique place in the history of the calyx-krater and throws much new light on the art of the great master. The calyx-krater has been considered a creation properly belonging to the period of red figure.<sup>2</sup> This view is no longer tenable. There is no necessity to suppose that the career of Exekias extended into the red-figure period, but

<sup>1</sup> The similarity of these groups to the poros pediment groups on the Acropolis is most striking. See Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 92 f., who traces the influence of the poros group on similar scenes in the vase paintings, and Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop. Vas.*, I, 2120 a-b, and 2691.

<sup>2</sup> The following quotation is taken from Beazley's *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 24: "calyx-krater, stamnos, pelike, calpis appear for the first time (after the introduction of red figure)," and on the next page we read: "The relation of Exekias to the red-figured period is clear. He did not reach into it." The two statements are now contradictory. "That reminds us what gaps there are in our material, and what surprises may await us from new finds," *ibid.*, p. 16. Cf. Richter-Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, p. 8.





Fig. 2



we are justified in crediting him with the introduction—or invention—of the calyx-krater.<sup>1</sup> Jacobsthal lists nine black-figured vases of this shape, three of which are mere fragments, too small to be of importance for a comparison of shapes.<sup>2</sup> Two others are unpublished. The remaining four, one in Vienna,<sup>3</sup> one in the Villa Giulia,<sup>4</sup> and two in the Louvre, are all obviously later than ours. The Vienna krater comes nearest to it in shape, but the sides, though straight, taper more toward the bottom, and the curve of the lower part is less pronounced. It shows a second step in the development of the shape toward the red-figured calyx-krater. A further development in the same direction is shown in one of the kraters from the Louvre<sup>5</sup> by the painter of the Vienna krater. In the second krater in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> and in the Villa Giulia krater the sides have a more pronounced inward curve, the lower part has begun to develop the outward bulge, and the base is separated from the body by a short stem.<sup>7</sup>

All the black-figured kraters have one element of decoration in common, the vine pattern over the handles. Since this is by no means a common handle ornament on other vases, we may assume that this feature was copied from Exekias by his successors. In another respect the nine calyx-kraters listed by Jacobsthal are all alike, but differ from the Exekias krater. The ornament below the rim on the latter consists of a double palmette pattern, which occurs with some variations as neck ornament on all the amphoras of Exekias, whereas all the other black-figured calyx-kraters have in the same place a double ivy pattern. This simple ornament, obviously inappropriate as the crowning design above the figured decorations, is frequently employed by Exekias on the narrow flat edge of his amphoras' handles. It occurs not infrequently on red-figured calyx-kraters, but more commonly a broader and more elaborate design, such as interconnected slanting palmettes, is preferred. The small knobs on both sides of the handles are found on the krater in Vienna but on none of the other calyx-kraters of the sixth century.

It remains to consider the date of the krater relative to other works of Exekias, but this is a problem in which personal opinion is likely to play too great a rôle. The chronological arrangement of his works belongs to the same category as the problems concerning the authorship of the Homeric poems and the order of Plato's dialogues. The facts will not fit the findings. One of the disturbing facts in this case is the presence of the name of Onetorides on three of the signed amphoras, dated on stylistic grounds at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of Exekias' artistic career. Our krater, which praises the beauty of the same youth, will probably shed some new light on this vexed problem, though at first it seems to add to the difficulty. Without entering into a detailed discussion of this question I should like to suggest that both shape and decoration of the krater point to a late

<sup>1</sup> For the various steps leading to the development of the calyx-krater see Jacobsthal, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 117 f. He, like Furtwängler (*Gr. Vasenm.*, II, p. 172), derives it from Ionic originals, the Naucratic chalice being its nearest relative among the non-Attic vases.

<sup>2</sup> *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 133–134.

<sup>3</sup> Masner, *Österreich. Museum*, 237, pl. IV; Jacobsthal, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 133 (1), fig. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *C. V. Italia*, pl. 136, 1–2. <sup>5</sup> *C. V. France*, pl. 79, 1–2.

<sup>6</sup> *C. V. France*, pls. 79, 3–4, and 80, 1. <sup>7</sup> The foot in the Villa Giulia krater is modern.



Fig. 9

stage in Exekias' career. On no other vase of his is the decoration so well adapted to the shape. The amphora with its reserved panel and the elaborate handle ornaments of the neck-amphoras were conventions with which he did not break. But no conventions governed the decorations of the calyx-krater, since in all probability it was Exekias himself who "made" the shape.

The krater, with its almost straight sides and expansive surface, is better suited to large pictures than any other form of vase. Why, then, did he not make more vases of this

shape? Perhaps future discoveries will show that he did; perhaps he did not have time to profit further by his own invention. Perhaps, at the height of his career, having tired of the amphora with its limitations of space, he chose and perfected, if not created, a new shape which gave fuller scope to his talents—and then his artistic career was cut short.<sup>1</sup> These are guesses arising from the discovery of the krater, and we shall probably never get beyond conjecture. The calyx-krater, at any rate, did not become a common shape until

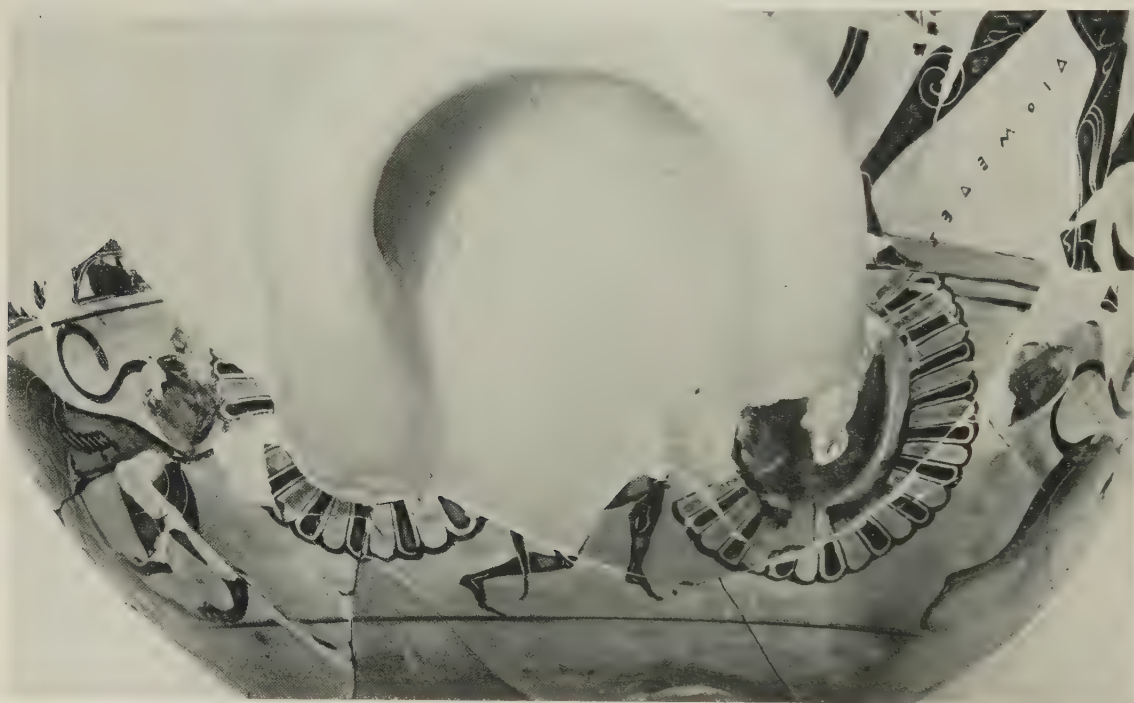


Fig. 10

the red-figure period, and most of the existing black-figured calyx-kraters show the influence of the master who first used the shape.

Other products of Exekias' hand may be equally or more precious. In the rendering of the separate scenes the Vatican amphora is unexcelled and is likely to remain so. But few scholars, I think, will find fault with our conclusion that the new krater as an artistic unit is unsurpassed by works of the same master and rarely equalled by the products of any of his colleagues in the black figure technique.

<sup>1</sup> Others have suggested that the known vases of Exekias were probably made within a brief period of time. Cf. Technau, *op. cit.*, p. 12.



## REMAINS FROM PREHISTORIC CORINTH<sup>1</sup>

The accidents of archaeological discovery and the circumstances of publication have colored to a large extent the present knowledge of the earliest culture of mainland Greece. Early work on a large scale in Thessaly revealed a well developed neolithic culture. Already twenty-five years ago two careful publications presented the information obtained in these excavations, which has remained the foundation for the study of the Neolithic Period in Greece. The investigation of mounds in Central Greece had already begun and was carried on for a few years more. The relations with Thessaly were soon pointed out, and recently the careful publication of the Orchomenos pottery has made the earliest culture of this region almost as well known as that of Thessaly. The Peloponnesos, however, remained comparatively unknown as a centre of neolithic civilization in the earlier years of prehistoric studies, and it has never quite caught up with the rest of Greece. Its importance in the Bronze Age has been well illustrated at several sites. Of late, increasing numbers of sites occupied in the Neolithic Period have been and are being investigated. The publication of this material, which has begun already,<sup>2</sup> will certainly remove the veil of obscurity from this large region and will reveal it as one of the important centres of occupation in the Neolithic Period as well as in the Bronze Age. The fertile Corinthian plain<sup>3</sup> was particularly favorable to early settlement. The well-watered site of ancient Corinth was the natural centre of this region.

In the first year of the American excavations at Corinth a group of prehistoric rock-cut tombs was found,<sup>4</sup> containing a quantity of pottery which has subsequently been shown to be Early Helladic.<sup>5</sup> The tombs were located to the southeast of the present town-square of Old Corinth. In 1904 "pre-Mycenaean" pottery, together with obsidian and bone tools, was found in what has come to be the northwest corner of the great agora.<sup>6</sup> The following year similar sherds were found a little farther to the north, at the end of the Northwest

<sup>1</sup> The unavoidable delays in the final publication of the prehistoric pottery found at Corinth made it seem advisable to issue a brief preliminary report on the subject. To this end Dr. Weinberg, at my request, dug some exploratory trenches and has written this article.

(Signed) Charles H. Morgan II, Director.

<sup>2</sup> The appearance of Blegen, *Prosymna*, at the same time as the proofs of this article has made it impossible to cite the particular references to similarities with the Corinthian pottery.

<sup>3</sup> The statements by Leaf (*Homer and History*, pp. 209-214) concerning the "barrenness" of the plain have been answered already by Blegen (*A.J.A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 9-13). For the earliest periods the abundant remains are answer in themselves.

<sup>4</sup> *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, pp. 313-332.

<sup>5</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, pp. 440-441.

Shops.<sup>1</sup> The investigation of the prehistoric strata, of the Neolithic and Early Helladic periods, found to the north and south of the Temple of Apollo was begun in 1914<sup>2</sup> and in 1920 more trenches were dug here and in the area to the southwest of the Temple Hill,<sup>3</sup> where sherds had been found in 1904 and 1905. A few Mycenaean sherds were found in a pit dug a little to the north of the modern town-square.<sup>4</sup> Neolithic and Early Helladic pottery and an Early Helladic burial came to light in a deep pit sunk to the north of the Peribolos of Apollo, along the east side of the Lechaion Road.<sup>5</sup> More neolithic pottery was found on the opposite side of the road farther to the north.<sup>6</sup> A trench in fill under some of the foundations of the Odeion yielded several sherds of Early Helladic pottery.<sup>7</sup> The excavations of the North Cemetery and of a well at the foot of the Cheliotomylos hill yielded some neolithic pottery, a great quantity of excellently preserved Early Helladic ware, a series of Middle Helladic graves and some Late Helladic pottery.<sup>8</sup> Early Helladic pottery was found in 1930 during the excavation of the Greek Stoa to the north of the Temple of Apollo.<sup>9</sup> In that and the following years remains of a neolithic and Early Helladic settlement were found in the vicinity of the Asklepieion.<sup>10</sup> Neolithic sherds were found in the inside rectangle of the South Basilica. Now neolithic and Early Helladic remains have come from the first room at the east end of the great South Stoa.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the excavations over a period of forty years have revealed widespread evidence of prehistoric habitation in the immediate limits of ancient Corinth. In an area roughly three hundred metres square about the Temple of Apollo there are scattered abundant remains, and it is significant that, with the exception of the few Mycenaean sherds from one pit, all seem to belong to the Neolithic and Early Helladic Periods. This is also true of the settlement at the Asklepieion, located some five hundred metres north of the Temple of Apollo. Only from the mound of Cheliotomylos and from the North Cemetery which lies below it have more abundant remains of the Middle and Late Helladic Periods been reported.

During the excavations at Corinth in the spring of 1937, the writer was asked to supervise the digging of a new series of trenches in the prehistoric fill on the north and south sides of the hill on which stands the Temple of Apollo, and then to prepare a preliminary

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.*, XLI, 1921, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>7</sup> Broneer, *Corinth*, X, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 538-539; XXXIV, 1930, pp. 404-409.

<sup>9</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 412.

<sup>10</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 420.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Professor Oscar Broneer for the reference to the sherds from the South Basilica and for having shown to me the deposit in the South Stoa. With his permission I dug a very small trial pit close to the west wall of the rear room of shop 1 in the South Stoa (cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 54, fig. 1). The pottery found here belongs mainly to the later Neolithic and to the Early Helladic Period, with but few pieces of the earlier neolithic wares.

report of the materials found here.<sup>1</sup> Over a period of five weeks, from May 5 to June 9, six trenches were opened, varying in size from 20.00 m.  $\times$  4.00 m. to 6.00 m.  $\times$  2.00 m. (Fig. 1). The location and size of the trenches were dictated by the necessity of finding apparently undisturbed prehistoric deposits with a representative distribution over the hill. The centre of the hill had been partially cleared to rock, on which the temple was bedded, and the surrounding area was cut down for the terracing about the temple. The deep vertical scarps for the Northwest Stoa to the south and for the Greek Stoa and the Roman North Market to the north of the temple removed a large part of the hill itself. The remaining area was occupied almost continuously, into the last century. Naturally, this has resulted in great disturbance of the earliest fill. The accumulated débris of this later occupation was partially removed in the excavations of the temple, and more recently the entire hill has been cleared off to the preserved classical or earlier levels. To the east and west of the temple this later accumulation lay immediately above the rock, which forms a high east-west ridge on which the temple itself rests.

Therefore, the preserved early fill is limited to an area roughly 25.00 m.  $\times$  50.00 m. on either side of the temple. On the north side this fill rests directly on bedrock, which slopes down to the north, falling from a level of *ca.* 2.75 m. below the top of the temple stylobate to *ca.* 4.75 m. below at the northern scarp. The fill on this side varies in thickness from *ca.* 0.90 m. close to the temple to *ca.* 1.70 m. at the northern scarp, with considerable variation due to the irregularities in the rock bed. On the south side, however, the fill rests on hardpan rather than on the rock. This virgin soil comes to the preserved surface near the temple, at *ca.* 1.75 m. below the temple stylobate, and for about ten metres to the south of the temple there is little or no fill above it. There are some intrusions, mainly Byzantine, into this hardpan. Farther to the south this stratum slopes rapidly so that at the southern scarp it is roughly 3.25 m. below the temple stylobate and there is here a metre or more of fill above it.

In trenches I and V (Fig. 1) well preserved areas of prehistoric fill extended for eight or nine metres from the south end of the trench. Beyond this point the area had been completely disturbed in the Classical or Byzantine Period. The prehistoric fill in these trenches now lay under a very thin top fill, generally only 0.10 m. thick. The fill averaged about one metre in thickness and it seems probable that it had been cut down somewhat in the levelling for the temple terrace. On the south side of the temple the areas of early fill are

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Charles H. Morgan II, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for the opportunity to publish this material and for his help. I wish to thank Professor George Oikonomos for permission to study the comparative material in Greek museums. The authorities of the British Museum, of the Birmingham City Art Gallery and Museum, of the Ashmolean Museum and of the Fitzwilliam Museum have very kindly made available for study the materials in their collections from Greece and the neighboring countries. I am indebted to Professor A. J. B. Wace of Cambridge University for many valuable suggestions. I owe my thanks to Professor Oscar Bröner and to Dr. Gladys Davidson for their help and their many suggestions. The plan of figure 1 was drawn by Dr. W. Schaefer.



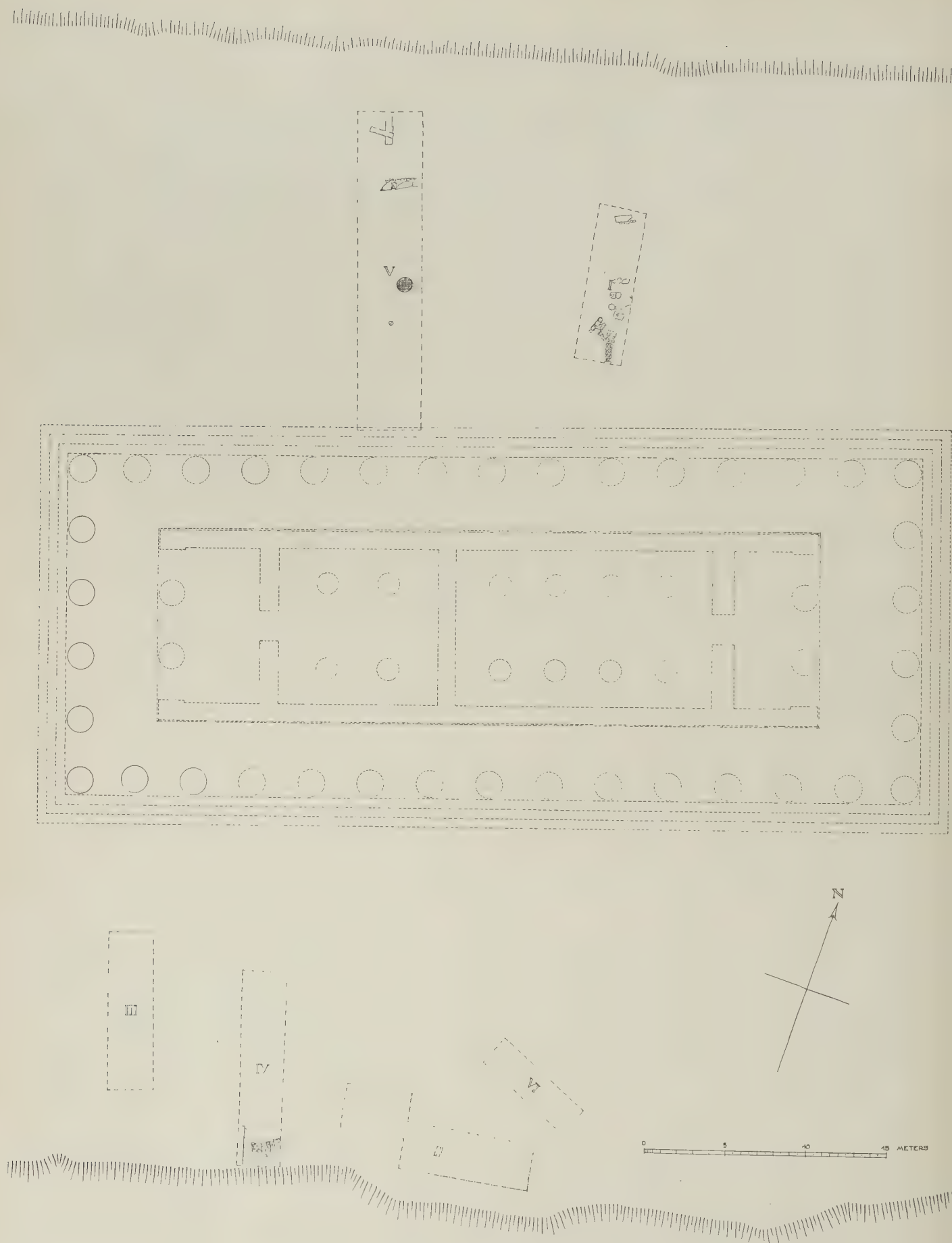


Fig. 1. Plan of Trenches Excavated on Temple Hill

much more limited. In trench II there was only a pit in the hardpan; in trench IV an area about 4.00 m.  $\times$  3.00 m. and 1.20 m. deep (Fig. 2) and a similar area in trench VI contained prehistoric fill. There was practically no undisturbed material in trench III, although there was a quantity of prehistoric pottery mixed in the later fill. This was generally true in all the disturbed areas and it shows the amount of the earliest fill which was destroyed by the later inhabitants of the hill.

In trench excavations only fragmentary architectural remains can be expected. The material from Corinth is particularly poor. A few pieces of walls were found in trench I and another fragment in trench IV. They belong apparently to the Early Helladic Period. All are rectilinear and are built of medium-sized irregular stones laid in two rows, with the



Fig. 2. Early Helladic Wall in Trench IV

smoothest face to the outside. The walls average 0.50 m.—0.60 m. in width. The most carefully built wall is that in trench IV (Fig. 2), a section about two metres long. The lowest course is made of rather flat stones and it is wider than the course above, projecting *ca.* 0.10 m. beyond it on both sides. The second course, the only other one preserved, is built of larger stones, rather carefully chosen and fitted, with smaller stones filling the interstices. Such stepped foundations are characteristic of Early Helladic house walls.<sup>1</sup> No house floors were found which could be connected with these walls and it is possible, especially in trench IV, that the floor lay above the preserved surface.

A small oval pit had been dug to a depth of *ca.* 0.40 m. into the rock floor of trench I. The hole runs diagonally rather than vertically into the rock, the sides are smoothed, the bottom rounded. A shallow channel cut in the rock runs into the pit from the east, its source being outside the trench. No pottery was found inside this pit.

<sup>1</sup> Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 4.

The great abundance of ceramic remains compensates in a measure for the poverty of architectural remains. Everywhere the characteristic prehistoric fill, of rather soft brown earth heavily intermixed with small stones, was full of pottery. The material was badly shattered and only a few vases could be reconstructed to any great extent. However, with such a wealth of sherds it is possible to determine the common shapes in each class of wares and to reconstruct these on paper at least.

The prehistoric fill varied in thickness from a minimum of 0.75 m. to a maximum of 1.70 m., with an average of 1.00 m. Within this relatively shallow accumulation there was no physical differentiation into marked strata, no floors to divide one level from another. However, in the least disturbed sections there was a regular progression from the bottom up, beginning with the neolithic wares and following into a deposit of mixed neolithic and Early Helladic pottery and then into the predominantly Early Helladic fill. No regular Middle Helladic layer was found above the Early Helladic fill; no Late Helladic pottery has been noticed on the hill. The chronological arrangement of the pottery is equally dependent on the several groups of wares which were found in isolated deposits. Two such deposits of the earlier neolithic wares were found, one on the rock in trench V and the other in the pit in hardpan in trench II. The pottery from the first deposit was very badly broken, much of it crammed into the irregular holes in the rock floor. The material from the pit, on the other hand, was much less broken and from it come the bowls in figures 4 and 6 as well as numerous large fragments of such bowls. A large deposit of the later neolithic glazed wares was found in trench VI, much of it in rather large pieces. Finally, there was the deposit of Early Helladic pottery in trench V, from which fifteen vases have been reconstructed, while a great many more have not been completed.

Thus the general stratigraphic change noted in the best preserved areas and the association of wares in the deposits has made possible a fairly accurate determination of the chronological sequence of the neolithic and Early Helladic wares. A closer scheme must wait for further excavation, preferably in more clearly stratified deposits, if such exist on the Temple Hill. For the present preliminary report, the description of the wares follows the chronological scheme determined in these trial excavations. This sequence agrees in general with the chronological and typological arrangement of similar pottery from other sites, particularly with the wares from the Peloponnesos and Central Greece, with which it has been possible to compare this new material.

## I. Earlier Neolithic Wares

In large deposits in trenches II and V and everywhere in the lowest levels of the prehistoric accumulation were found quantities of a ware, or wares, which both by stratigraphic position and by shapes and technique must be the earliest pottery from the Temple Hill settlement. In all but color the pottery can be classed together, for accidents of primitive firing have produced a wide range of surface tones. By means of these the pottery can



be divided roughly into red and black monochrome wares.<sup>1</sup> The name "monochrome" would be a misnomer for a large part of the red wares, which might better be called "variegated,"<sup>2</sup> but its use will show more clearly the place of the ware in the generally accepted terminology. Besides the "variegated" wares, there are two other classes of red monochrome pottery: 1) a ware closely associated with the early group and distinguished by its polished red-slipped surface, the red-polished wares of Orchomenos;<sup>3</sup> 2) the Thesalian A 1 ware,<sup>4</sup> the Orchomenos red monochrome class.<sup>5</sup>

Of the latter class, only a few fragments were found together with the earlier wares; the majority was in deposits of the later types. This ware is technically different from the early ware and the shapes are more advanced. Although implying a difference in his terminology and treating them somewhat individually, Kunze has used one class (D) for the two wares. The Corinthian material seems to indicate that this is an over-simplification, for there is here a stratigraphic difference as well.

A similar subdivision in the black wares, Orchomenos class A, has already been pointed out by Blegen.<sup>6</sup> This is clearly substantiated by the evidence from Corinth. Again, the early type of black burnished ware, recognized by Kunze as being typologically most primitive and placed by him at the beginning of the series, is found in large quantities in the early deposits together with the red wares. None of the later slipped or decorated varieties was found with these.

#### A. Red Monochrome or "Variegated" Ware

A large majority of the earliest pottery belongs to this class. The ware is of good quality, generally well formed and made of fairly pure clay. In all but a group of small crucible-like bowls with very thick walls, the surface has been smoothed so that little or no trace remains of tooling marks. The light polish resulting from this process is characteristic of most of the vases. In some examples, however, the surface has been burnished to a high lustre. Some of these sherds seem to have a light watery slip, the color of the clay, applied to the surface, but it is more likely a technical or "floated" slip due to the polishing. In a few instances the vases seem to have been coated with a thin white slip, but the examples are too few to be classified separately.

<sup>1</sup> The same association of wares has been noted at Nemea (cf. Blegen, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, p. 661). The connection of the red with the black wares at Orchomenos, classes C and D with class A, has been suggested by Kunze (*Orchomenos II*, pp. 25, 29). Mylonas made one general class of monochrome ware for the equivalent material at Chaironea (*Ἡ Νεολιθικὴ Ἐποχὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, p. 53).

<sup>2</sup> This Corinthian ware had already been termed "rainbow-ware" (Kunze, *Orchomenos II*, p. 26, n. 4; Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II, p. 11); and class C at Orchomenos is called "Keramik mit buntem polierten Überzug" (*Orchomenos II*, p. 25).

<sup>3</sup> *Orchomenos II*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Orchomenos II*, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, p. 661.

The irregularities of firing have produced a wide variety in the hardness of the fabric as well as in the colors of the surface and the biscuit. In general the clay is well baked and the breaks are sharp, but in many bowls the clay is crumbly. The predominant color in the well baked examples is an even buff over the exterior and at times over all or much of the interior. The colors of the exterior vary, however, from a light cream or yellow through shades of buff, light and dark red and brown, often changing from one to another on the same vase. These colors frequently grade sharply into black near the bottom of the vase, while in a few examples the black comes close to the rim (Fig. 3*a*). The interiors are almost always predominantly black or gray, with a light band of varying width at the rim.



Fig. 3. Sherds of Early Neolithic "Variegated" Ware

From the material at Corinth, much of it very fragmentary, only one shape is known for this ware—a hemispherical bowl (Fig. 4). There is one sherd which probably belongs to a globular jug with a low splayed rim, such as is common in this ware in Central Greece.<sup>1</sup> The bowls vary somewhat in shape; the true hemisphere, the hemisphere with the walls brought up straight at the greatest circumference (Fig. 4), a bowl in which the walls contract slightly towards the lip (Fig. 6). The walls vary in thickness from 0.003 m. in the fine small bowls to 0.015 m. in the large bowls. They usually narrow considerably close to the lip, which is then very thin and is rounded. In some large bowls the lip is merely cut flat on top. The bowls frequently have a rounded bottom with no foot (Fig. 4) or a simple flat bottom. Others show a development from a base slightly set off from the wall of the

<sup>1</sup> Soteriades, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1908, p. 68, fig. 2.

vase and hollowed at the bottom to the rather high conical foot (Fig. 5 *a c*). Handles are rare in this class and consist almost entirely of pierced lugs set either vertically or horizontally. The handle in figure 3 *b* is really a small band handle set perpendicular to the lip. The only decoration on this ware consists of groups of small round pellets of clay applied to the surface, as shown in figure 3 *c*.<sup>1</sup> Only a few small fragments with such decoration were found and no design is evident in the arrangement of the pellets.

A fine example of this ware is the large bowl shown in figure 4. It is of the rounded form with high sides, has a diameter at the lip of 0.268 m. and stands 0.202 m. high. The walls average 0.005 m. in thickness. The exterior seems to have been covered with a thin white slip, well polished, of which only a few patches remain. The present surface has an even buff tone on the outside, except at the rounded bottom, where a dark circle marks the place on which a smaller bowl had evidently been set during the firing. The interior is a dark gray except

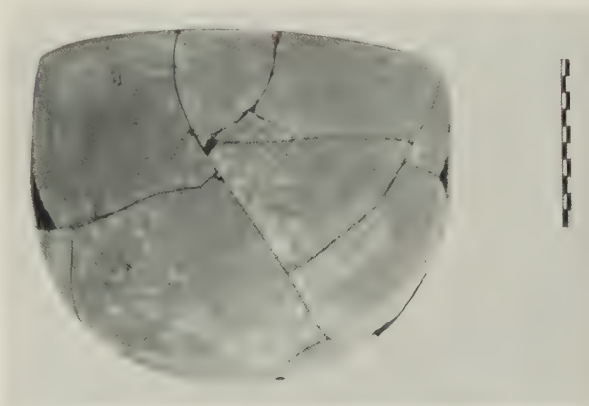


Fig. 4. Bowl of Early Neolithic "Variegated" Ware

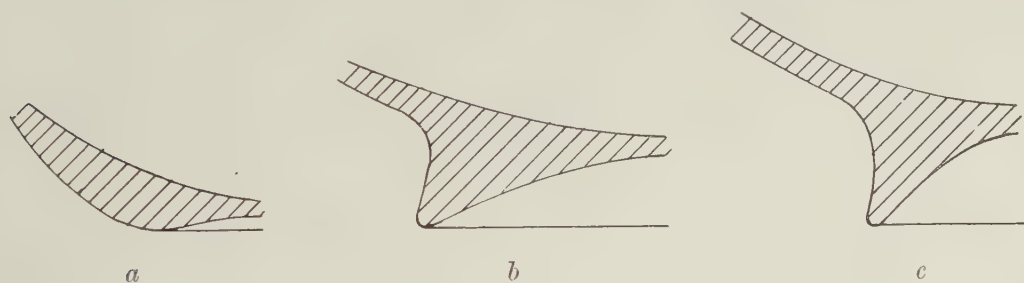


Fig. 5 (1:1). Bases of Early Neolithic "Variegated" Ware

for a narrow band at the lip. Only about half of the vase remains, and at the broken edge on either side near the lip are holes for mending. When the fine bowl could no longer be mended for use, one half was thrown into the pit in trench II, the other half elsewhere.

## B. Red Slipped Ware

A small quantity of the wares found in the early deposits was covered with a highly polished red slip. Other fragments of this ware came from the lowest levels of the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Orchomenos II*, pl. XIII, 2 b-c.



historic fill. The fragments seem to belong almost entirely to large open bowls, such as those described in class A. The vases are less well baked than those of the previous class and the biscuit is soft and powdery at the edges. The exteriors of the bowls, and occasionally also the interiors, were covered with a heavy slip. On a single vase this slip has an even tone, but the color may vary from light red to dark red or reddish-brown on separate examples. The slip is polished to a high lustre, is quite firm and rarely chips off.<sup>1</sup> When the interiors are not coated, they are black to within a short distance from the lip, if not all black, and they resemble in every way the interiors of the "variegated" bowls.

In this class the bowls seem generally to have had low bases of the type shown in figure 5 *b* and *c*. Also much more common are the pierced lugs for handles, as well as



Fig. 6. Early Neolithic Black Burnished Bowl

a primitive strap handle which may be only a more open and developed pierced lug. The use of the red slip, together with the greater frequency of both bases and handles, indicates a higher typological development in this class. However, the condition of the accumulated fill in which some of the pieces were found was not such as to allow any stratigraphical distinctions, and the wares are shown to have been at least in part contemporaneous by their association in the two large deposits.

### C. Black Monochrome Ware

The early black monochrome ware at Corinth again consists of only the simple round bowls, generally small, thin-walled and carefully made. The clay is well levigated and well baked. The biscuit is usually gray and the surface itself is more often a dark gray than true black. The vases are well burnished both within and without, the surface so smoothed that all tooling marks have disappeared. Some of the bowls have rounded bottoms, but there are also flat bottoms and low bases similar to those of the red monochrome bowls (Fig. 5). As in the red monochrome ware, small clay pellets are the only form of decoration. Here, however, the pellets are oval in shape and are arranged in rows or strings (Fig. 29 *a*, *b*).<sup>2</sup>

A good example of these small bowls came from the deposit in trench II (Fig. 6). The dark gray surface is lightly burnished. The walls, only 0.005 m. thick, narrow to an edge at the lip. The diameter at the lip is 0.126 m., the height 0.074 m.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the sherds of the Orchomenos class D which I have seen are of this type. They are distinguished by the name "rot-polierte." The Orchomenos material presents a greater variety of shapes than is evident as yet at Corinth.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Orchomenos II*, pl. VI, 2.

### D. Coarse Monochrome Ware

A number of large round bowls of coarser fabric belong to the group of earlier neolithic wares. The clay is less well purified and the smoothed surfaces are pitted with innumerable small holes, giving a spongy appearance. The biscuit also is full of these small holes. The clay is well baked and the biscuit is dark red or gray in color. The bowls vary in color from terracotta red to a dark brown or black. The surface is generally smooth and at times even lightly polished. Both round and flat bottomed bowls are found, but there are no raised bases. Pierced lugs are common, set near the rim both horizontally and vertically. There are also a few plain lugs.

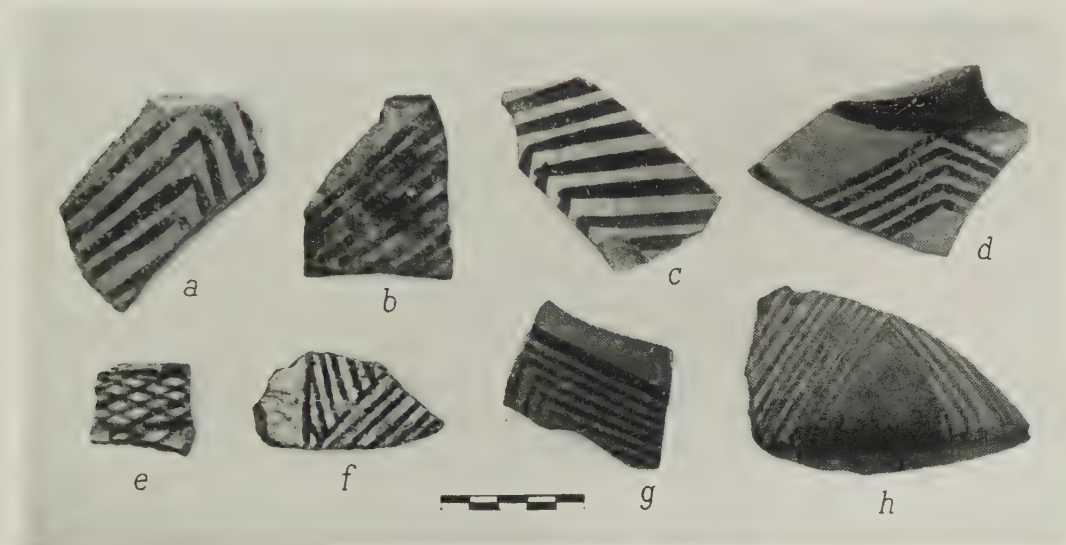


Fig. 7. Sherds of Early Neolithic Patterned Ware

### E. Painted Ware

A small amount of painted ware was found together with the early monochrome wares. The sherds all belong to the red on white or red on buff wares of the early Neolithic Period—the “Chaironea” wares and the Thessalian A 3 $\beta$  and A 3 $\gamma$  wares.<sup>1</sup> Of the red on white wares there are only a few fragments (Fig. 7 *b*, *e*, *f*) and these so closely resemble the wares from Central Greece that they may be from that region. Other fragments have the decoration painted directly on the buff surface of the vase. The paint, red or light purple in color, is often dull in contrast with the polished surface. In many examples the whole vase has been highly polished after the paint was applied, giving a very smooth surface into which the paint seems to have sunk (Fig. 7 *c*, *g*). The fabric itself is generally

<sup>1</sup> *Orchomenos II*, Class F, p. 35 (particularly the bibliography of note 1); Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 14.

good, the clay well cleaned and rather well baked, the biscuit an even buff or light gray. One fragment (Fig. 7*a*) has the red polished slip of class B on the inside.

The designs on these painted wares are mainly simple linear schemes; generally parallel lines, chevron and net patterns (Fig. 7).<sup>1</sup> One sherd has a pattern of filled triangles, the so-called "hour-glass" motive. In others there are wavy lines. The sherds seem to belong to large open bowls and to globular jugs with high cylindrical necks. A fragment of the latter shape (Fig. 7*d*) has the typical later neolithic glaze on the inside of the neck and was, indeed, found with the later ware. A similar piece showing the continued use of this ware was found in Orchomenos.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous fragments of all of these early wares were found mixed with the later neolithic types and even with the Early Helladic wares. This is due, however, rather to the intrusion into the early fill by the later settlers than to a continued use of much of the early pottery in later periods. That this is true is shown by the absence of the early monochrome ware in the isolated deposits of the later neolithic wares.

## II. Later Neolithic Wares

### A. Red Monochrome Ware

Although a few fragments of this ware—the A 1 class of Thessaly,<sup>3</sup> the "rote monochrome" of Orchomenos<sup>4</sup> and Central Greece—were found together with the earlier pottery, many more were found in a large deposit of later wares in trench VI. We have, therefore, put them in the beginning of this later group, in a transitional position. Indeed, several of the pieces from the Temple Hill combine the typical slip of this class with the red polished slip of the earlier wares, while others have both the red slip of this ware and the glaze of the later neolithic "Urfirnis" class. In all, the sherds of this type are not abundant here and the material is badly broken. This shattered condition may be due in part to the hard, well baked fabric, which is very brittle and breaks with sharp edges. This quality clearly differentiates the ware from the crumbly early fabrics. The contrast is also shown in the even terracotta tone of the biscuit when compared to the buff or gray color of the earlier wares. The surface is rarely smoothed, but shows the narrow parallel strokes of the burnishing tool. The surface color, an even red or reddish brown, seems due to a slip, very much the color of the clay. There is a good light polish, but rarely the high burnish of the earlier red slipped wares.

Only a few shapes could be obtained from our material. There is the high conical base so common in Thessaly, but no fragments have been found of the bowls with convex rims

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blegen, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1930, figs. 3 and 14 for similar ware from the neighboring site of Gonia and from Nemea.

<sup>2</sup> *Orchomenos II*, p. 36, pl. XVII, 2 c.

<sup>3</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 13, figs. 40-42.

<sup>4</sup> *Orchomenos II*, pp. 26-30.



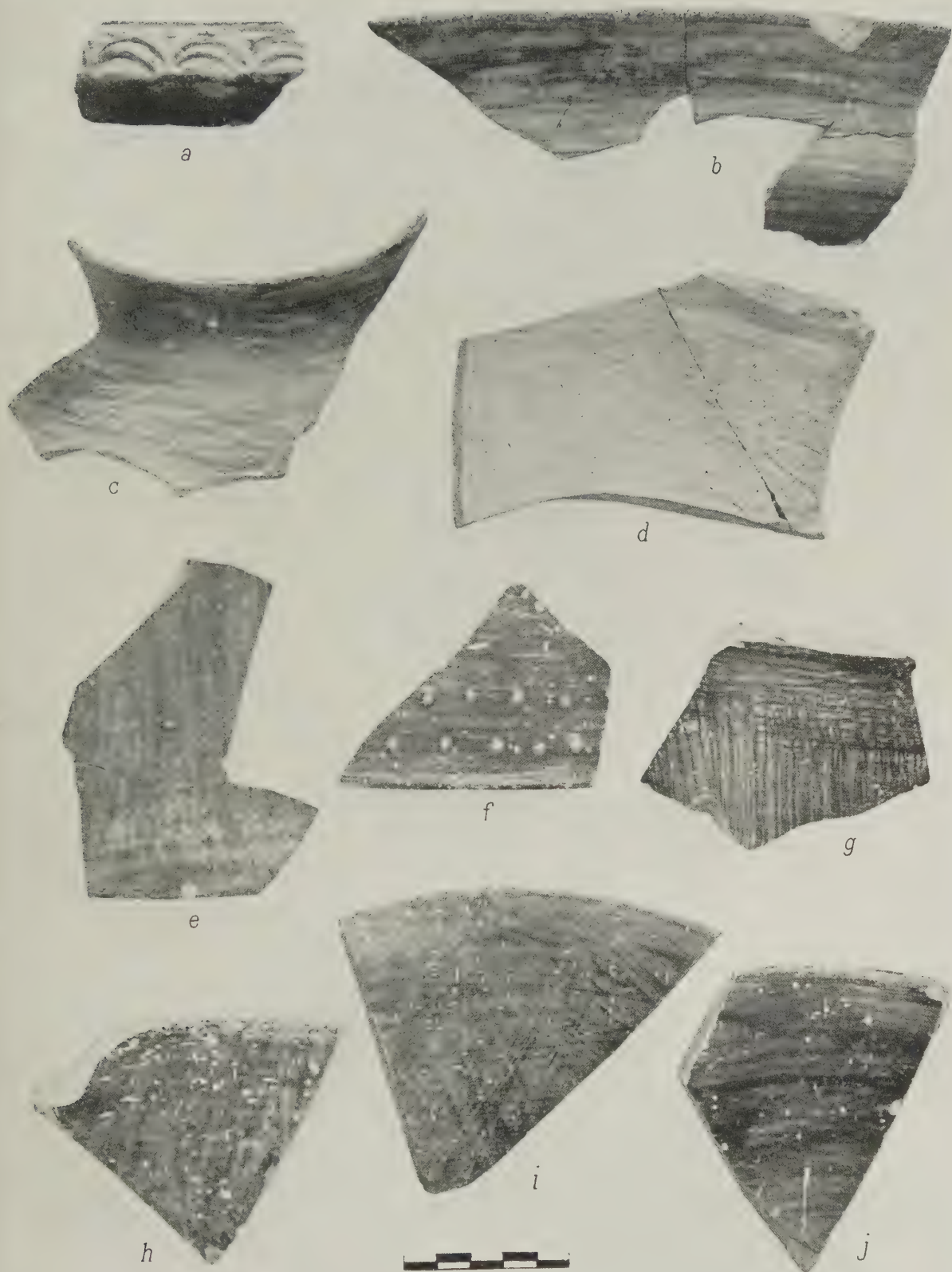


Fig. 8. Sherds of Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

which are connected with these bases in the North.<sup>1</sup> Most common are fragments of globular jugs with high cylindrical necks sometimes sharply set off from the body. No form of decoration was evident in the Corinthian material.

### B. Neolithic "Urfirnis"

This ware was first recognized as a separate class of neolithic pottery by Kunze in his study of the Orchomenos pottery; it was named and carefully described by him.<sup>2</sup> He considered the ware to be a later development of the red monochrome ware described above and this supposition has been confirmed on stratigraphic grounds at the Arcadian site of

Hageorgitika.<sup>3</sup> The same seems true also at Corinth, where large quantities of this pottery were found, particularly in a large deposit in trench VI. In this mass of material there is a richer variety of shapes and decoration than was found at Orchomenos and further description of this ware is warranted.

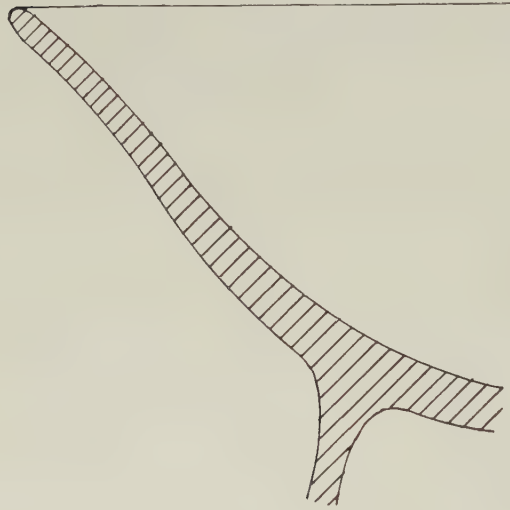


Fig. 9 (1:1). Bowl of Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

The ware is distinguished from all the other neolithic wares by the peculiar streaky glaze, the inherent glossy quality of which makes burnishing unnecessary, as well as by the appearance of the unglazed interior surfaces. The quality of the pottery is uniformly good; it is well formed, thin walled, carefully finished and baked hard. The clay seems to be tempered with some gritty material. The biscuit is hard and of an even buff, brick red or brown tone,

speckled with white foreign particles and sometimes micaceous. The inner surfaces of the more closed shapes have been worked with a broad blunt tool which results in a series of wide, very shallow grooves meeting in almost imperceptible ridges. The whole surface within these grooves is cut up by innumerable small sharp incisions, made by the gritty particles when drawn across the surface by the broad tool (Fig. 8*d*).<sup>4</sup> Some of the interior surfaces have been further smoothed and covered with a light glaze wash. These often are pitted with small holes and have the spongy appearance noted in the coarser early wares. In the finished and glazed surfaces, the fine strokes of the finishing tool are frequently visible, but often even these have been smoothed away.

<sup>1</sup> Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, fig. 40 e-g.

<sup>2</sup> *Orchomenos II*, pp. 31-35.

<sup>3</sup> Blegen, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, p. 661.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Orchomenos II*, figs. 29, 30 A.

The glaze was apparently applied with a brush and the streaky effect is due both to the brush marks and to the uneven distribution of the glaze, which is heavy in places and elsewhere is brushed out thinly (Fig. 8 *b, c, e, j*). The glaze comes in varying shades of light and dark red and brown and at times it is almost black. One of the most frequent colors is a warm reddish-brown or mahogany tone. The lustrous quality of the glaze varies considerably, probably due in part to the clay to which it is applied. On some of the thick-walled coarser wares the glaze is dull, but on the well-smoothed fine vases it attains a high lustre.

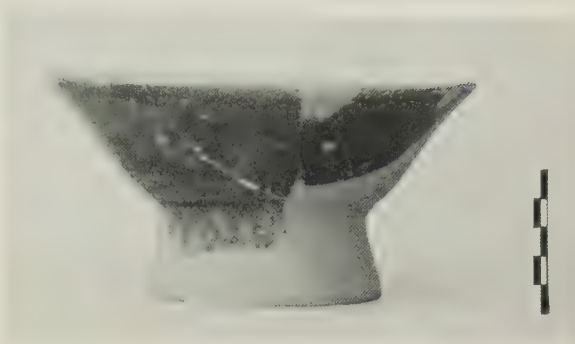


Fig. 10. Bowl of Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

The "Urfirnis" ware was produced in a large variety of shapes, all of them typically neolithic. The predominant shape is the wide open bowl on a high conical stand. The shape is well illustrated by the example of figures 9 and 10, in which only the height of the stand is uncertain. The diameter of this restored bowl is 0.165 m., its height 0.082 m. The walls of the stand are straight, but the diameter increases toward the base. The walls of the bowl flare up and out in a gentle S-curve; their thickness diminishes to the simple rounded lip. Although there is considerable variation in the size of the examples found—the stands range from 0.03 m. to at least 0.10 m. in height (Fig. 8 *e-g* are stand fragments); the bowls are perhaps as great as 0.30 m. in diameter (Fig. 8 *h-j*)—the shape is usually much the same. Sometimes the bowl has a continuous lightly convex curve rather than the S-curve.<sup>1</sup>

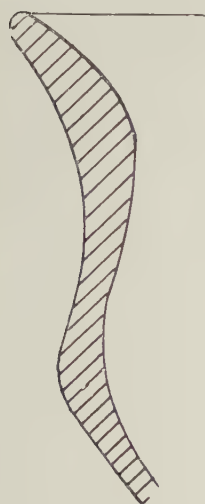


Fig. 11 (1:1).  
Profile of Neolithic  
"Urfirnis" Frag-  
ment, Fig. 8 *b*

Another common type of deep open bowl has a high rim sharply set off from the body and splayed towards the lip (Figs. 8 *a* and 11). The shape is not completed in the Corinthian material, but the base may be of the low ring type, of which several are preserved. A squat jug with wide belly and a narrower mouth is shown by two rather well preserved examples (Figs. 12 and 13) and by several fragments. The vase of figures 12 *a* and 13 certainly stood on its shallow rounded bottom, with no base. Other examples may have had low conical bases, such as are found with a similar shape in red monochrome and early painted ware in Thessaly and Central Greece.<sup>2</sup> The small bowls with

<sup>1</sup> *Orchomenos II*, pl. III is of this latter type.

<sup>2</sup> Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 90, fig. 40 *h*; here the shape occurs both with and without base. I have seen a piece of a similar vase among the "D" wares from Orchomenos and there is a small jug of this shape among the red monochrome



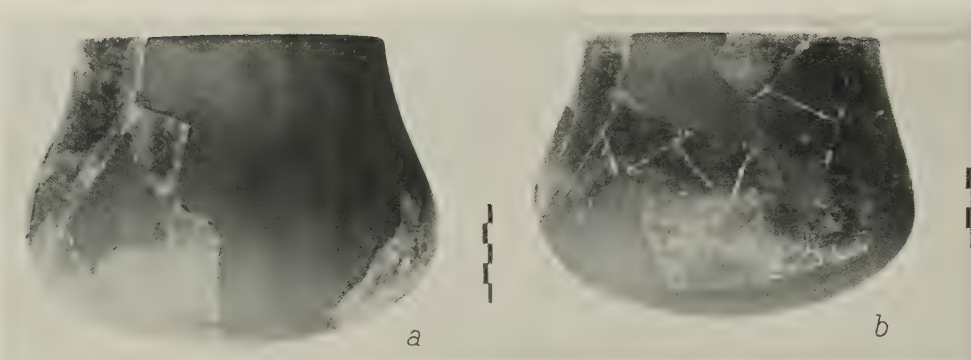


Fig. 12. Jugs of Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

incurved rim (Figs. 8 *a*, 14) are rare at Corinth in comparison with Orchomenos. Much more common are the small bowls or cups with a high concave rim, often sharply set off from the body of the vase (Figs. 15, 19), a very common shape in neolithic pottery (cf. Figs. 23 *a-e*, 24, 25 *a*, 29 *c*, *f-h*). Finally there are numerous fragments of globular jugs with high necks, either vertical or splayed, more or less sharply set off from the round body (Figs. 8 *c*, 16). Handles are common only in this last shape. These are usually broad ribbon handles extending from the lip to the shoulder. Some small globular jugs have pierced lug handles at the broadest part of the belly. On three of the fragments from the common open bowls there are small knobs or lugs on the outside at the rim.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 13 (1:2). Profile of Neolithic "Urfirnis" Jug, Fig. 12 *a*

This ware, already bright with its variegated surfaces, is further decorated in a number of ways. Small round pellets of clay are found only on the squat jug in figure 12 *a*. A similar effect was obtained in a few of the high conical bases by piercing the clay from the back so that the surface buckled, forming rows of small round knobs (Fig. 8 *f*). In several of the high conical stands there are open cut designs, none of which could be reconstructed.<sup>2</sup> Frequent use was made of a stroke-burnishing technique, resulting in black bands where the glaze had been worked over (Figs. 8 *g*, 19 *a*, *b*). Incised designs are rare at Corinth; some of the bowls with incurved rims are so decorated (Fig. 8 *a*).

It is impossible to class or consider separately the painted examples of this "Urfirnis" ware, for the decoration covers only a part of the vase, the rest of which is coated with the regular glaze.

wares from Hagia Marina in the Chaironea Museum. At Orchomenos the shape also occurs in the "Chaironea" ware (*Orchomenos II*, fig. 34).

<sup>1</sup> *Orchomenos II*, fig. 26 shows a similar fragment in red monochrome ware and the restored profile, based on a bowl of the same type in "Chaironea" ware.

<sup>2</sup> One of the fragments of such a stand from Orchomenos has a triangular cut-out design.

Such partially painted vases form a large part of the "Urfirnis" examples and occur in all of the most common shapes.<sup>1</sup> The interiors of the open bowls on high stands are very often decorated (Figs. 17, 18), but in only one instance is the stand painted (Fig. 17 *f*) and no examples of a painted bowl exterior have been found. In the bowls with high concave rims, the rim is decorated and there is a sharp division of the painted and unpainted surfaces at the carination or offset of the rim (Fig. 19).

Both neck and shoulder of the globular jugs are painted (Fig. 20). The decoration may be divided into two classes: patterns painted in a rather dull black paint on the already glazed surfaces (Figs. 18 *a*; 19 *c, d*; 20 *d, h, m*) and those painted in a lustrous glaze on the buff or red clay ground, which has been carefully polished (Figs. 17; 18 *b-l*; 19 *e-i*; 20 *a-c, e-g, i-l*). The glaze in the second type varies in color from light red to black.

Although the patterns are composed mainly of combinations of straight and wavy lines, there is an unusual variety of schemes and a highly colorful effect, often polychromatic, is obtained by varying the consistency of the glaze. The most frequent designs are groups of parallel lines, often with heavier and darker lines at the outside (Figs. 18 *c, i, k, l*; 20 *e, i, k*). Bands limited by broad black lines are filled with a lattice or net pattern (Figs. 17 *a*; 18 *a, d, h*; 19 *i*) or with wavy lines (Figs. 17 *c*; 18 *f, j*). A common "tree" motive consists of a heavy line with thinner lines shooting off from it obliquely (Figs. 17 *b*, 18 *e*). Cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 20 *f*) and black dots with a trail of red glaze behind them (Fig. 20 *g*) are among the odd designs that are better illustrated than described. The effect is bright; both the fabric and the decoration are delicate. The walls of this painted ware are frequently not more than 0.002 m. or 0.003 m. thick.

### C. Gray Monochrome Ware

In the large deposit of later neolithic wares in trench VI and throughout the neolithic fill, especially in association

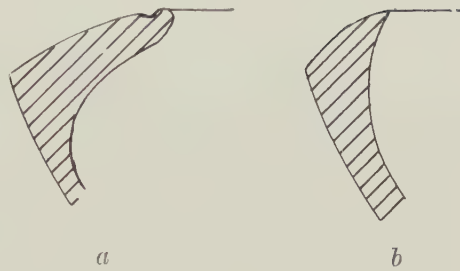


Fig. 14 (1:1). Rims of Bowls, Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

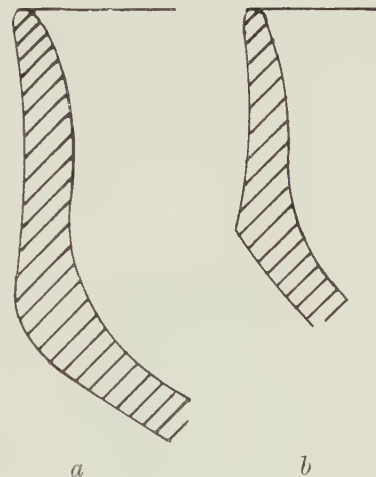


Fig. 15 (1:1). Rims of Bowls, Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

<sup>1</sup> Of the fragments of wares with painted ornaments from Orchomenos, class G, those illustrated in *Orchomenos II*, pl. XX, 2 a and XXIII, 1 a, c are decorated "Urfirnis" ware. A fragment from Gonia illustrated in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1930, p. 65, fig. 14 o, seems to belong to this same class, as do also some of the fragments from Hageorgitika shown in figure 1 of the same article.

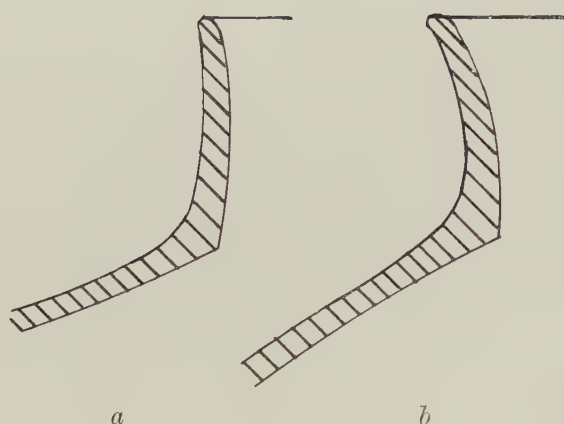


Fig. 16 (1:1). Necks of Jugs, Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

with the "Urfirnis" ware, were found quantities of a gray monochrome ware. To my knowledge, this ware is reported here for the first time. That the ware is certainly neolithic is clear from the fabric and the shapes as well as from the context in which it was found. The vases are usually finely profiled; they have thin walls and are well finished and baked. The clay is well levigated, the fabric is hard and the fractures are usually quite sharp. The biscuit is with few exceptions of an even gray color, varying from a very light gray to medium gray. A few rare examples have a dark reddish-brown biscuit. The surface is frequently covered with a fine slip, the color of the clay or slightly darker. It is well polished, but rarely has a high burnish. The slipped surfaces are exceedingly smooth, and tool marks are infrequent. In numerous other examples there is no slip visible, but the surface is burnished to a light polish, and the narrow burnishing strokes are frequently visible. The ware comes in varying shades of gray, but the most usual is a very light silvery gray tone.

The pottery of this class was so shattered that no complete shape could be reconstructed. However, the profiled examples are so numerous that the principal shapes can be known with some degree of certainty. The predominant shape is a wide open, rather shallow bowl on a high stand which flares towards the bottom—the common neolithic

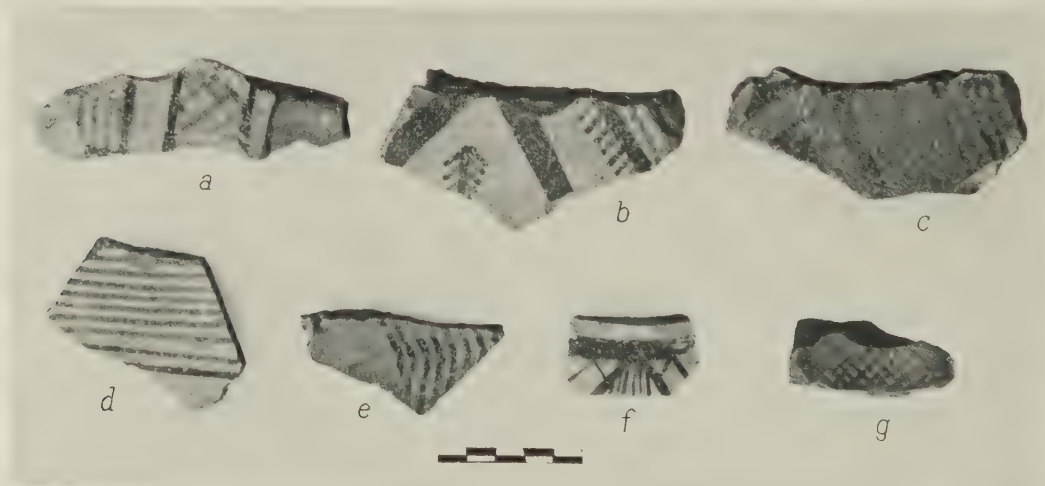


Fig. 17. Sherds of Painted Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware



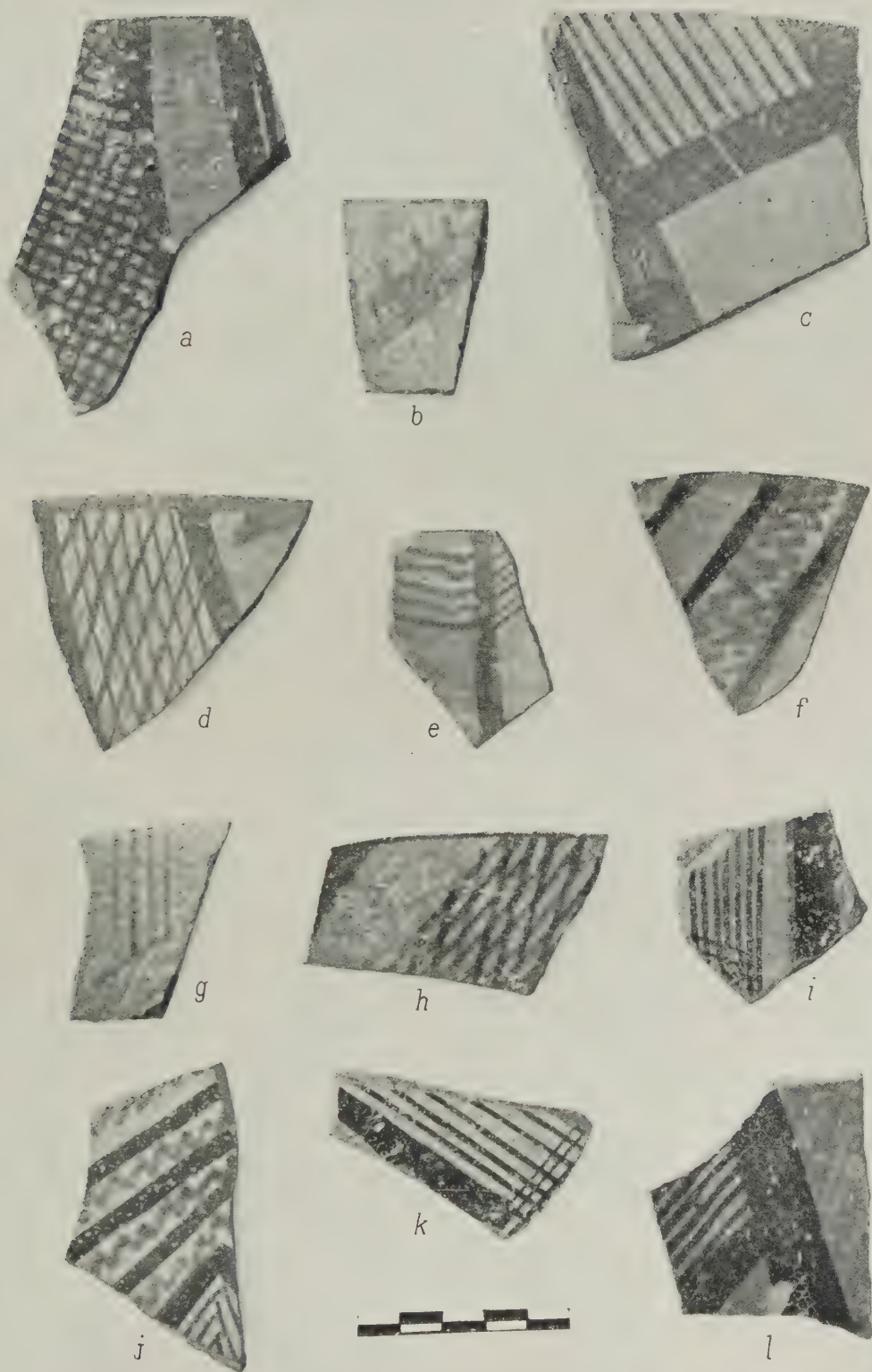


Fig. 18. Sherds of Painted Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

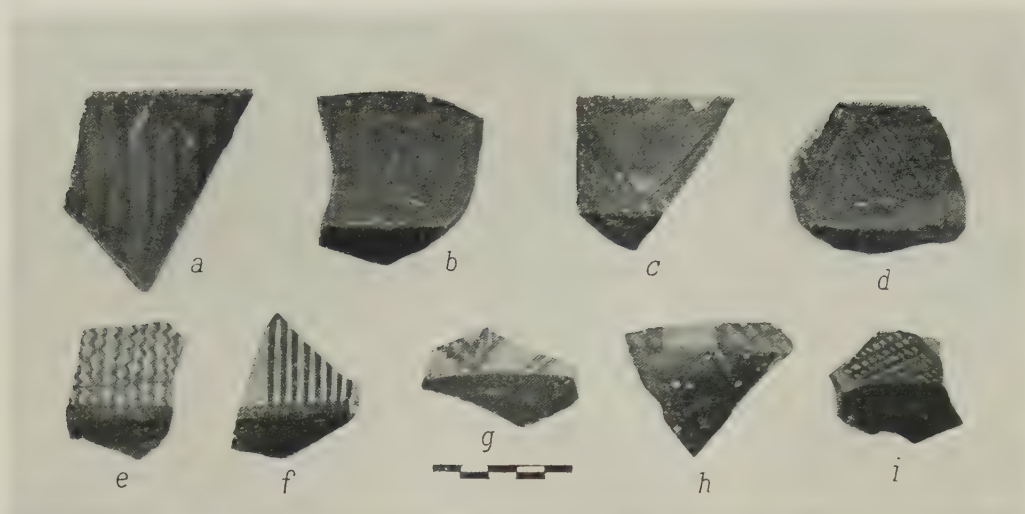


Fig. 19. Sherds of Bowls, Neolithic "Urfirnis" Ware

"fruitstand" (Figs. 21, 22). The profile of figure 22 is a paper reconstruction of the typical shape based on a combination of several fragments. The bowl is often clearly differentiated from the stand by a shallow groove or an angle, but in other examples the two are joined by a curve. The bowl flares up and out in an S-curve; the outer edge of the bowl



Fig. 20. Fragments of Jugs, Neolithic Painted "Urfirnis" Ware

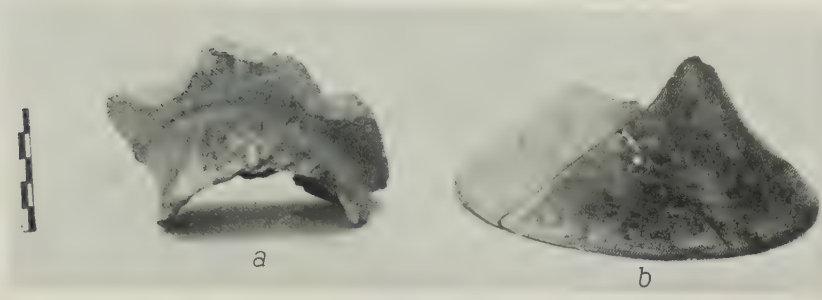


Fig. 21. Fragments of "Fruitstands," Neolithic Gray Ware

and the lip are practically horizontal. The stand may flare towards the base in an even concave curve, but often it falls almost straight down and then spreads sharply towards the bottom. These "fruitstands" vary considerably in size and quality; the better vases have very thin walls and are very well finished.

Apart from the high bases of the "fruitstands," no other type of raised base is found in the gray ware, but there are numerous flat bottoms which seem to have been common to many of the other shapes. Among these shapes are the usual neolithic small bowls with a rather high concave lip, generally separated from the body by a sharp ridge or carination (Fig. 24).<sup>1</sup> The bowls with shallow bottom and a very high concave rim (Figs. 23 *h*, 25 *a*) are well known in the later neolithic black wares.<sup>2</sup> Other bowls of varying size have deeply incurved rims (Figs. 26, 27) that are closely paralleled in the neolithic "Urfirnis" ware (Figs. 8 *a*, 14).<sup>3</sup> There are some examples of small bowls with a bulbous body and a slight flare to the rim of the somewhat narrower mouth (Figs. 23 *f*, 25 *b*). The larger globular jugs with high cylindrical necks (Fig. 23 *k*) are more numerous. An unique shape in the gray ware is given by the fragment of a tripod (?) bowl (Fig. 28).<sup>4</sup>

Handles of various kinds are common in the gray ware. The high-rimmed bowls occur with small lugs at the carination (Fig. 23 *d*) and frequently such bowls have a small ribbon handle extending from the lip to the ridge on the rim (Fig. 23 *g*). Most of the large high-necked jugs had handles

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Orchomenos II*, fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Orchomenos II*, pl. I, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Orchomenos II*, fig. 33, pl. XIII, 1 d-g; Soteriades, 'Eq. Aex., 1908, p. 85, fig. 12, 3.

<sup>4</sup> The depth of the inside of the bowl is 0.03 m.; its reconstructed diameter 0.098 m. The total height of the reconstructed vase is ca. 0.102 m. The bowl may have had four legs, but the curve of the left side of the preserved fragment seems too broad for this and fits a tripod arrangement much better. There is no means of knowing the exact height of the foot.

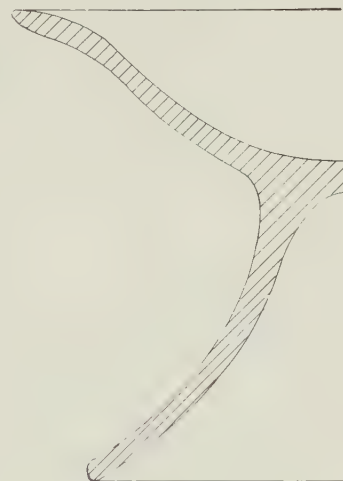


Fig. 22 (1:2). Composite Profile of "Fruitstand," Neolithic Gray Ware





Fig. 23. Sherds of Neolithic Gray Ware

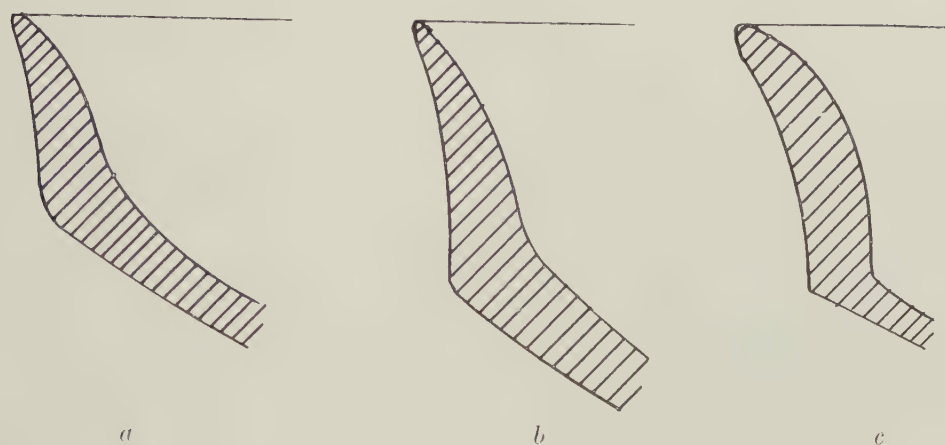


Fig. 24 (1:1). Rims of Bowls, Neolithic Gray Ware

extending from just below the lip to the shoulder. These were either of the broad ribbon type or were more oval or round in cross section (Fig. 23 *k*).

The decoration system in the gray wares is unusually simple. The "fruitstands" generally have a row of small nicks about the lip and frequently there is an added row of small shallow holes just inside the lip (Fig. 23 *i, j*). The high-necked bowls are seldom decorated, but in a few examples the rim either has a rippled surface (Fig. 23 *e*) or is decorated with broad shallow incisions in zig-zag lines (Fig. 23 *a, b*). On one piece there are traces of zig-zag lines painted in a heavy white paint on the gray surface, the only instance of painted decoration in this ware. Frequently the lips of these bowls are also nicked. The most highly decorated shape in the gray ware is the bowl with incurved rim. Here incisions on the rim are the general rule and they vary from broad shallow lines (Fig. 27 *a, b, d, f*) to very sharp incisions (Fig. 27 *c, e*). The patterns are mainly zig-zag lines (Fig. 27 *a, b, d-f*) and curved segments (Fig. 27 *c*). Here, too, the lip is often nicked (Fig. 27 *a, d*). The use of lightly rippled surfaces is frequent in the bodies of many of the shapes (Fig. 23 *l*).

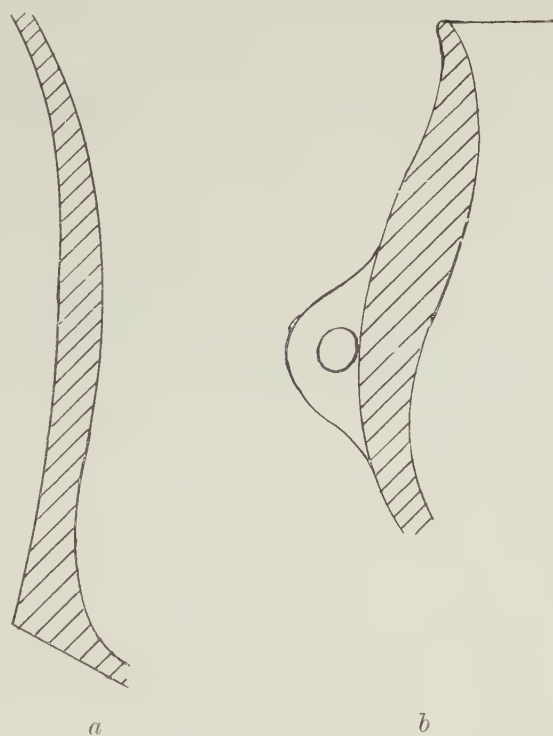


Fig. 25 (1:1). Bowls of Neolithic Gray Ware

I know of only one other solid light gray neolithic ware from Greece, the  $\Gamma 1\beta$  or "grey on grey" ware of Thessaly.<sup>1</sup> Although the fine gray fabric is similar to that of the Corinthian gray ware, the shapes and the decorative systems in the two wares are quite

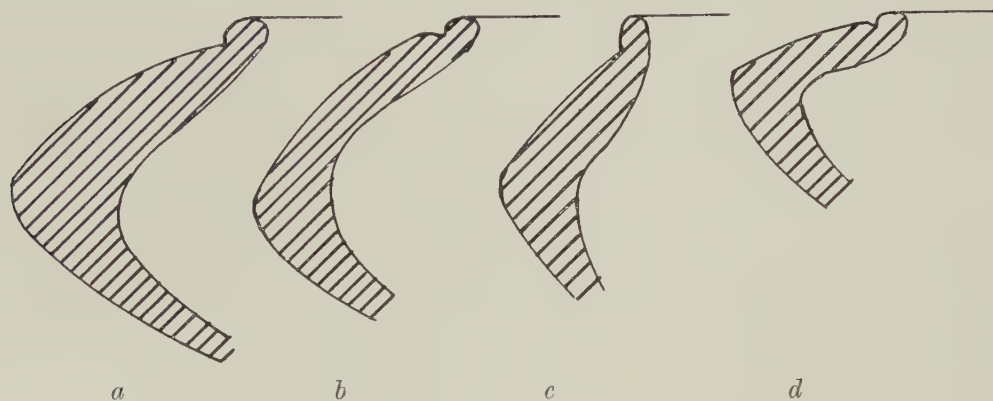


Fig. 26 (1:1). Incurved Rims of Bowls, Neolithic Gray Ware



Fig. 27. Incurved Rims, Neolithic Gray Ware

different. No fragments with gray paint occur at Corinth, and so far as I know incisions are absent in the Thessalian gray ware. Some fragments of the Thessalian ware have the carinated, flat-bottomed shape of the high-rimmed bowls. There are also some small jugs with high necks, but the "fruitstands" and the bowls with incurved rims are not common

<sup>1</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 17, 107, fig. 57, pl. IV, 5 and 6.



to the "grey on grey" wares. The shapes of the Corinthian gray ware are much more closely related to the various late neolithic wares; the "fruitstands" of Thessaly "B" wares,<sup>1</sup> the carinated bowls of the later neolithic black wares and of the "Urfirnis" ware, the bowls with incurved rims of the "Urfirnis"—a shape transitional to the Early Helladic Period. Such a transitional position the ware itself probably occupies, together with the "Urfirnis" ware with which it is usually found.<sup>2</sup>

In the large mass of neolithic pottery from Central Greece now displayed in the Chaironea Museum, there is no ware that can be compared with this. Nor has such a ware yet been reported elsewhere in the Peloponnesos; not from the mound of Gonia only three miles away. Further reports of the excavations of neolithic sites in the Peloponnesos, of which there are now a considerable number, may produce parallels for the Corinthian gray ware. Then its place in the roster of neolithic ware will be better understood. The probable connections of this ware with gray pottery from outside of Greece cannot be discussed in a preliminary report.<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 28. Reconstructed Tripod Bowl, Neolithic Gray Ware

#### D. Black Monochrome and Decorated Ware

The quantity of the later black wares found at Corinth is small and the material is very fragmentary. There are scattered pieces representing a variety of shapes and systems of decoration, most of which have been carefully described from the Orchomenos material.<sup>4</sup> The considerable variety in such a small quantity of pottery seems to indicate that the ware is imported rather than locally made. What we have is generally well formed, of fine clay and hard-baked. The ware is distinguished from the earlier black wares both by the shapes and by the general use of a black slip, usually highly burnished. It has a rich black tone rather than the more gray color known previously.

The most common shapes are the bowls with concave rims and small bowls with incurved rims and the lip offset by a groove.<sup>5</sup> There are a few examples of high "fruitstand"

<sup>1</sup> Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 50 d-j.

<sup>2</sup> *Orchomenos II*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*, p. 100, implies a relation with Anatolian wares. I have seen pottery from even farther east, pointed out to me by Mr. Sydney Smith of the British Museum, which in fabric and shapes is curiously like this ware. The gap is a long one, unfilled as yet.

<sup>4</sup> *Orchomenos II*, pp. 9-25.

<sup>5</sup> *Orchomenos II*, fig. 7.



Fig. 29. Sherds of Decorated Neolithic Black Ware

bases and several pieces of wide open bowls of the "fruitstand" type.<sup>1</sup> There are several legs of vases of the type so common in Central Greece.<sup>2</sup> A few fragments belong to jugs with high cylindrical or conical necks.

The decorative systems are varied. There are a few examples of plastic decoration, either oval pellets or long bands running about the vase. More common is the stroke-burnishing (Fig. 29 *c-e*). In other examples broad bands delimited by incised lines are

filled with cross incisions and then with white color. The incised fields are in straight or zig-zag bands or in triangles (Fig. 29 *i-k*). Finally, there is the decoration with dull white paint on the black polished ground, the designs linear and very simple (Fig. 29 *f-h*). The last type belongs to the end of the neolithic ceramic series in Thessaly.<sup>3</sup> At Eutresis in Boeotia, the stroke-burnishing occurs in the earliest deposits, which are sub-neolithic.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 30. Incised Feet, Neolithic Black Ware

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frankfort, *Studies II*, pl. IV, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Hansen, *Early Civilization in Thessaly*, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 77, 227.

## E. Painted Ware

Together with all the above later neolithic wares were found quantities of painted wares of the dark-on-light varieties. The pottery is badly broken and does not warrant an attempt at division into close categories. The examples found here cover the entire range of color schemes of the Thessalian B 3 wares, with the exception of the light-on-dark B 3 a 1 variety. The designs are painted in a rather heavy brown or black paint on grounds varying from white to a deep red. As in all of the Corinthian wares, the use of a white slip is not common and the designs are more often painted on the polished buff ground. The



Fig. 31. Fragments of "Fruitstands," Neolithic Painted Ware

paint is very often matt and when applied to a dull surface, as it sometimes is, the effect is very much that of the Middle Helladic matt-painted wares.<sup>1</sup> The designs and the shapes also often suggest this later ware.

The "fruitstand" is again very popular in these painted wares (Fig. 31). There are examples of common "tumblers," of cups with concave rims, of the open bowls with flat bottoms, of bowls with incurved rims and of varieties of rather squat jugs.

In the designs, as in the greater frequency of matt-painted examples, there is a closer relationship with the wares of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos than with those of Thessaly. There is only one fragment with a spiral design among the numerous fragments found. The general system of design is much more open; a simple motive in a large field or arrangements in panels, rather than the all-over patterns of "Dimini"

<sup>1</sup> Blegen, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1930, p. 68.



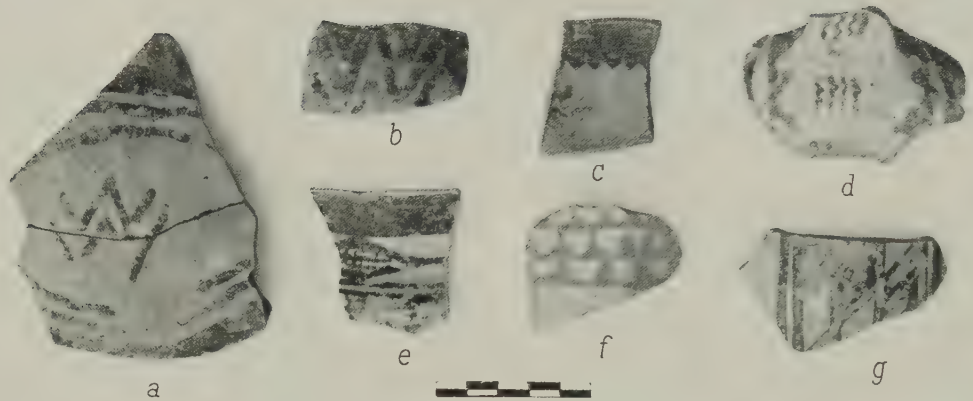


Fig. 32. Sherds of Neolithic Painted Ware

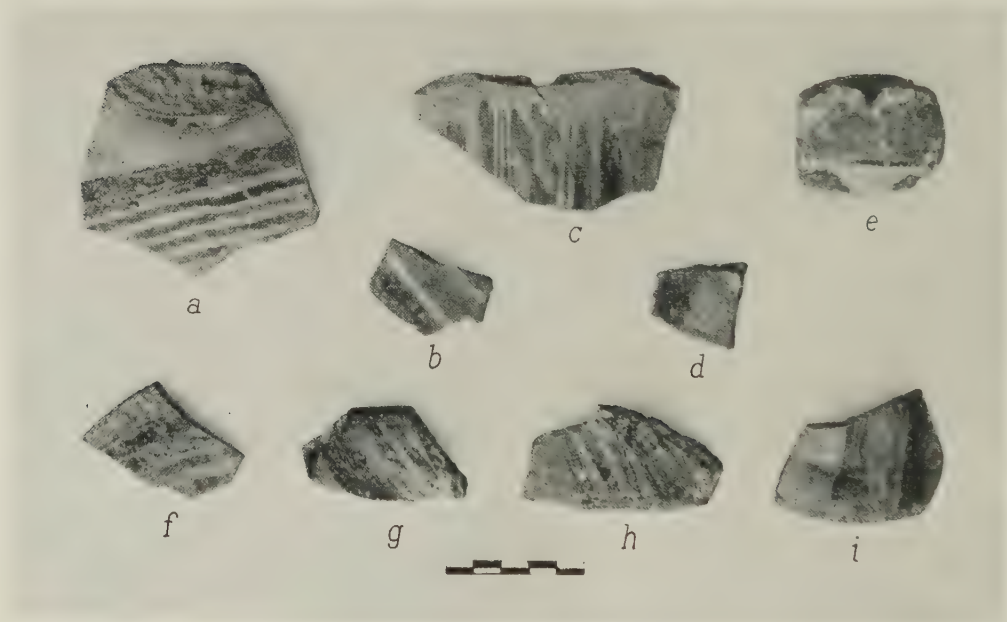


Fig. 33. Sherds of Neolithic Polychrome Ware

ware.<sup>1</sup> Straight and wavy lines occur alone and in various simple combinations, triangles are solidly filled or cross-hatched, the "checkerboard" pattern occurs in a few sherds.

<sup>1</sup> Compare figures 31 and 32; *Orchomenos II*, pl. XIX-XXVI and *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1930, pl. I with Tsountas, *A-Z*, pl. XX-XXX, and Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pl. 1.

Of all of this painted pottery, only fifteen sherds were recognized as belonging to the polychrome class. Two of these pieces have the designs in broad red lines outlined with black (Fig. 33*d*), the variety so common at the near-by site of Gonia.<sup>1</sup> The others have a design in one color in a general panel arrangement, the panel delimited by lines of the other color (Fig. 33*c, g-i*).<sup>2</sup> Such pieces seem to belong to "fruitstands." The scarcity of this ware at Corinth, and particularly of the first variety, seems very unusual when one realizes that it is "the characteristic ware of the 'neolithic' deposit at Gonia."<sup>3</sup>

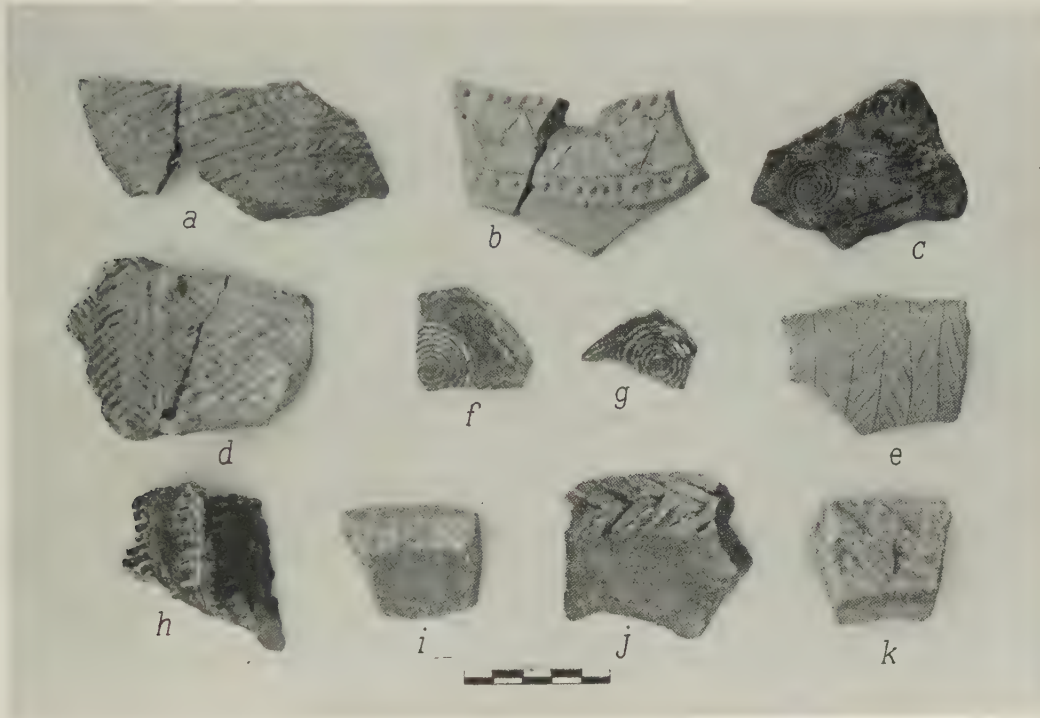


Fig. 34. Early Helladic Sherds with Incised or Stamped Designs

### III. Early Helladic Pottery

In the upper levels of the prehistoric deposits found in all of the trenches on Temple Hill were found quantities of Early Helladic pottery. The Early Helladic fill varied in thickness from 0.50 m. to 0.80 m. In the lower levels these wares were frequently mixed with the later neolithic wares. Above the mixed deposits were found only the Early Helladic wares. In such shallow fill there was no basis for stratigraphic differentiation of the

<sup>1</sup> Blegen, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1930, pl. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Orchomenos II*, pl. II, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

pottery. Usually the material was badly broken. In all, seventeen vases have been reconstructed, fifteen of them coming from one large deposit in trench V.

After the careful classification and description of the Early Helladic pottery from such sites as Korakou, Zygouries, Eutresis and Orchomenos, a detailed treatment of the material from a trial dig in the much disturbed fill of Temple Hill is unnecessary. Some of the more complete vases are interesting examples which deserve special mention. The great mass of the pottery will be treated in groups with particular reference to the Zygouries classification.<sup>1</sup>

The early hand-polished ware (A 1) occurs in considerable quantities, but it is so broken that no vase could be reconstructed from the remains. There are, however, several interesting pieces of the incised variety of this ware (Fig. 34 *a-e*). Among the bands filled with small crescents or lines, some of them arranged in "herringbone" fashion, and the zig-zags,

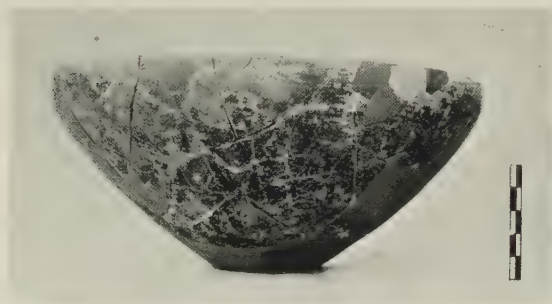


Fig. 35. Early Helladic Bowl

there are again the running spirals of Cycladic type (Fig. 34 *c*).<sup>2</sup> The fragments with spirals shown in figure 34 *f-g* are probably pieces of Cycladic pottery, for they have the dark brown polished surface of the island wares and are quite different from the rest of the Early Helladic pottery found at Corinth. The fragment in figure 34 *h* is most likely the rim of a Cycladic "frying-pan," the type of vessel to which the other pieces with spirals may also belong.<sup>3</sup>

About two-thirds of a rather large bowl with incurved rim of the slipped and polished ware (A II) was found in the lower Early Helladic level of the fill in trench I (Fig. 35), in which there were still a few fragments of the later neolithic wares. The bowl is somewhat warped and is oval at the lip. The greatest diameter is 0.207 m., the height is *ca.* 0.095 m. The reddish-brown slip is well polished and the marks of the polishing tool are clear over the surface. The slip has chipped off in scattered small areas. Such bowls are very common and their fragmentary remains are abundant. Some of the bowls have wide flat rims, which are often decorated with incised lines in a chevron pattern (Fig. 34 *i, j*). The use of stamped designs resulting in a relief zig-zag band on the lip is less common (Fig. 34 *k*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 75-125.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 5, fig. 3; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pl. III, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Several pieces of such vessels were found in the E.H.I. deposits at Eutresis (Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 80-82, fig. 97). Vases of the Cycladic type occur in some quantity at Hagios Kosmas in Attica, especially in the tombs (Mylonas, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 266, 272-274, fig. 19). The "Cycladic" style is also common in Zygouries in the E.H.I. period (Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 217).

<sup>4</sup> Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl. V, 2.



At about the centre of the west side of trench V there was an "island" of prehistoric fill about two metres square, almost surrounded by later intrusions. The upper 0.70 m. of this fill contained a large deposit of Early Helladic pottery, from which several vases could be reconstructed. In this deposit there are the remains of at least seventeen sauceboats, only five of which were completed (Figs. 36, 37 *b*, 38). One of these sauceboats (Fig. 36) is a fine example of the yellow slipped variety of A II ware, "technically the most perfected pottery produced in Early Helladic times."<sup>1</sup> Like all of this ware, the vase is made of well levigated clay, is baked hard and has very thin walls, only 0.002-0.003 m. thick. The biscuit has an even gray tone. The yellow slip has retained its original color in a few patches on the base and body; the rest has turned a fine silvery gray and is mottled with large spots of bluish gray. The surface is exceedingly smooth and does not have the tool marks common in this ware. The slip has not peeled or chipped off as it so often does. The high body and the short high spout are characteristic of the sauceboats in this class.<sup>2</sup> The height of the body at the handle is 0.125 m., the height at the tip of the spout 0.21 m.; the width 0.125 m.; the length 0.17 m. As in the Zygouries examples, the handle is vertical. The base, however, is not of the common simple ring type, but flares sharply at the bottom and is carefully hollowed inside. There are several fragments of a second sauceboat of the same ware, with vertical handle also, but here the base is of the crudely formed ring type.



Fig. 36. Sauceboat of Yellow Slipped Ware, Early Helladic Period

To the same class of wares belongs the odd bowl shown in figure 37 *a*. It is less carefully made than the sauceboats and most of the yellow slip has chipped off, leaving the buff surface exposed. The foot of the bowl is higher and more developed in profile than that of the sauceboat of figure 36. It has a high cylindrical upper part and a low wide-flaring base, with a groove separating the two sections. The foot is carefully hollowed out. A very similar foot occurs in a glazed-ware sauceboat (Fig. 37 *b*) and there are three others among the more fragmentary remains.<sup>3</sup> The bowl, which has an unusual hemispherical

<sup>1</sup> Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, fig. 66, pl. IX, 1; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pl. VI, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Of some fifty sauceboats and an equal number of small bowls from the Corinthia which are in the Corinth museum, only one, a small yellow slipped bowl from Zygouries (Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 81, fig. 67,

profile and ends in a simple cut-off lip, reminds one somewhat of the lower part of a sauceboat; indeed, it may be part of one that was spoiled in the making. A shallow dish, quite warped, also belongs to the yellow slipped ware.

Of the glazed wares, only a very few fragments have both glazed and unglazed surfaces, the BI type. There is, however, a great mass of the completely glazed wares (B II). Most of the pottery of the large deposit belonged to this later class. Everywhere there were remains of numerous sauceboats. The four examples shown in figures 37 *b* and 38 are from the deposit in trench V. The first, already mentioned for its combination of a high base with a horizontal handle, has an oddly shaped high body and a long narrow spout that rises rather high. The back of the body bulges strongly above the base and then slants inward towards the lip; the horizontal handle sits high as on a shoulder. The vase is *ca.* 0.12 m. high at the back and it rises to a height of *ca.* 0.16 m. at the tip of the spout. The width of the body is *ca.* 0.11 m.; the length from back to spout *ca.* 0.17 m. Much of the glaze has chipped off; that which remains varies in color from reddish-brown to black.

The other three sauceboats (Fig. 38) are of the rather low bulbous type with short spout. The body swells above the low ring foot and then curves inward towards the lip. As in almost all of the glazed sauceboats, the handles are set horizontally. In example 38 *b* the glaze is well preserved; in the other two most of it has chipped off. All are made of rather impure clay, are thick-walled and not well finished. The dimensions of the vase of figure 38 *a* are: height at back 0.109 m., at tip of spout 0.128 m.; width 0.11 m.; length *ca.* 0.177 m. The second sauceboat measures 0.104 m. high at the side of the body, 0.17 m. at the tip of the spout; diameter 0.126 m.; length *ca.* 0.18 m. The last one stands 0.093 m. high at the back, *ca.* 0.125 m. at the tip of the spout; width 0.115 m.; length *ca.* 0.172 m.

Fragments of the common small bowls with incurved rims are about as frequent in the glazed wares as are those of the sauceboats. There is considerable variety in the sizes and shapes of these bowls. Some of the variations are shown in the more complete examples

no. 298), has anything but the low ring foot, generally rather crudely made. This is also true of the dozen sauceboats and numerous bowls displayed in the Nauplia Museum. The sauceboats with low feet have either horizontal or vertical handles, the second type being rather uncommon. The six hollow high feet just found are thus very unusual in this region. Even more uncommon is the combination of high foot with horizontal handle in the sauceboat of figure 37 *b*, for elsewhere the high base always seems to be found in combination with vertical handles. This is true at Orchomenos where the high foot is more common (Kunze, *Orchomenos III*, pp. 38-43, 76-77, pl. XV, 2). The low ring foot was scarce there, and Kunze noted the fondness for this type of foot as typically Peloponnesian (*Orchomenos III*, p. 76). At Eutresis the high hollow foot is found in the E.H.I. level and is considered an earlier type (Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 94, fig. 118). In Attica the high foot occurs commonly. It was the regular type in the settlement on the North Slope of the Acropolis (Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 356, fig. 26 i). Both high and low bases were found at Hagios Kosmas (Mylonas, *J.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 265). A sauceboat from Phaleron has both the high splayed foot and the vertical handle (Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, fig. 132). The same type occurs in Leukas (Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka*, Beil. 64 1, 3; 65 1).



Fig. 37. Early Helladic Ware



Fig. 38. Sauceboat of Glazed Ware, Early Helladic Period

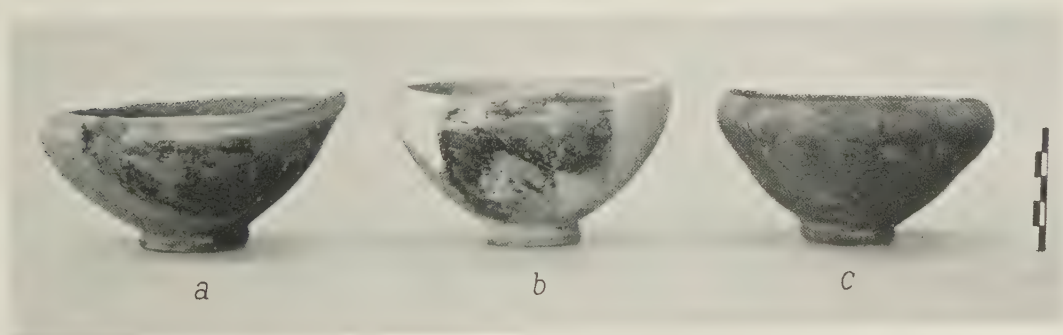


Fig. 39. Bowls with Incurved Rim, Early Helladic Period



of figure 39. The first bowl (Fig. 39*a*) has a less common type of rim, in which there is a narrow shoulder separating the rim from the body.<sup>1</sup> This bowl is further distinguished by having small vertically pierced knobs at the rim. The vase has been restored with three such knobs, only one of which is preserved. However, enough of the rim remains to show that there could not be four knobs and if they were for suspension cords the restored number is most likely. The height of the bowl is 0.058 m., the diameter 0.12 m. Much of the rather dull black glaze has chipped off.



Fig. 40. Early Helladic Krater

The second bowl has a simple incurved rim, merely a contraction of the circumference toward the lip. It is slightly warped; the diameter varies from 0.116 m. to 0.123 m. The height averages 0.068 m. In the last example the rim curves in sharply, making an almost angular juncture with the body. The bowl is covered with a heavy red glaze, most of which remains. The height is 0.063 m.; the diameter 0.12 m. All of the bowls have the rather crude low ring foot.

Among the fragments of pottery in the large deposit in trench V were found about two-thirds of the large handsome krater shown in figure 40. The base is practically complete, but numerous fragments of the body are missing. However, the shape is well defined by the pre-

served remains. It is one which I do not know elsewhere in Early Helladic pottery. The unique feature is the high stand, reminiscent of the neolithic "fruitstand." This base is paralleled only by the small Early Helladic goblet from Zygouries.<sup>2</sup> The lower diameter of the stand is 0.185 m., the minimum diameter 0.11 m. The large bulbous bowl contracts slightly toward the lip; the rim is broad and flat. The total height of the krater averages 0.34 m.; the greatest diameter of the bowl is *ca.* 0.32 m. For so large a vase, the clay is well levigated. The walls average 0.006 m. in thickness. The biscuit is rather crumbly and the edges of the fragments are not sharp. Most of the black glaze is gone from the exterior, but it is better preserved inside the bowl. The inside of the stand is well finished;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 88, fig. 76, no. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 125, fig. 117.

the walls remain an even thickness up to the bottom of the bowl and there is a sharp angle at the top where the bowl and stand meet. The heavy handles, one of which is restored, are set horizontally and slope downwards. An applied clay band with oblique incisions runs about the bowl at the level of the handles. The outer edge of the rim has similar slanting incisions.

Together with all of the better Early Helladic wares were found quantities of coarser pottery, very little of which could be put together. The fragments belong to large bowls and jugs and to great pithoi. There are many examples of the heavy rims with plastic bands that look like rows of clay discs, or with stamped designs.<sup>1</sup> Also frequent are the large flat bottoms with mat impressions.

No traces of a Middle Helladic settlement were found above the Early Helladic remains; in the pottery from the Temple Hill, all of which was hand made, not a single Late Helladic sherd was recognized. It is possible that any later settlement may have been destroyed in the course of levelling off the hill in classical times. But it is hardly likely that the traces of it should have vanished, particularly from the many disturbed areas in which pottery from the prehistoric settlement was found. We have already noticed (p. 488) that all of the great area about the Temple Hill and as far as the Asklepieion has so far yielded almost nothing but neolithic and Early Helladic remains.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the same thing holds true on the Temple Hill.

### Miscellaneous Objects

Together with the pottery described above were found a number of fragmentary objects of clay, bone, obsidian and stone. One of the best preserved of these objects is the steatopygous female figurine shown in figure 41. The figurine was found in trench V in neolithic fill about 0.05 m. above the rock. The head and extremities are missing, but the body is well preserved. The greatest length is 0.07 m.; the width at the hips 0.049 m.; the depth at the buttocks 0.031 m. The clay is rather well purified and is baked hard. The core is gray, but the surface is buff. The surface is well burnished and has a light polish. Traces of heavy red paint remain in the incised lines above and below the navel and in the hollow between the breasts. The type is the standing steatopygous female with the hands held just under the breasts, a type particularly common in Thessaly in the First Neolithic Period and in Central Greece.<sup>3</sup>

The fragment of a figurine shown in figure 42 has a bird-like head resting on a tall cylindrical neck. The splaying at the bottom of the preserved piece is the connection with the body of the figurine. The piece is only 0.034 m. high and 0.018 m. wide. It is made of rather coarse clay and the biscuit is a dark brown color. The dark surface has been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 121, figs. 113, 114; *Orchomenos III*, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 207 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 68, 242, fig. 35; Tsountas, *A-Σ*, pl. 32; Mylonas, *Ἡ Νεολιθικὴ Ἐποχὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, pp. 57, 67, fig. 63.

smoothed and shows the burnishing strokes. The head has a beaked nose and two horizontal slits on either side of it. In a similar fragment Tsountas identified these slits as eyes and eye-brows.<sup>1</sup> No mouth is indicated, and here the three dots under the nose of the Thessalian example are missing. The hair is parted at the middle of the crown and falls down on either side; collecting at the back of the neck, it is indicated by incised zig-zag lines. The fragment was found in mixed fill on the top of trench I and cannot be dated from its context. The Thessalian example is dated in the First Neolithic Period.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 41. Neolithic Steatopygous Female Figurine

The base shown in figure 43 is interpreted as the bottom part of a figurine. The base proper is 0.048 m. high and has an oval section 0.055 m. wide and 0.037 m. deep. At the top there is a sort of shoulder and then an oval broken section from which supposedly rose the upper part of the figurine. The base is made of somewhat gritty clay, well baked; the biscuit has a buff color. The surface has been decorated with a linear design in red paint and the whole was carefully polished over. The technique is that of the early neolithic painted wares (Fig. 7). The piece was found in trench IV in neolithic fill at about 0.25 m. above hardpan.

The only piece of an Early Helladic figurine found is the fragment of an animal shown in figure 44. Only the hind part is preserved; the legs are missing even here. The figurine

<sup>1</sup> Tsountas, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300, fig. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.



was made of rather gritty clay of a light buff color. The surface is roughly tooled and is of a light greenish-gray tone, so common in the Corinthian Early Helladic ware. A stripe down the back and rows of parallel bands running down the sides are put on in the flaky black glaze of the period. The fragment was found in Early Helladic fill in the upper part of trench V. A more complete example of a very similar animal was found in the Early Helladic levels at Gonia.<sup>1</sup>

Among the remaining miscellaneous objects there are two of the common Early Helladic whorls,<sup>2</sup> one of which came from the large Early Helladic deposit in trench V. Of bone implements there were only a few fragments, probably from a pin and a broad spatula. Everywhere in the prehistoric fill there were pieces of obsidian flakes. Only one blade was complete, for the flakes are very thin and fragile. One well worked flint implement was found. There were several fragments of stone celts, all like the Thessalian type A,<sup>3</sup> and only one complete celt of the same type. The celts are generally of green stone and a few of the fragments are very beautifully polished and have sharp edges. A few stone pounders complete the list of such objects.

Although these excavations on Temple Hill consisted only of trial trenches and were of a preliminary nature, several interesting results were obtained from them. Of greatest im-



Fig. 42. Fragment of Neolithic Figurine

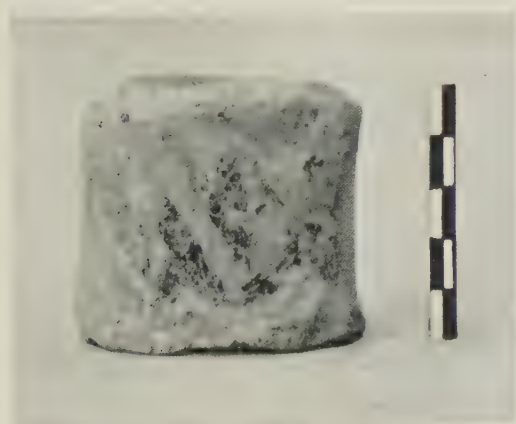


Fig. 43. Base of Neolithic Figurine



Fig. 44. Fragment of Early Helladic Animal Figurine

portance is the finding of a large quantity of neolithic pottery. The material again illustrates well the technical skill of the neolithic potters, their imagination which obtained

<sup>1</sup> Blegen, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1930, p. 79, fig. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 190, fig. 179 10, 11, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hansen, *Early Civilization in Thessaly*, p. 183.

great variety despite the limited shapes and decorative motives at their command. The comparison of this pottery with that of the same period elsewhere shows the strong similarities existing between the wares found here and in Central Greece, the somewhat more remote connections with Thessaly. The comparisons with Central Greece may seem exaggerated now, due mainly to the greater availability of the material from there when contrasted with the scarcity of comparative material from the Peloponnesos. The similarities remain, however, and the proper perspective will come with the publication of more Peloponnesian pottery.

The comparison with the Gonia neolithic ware reveals an important fact concerning the localization of neolithic industry. The rarity of the Gonia polychrome ware in Corinth and the absence of the important class of Corinthian gray ware at Gonia are extreme cases, for the sites are only three miles apart. There seem to be no chronological distinctions sufficient to explain away this difference. It is in marked contrast with the subsequent Early Helladic period, in which all of Greece is united by a new influence. There is little to distinguish the Early Helladic ware from Corinth from that found elsewhere on the mainland. This difference in ceramics in the two periods has a greater significance; the advent of a new people has imposed a common culture on all of Greece. That this happened gradually rather than abruptly, that there was a transitional phase, is indicated again at Corinth as it was at Gonia.

Finally, these excavations confirm the evidence from previous prehistoric finds on and about the Temple Hill in showing that this immediate region was inhabited in the Neolithic and Early Helladic periods, but that to our present knowledge no remains sufficiently abundant to indicate regular settlements of a later period exist closer than the mound at Cheliotomylos and the North Cemetery in the plain below.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

## SAMIKON

The ancient fortress of Samikon stands on the westernmost spur of Smerna, a long and irregular mountain ridge that stretches about twenty kilometers from the coast of Triphylia into the interior. This ridge, Mount Kaiapha just to the south, and the foothills on either side form a massive wall of mountains, penetrable from north to south only by way of the coastal plain, which here contracts to a narrow defile, barely more than a road's width, between Samikon on the one hand and impassable lagoons on the other. This plain extends as far as the River Alpheus on the north and, on the south, to the River Neda. On the west it is bounded by the Ionian Sea. Around and to the north of Samikon, its western margin is irregularly fringed with lagoons, which, just south of Samikon, at Kaiapha, are swollen into a lake by the waters of the River Mavropotami (Anigros). This lake did not exist in ancient times;<sup>1</sup> in other respects, however, the topography of the region is essentially unchanged.<sup>2</sup>

Strategic keys to this rich and verdant land are Lepreon (modern Strovitsi) and Samikon. Small wonder, then, that Samikon was fortified from time immemorial. It is, indeed, excellently adapted to serve as an acropolis. Its summit is roughly quadrilateral in shape. Its eastern side is separated from the main ridge of Smerna by a ravine (G on Plan, Fig. 1),<sup>3</sup> rather shallow, to be sure, but sufficiently craggy to impede approach to the summit. On the south the citadel is defended by precipitous cliffs; on the west it slopes more gradually into a long arm that finally drops with abruptness into the plain close to a small hill, Kleidi. The northern ascent is least precipitous; and doubtless the main entrance was always here, although even this side is steep enough to preclude easy access. The surface of the spacious

<sup>1</sup> The presence of submerged buildings in the lake proves that at one time the banks of the Anigros here were dry enough to be habitable. Strabo, viii, 3, 19 (346), mentions only a marsh beneath the caves of the Anigriad nymphs, although even in his day a lake had begun to form (*λιμνάζειν*). Pausanias, v, 5, 7, refers to the overflowing of the Anigros as only a periodic occurrence, caused by storms. Moreover, in his age the caves, now accessible only by boat, were apparently still open to pilgrims on foot; and in front of them lay, not a lake, but only a river (*ποταμόν*), which the ambitious leper had to swim as the final stage of his cure (Pausanias, v, 5, 11). Partsch rightly attributes the formation of the lake to a subsidence of the river's banks (in *Olympia, Die Ergebnisse*, I, p. 14), Dörpfeld to a rise of the sea-level (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 110).

<sup>2</sup> The best map of Triphylia is the one by K. Graefinghoff in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, pl. IV.

<sup>3</sup> All letters and numbers in the following description, unless otherwise designated, refer to the Plan, Fig. 1. For the reproduction of the Plan and the sketches of architectural details (Figs. 12, 13, 14, 18), I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. John Travlos, of the Agora staff.



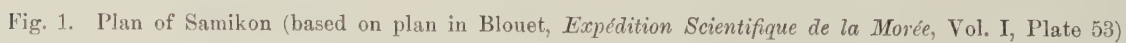


Fig. 1. Plan of Samikon (based on plan in Blouet, *Expédition Scientifique de la Morée*, Vol. I, Plate 53)

area enclosed within these bounding slopes is very irregular. Two elevations (Fig. 2 and 3), one on the southern side (A), the other at the southeastern angle (B) of the quadrilateral, are the highest points. Between them, occupying the eastern half of the citadel, lies the fold of a well-defined hollow (F), sloping downward from south to north. The remainder of the summit consists of the long and gradual northern and western slopes of the central crag (A), a steady declivity broken up into five concentric terraces (C). This terraced bluff is separated from the eastern hollow (F) by a steep slope (D) which towards the north becomes an abrupt cliff.

This natural acropolis bears numerous terrace walls, a few traceable foundations, and fortifications of surpassing strength and beauty. That it was once—though probably not before the eighth or seventh century B.C.<sup>1</sup>—the site of a considerable settlement is attested, not only by the literary evidence,<sup>2</sup> but especially by the great number of sherds in which its summit abounds. Of the visible ruins, best preserved and most important are the fortifications. The earliest of these is a line of wall (1), constructed of almost rectangular polygonal blocks, which is traceable in fragments along the northern and western slopes of the bluff (C) and in the hollow (F). Its blocks, though hewn of the same hard, gray limestone as those of the later and better preserved fortification 2, are smaller than the latter, are more nearly plumb in their lines of vertical jointure, and have a ruder, flatter face. On the southern and eastern sides, this earlier wall has been everywhere supplanted by the later except at Tower 1 g, which, although utilized as part of the later fortification, exhibits the technique of Wall 1 (Fig. 4). The slight projection of this tower from its adjacent wall and its undue nearness to Tower 2 f likewise show that it is alien to Wall 2. In style, Wall 1 is analogous to the main wall at Epion (modern Platiana), to the upper wall at Lepreon, and to the early wall on the summit of Mount Ithome. Its nearest parallels in Attica are a group of archaic terrace walls at Eleusis.<sup>3</sup> It is to be dated before the sixth century B.C.

The title of Samikon to fame rests, however, not on the sporadic remnants of this early bulwark, but on the well preserved and magnificently constructed wall which superseded it. Still standing to a height of five to twelve courses on all sides save the northern, this wall (2) presents a startling example of developed polygonal masonry. It is not, however, built in the extreme or jagged-lined polygonal form, like the older wall at Oiniadai (Fig. 5)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 322: "... Auch sind bisher innerhalb der Ringmauer von uns nur spätere griechische Vasenscherben und Dachziegel gefunden worden. Wir haben also kein Recht, an der Stelle des hoch gelegenen Samikon selbst eine vorhistorische Ansiedelung anzunehmen..." The nearest prehistoric settlement, the Homeric Arene, was situated, not on Samikon, but upon the low hill, Kleidi, which rises between Samikon and the sea (Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 320–322; XXXVIII, 1913, pp. 111–114).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii, 3, 19 (346); Pausanias, v, 6, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, pls. 4–8.

<sup>4</sup> In the following discussion of the technique of the fortification at Samikon, parallels have been freely adduced from Aitolia and Akarnania, as well as from Triphylia, Elis, and Messenia, because from these former regions the latter derived in large measure their population and culture.



Fig. 2. The Southern Elevation





Fig. 3. The Southeastern Elevation



Fig. 4. Tower 1 g

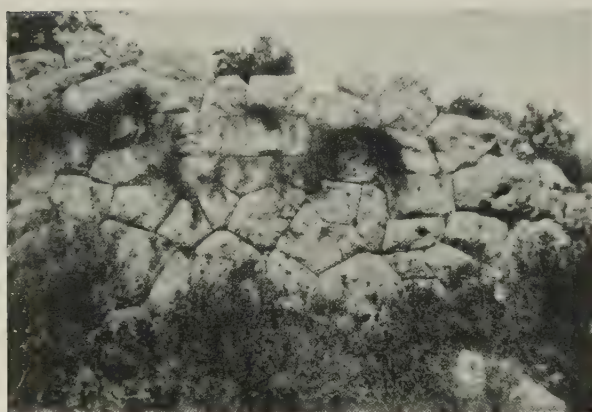


Fig. 5. Earlier Wall at Oiniadai

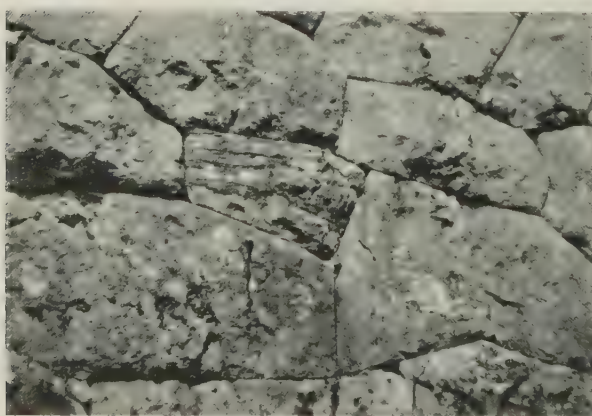


Fig. 6. Upper (Earlier) Wall at Paravola

or the upper (earlier) wall at Paravola (Fig. 6),<sup>1</sup> but is an advanced expression of a related type, the nearly rectangular polygonal (Fig. 7), also called the semipolygonal, pseudo-polygonal, or quasi-polygonal. This style is distinguished from the extreme polygonal by a closer approach to rectangular shaping of its blocks. That in Western Greece it was not merely a recent development either of the extreme polygonal or of the true rectangular is demonstrated by its use in the walls of Epion (main wall), Lepreon (upper wall), Mount Ithome (early wall), Kallogria,<sup>2</sup> Kalydon, and Stratos, all of which are prior to the fifth century B.C. Rather, it had its own evolution as an independent type. It became more popular for military construction than the extreme polygonal because its blocks, being more regularly shaped, were more easily joined. On the other hand, it was preferred to the true rectangular because its blocks required less careful shaping and their polygonal edges locked together more strongly—and strength is, of course, the primary requisite in a fortification. It is a very flexible style: some of its examples (as the later wall at Oiniadai, Fig. 8) show rather irregular shapes; in others (as at Psophis, Fig. 9) the

<sup>1</sup> The ancient name of this Aitolian site is unknown. Phytaios, Metapa, and Boukation have been suggested. Woodhouse prefers the last (*Aetolia*, p. 196).

<sup>2</sup> The identification of this very ancient fortress that crowns a low spur of the westernmost promontory of Elis, Cape Papas (ancient Araxos), is uncertain. It may be the ancient Larisa.





Fig. 7. Samikon: Inner Facing of Wall 2 (between 2 h and 2 i)





Fig. 8. Western (Later) Wall at Oiniadai



Fig. 9. Wall at Psophis



Fig. 10. Lower (Later) Wall at Paravola

lines are almost as truly vertical and horizontal as in a wall of rectangular construction.<sup>1</sup> The rhythm at Samikon is not so polygonal as in the later wall at Oiniadai nor yet so nearly rectangular as, for example, at Psophis, Ithome (Epaminondean Wall), Paravola (later wall, Fig. 10), or New Pleuron (Fig. 11).

The individual blocks at Samikon are joined with a scrupulous nicety. Every edge is cut straight and true. No small, irregular stones are used here to plug the gaps between the main blocks; such gaps are filled only with triangular stones, perfectly fitted with apex downward, or, more rarely, with stones of quadrilateral shape. Sometimes a stop-gap is compounded of two separate stones (Fig. 12), or, conversely, acts like a larger block to break a steady line of jointure (Fig. 13). Seldom are triangular and quadrilateral plugs inserted in the same gap (Fig. 14). Among the main wall-blocks at Samikon the favorite shape is the pentagon; quadrilateral blocks are almost as common; hexagons are not infrequent; but other forms are very rare. In this respect Samikon and the later wall at Oiniadai differ from the majority of their type, in which the quadrilateral is master.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare also, for example, the varying regularity of line in the archaic terrace walls of this style at Eleusis (Wrede, *op. cit.*, pls. 3-9) and the similar variation in the later, rusticated semipolygonal (*ibid.*, pls. 74-113).

<sup>2</sup> For example, at Epion (main wall), Lepreon (upper wall), Ithome (Epaminondean Wall), Psophis, Paravola, Charadra, New Pleuron.

These main blocks are joined together as neatly as the stop-gaps; even the lowest course is adjusted to the bed-rock with extreme nicety (Fig. 7). This perfection of jointure (which distinguishes also the best examples of the absolute polygonal style) is attained only through the working of the joint-surfaces of the blocks to an exact level. These surfaces are, however, never completely smoothed, but are left slightly rough for the sake of tighter cohesion. The builders of Samikon went farther still: they often cut away



Fig. 11. Wall at New Pleuron

the back part<sup>1</sup> of the top joint-surface of a block so as better to lock in the block placed upon it. Elsewhere in Western Greece this feature is extremely rare.<sup>2</sup> Another aid to cohesion in the foremost examples of the semi-polygonal style is the care taken that no two vertical or nearly vertical joints shall be in direct contact. The outer and inner facings of the wall, thus composed with artistic cohesion, are at Samikon, as in all well constructed fortifications, bound to the fill by a slight batter, by the use of blocks of varying thickness in the facings (the thicker blocks being locked in by the weight of the fill upon their inner ends), and by careful fitting of the fill into the nooks and crannies of the facing-blocks. Additional strength is gained at Ithome (Epaminondean Wall), Kalydon, Oiniadai (later wall), and New Pleuron by the regular use, in the facing, of unusually thick blocks which act like pegs to bind the facing tightly to the fill; rarely, as at Kalydon and at Oiniadai (later

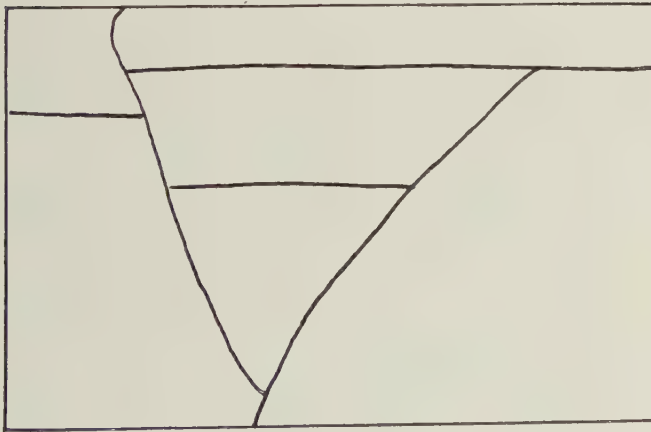


Fig. 12. Triangular Stop-gap Compounded of Two Smaller Stop-gaps

wall), these binding blocks extend through the whole thickness of the wall. The fill at Samikon, as at Ithome (Epaminondean Wall), Kalydon, and New Pleuron, consists of small rocks; often somewhat larger rocks are employed, as at Epion (main wall), Lepreon (upper wall), Stratos, and Oiniadai (earlier wall—Fig. 15).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the part which, when the block was set in place, would lie toward the core of the wall.

<sup>2</sup> It occurs only at Lepreon (upper wall) and Oiniadai (later wall).

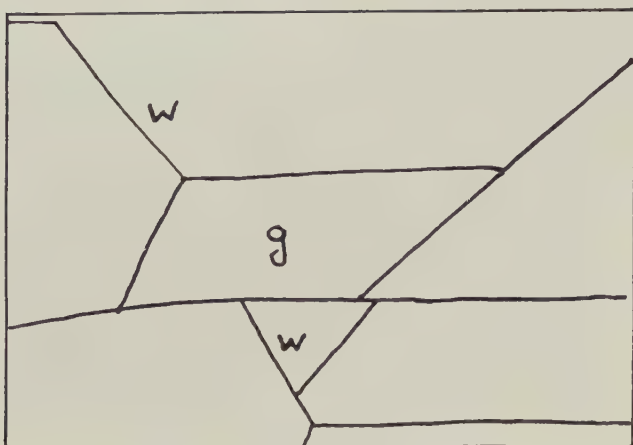


Fig. 13. Interruption of Steady Line of Jointure (*w*) by Stop-gap (*g*)

than at any other of the sites in Western Greece except Ithome and New Pleuron: even towers, angles, and bends display the same painstaking elaboration. Some, but not all, of the towers have corners finely drafted like the towers of Epion (added wall), Ithome (Epa-minondean Wall), Oiniadai (later wall), Paravola (later wall), and especially New Pleuron (Fig. 16). Here, as elsewhere, bends and angles are less consistently treated than the towers: sometimes they are drafted, more often not.

These are the chief technical niceties which, consistently and skillfully executed, make the wall of Samikon a model of sophistication and charm, fully the peer of the most highly developed Aitolian work. Both the fundamental elements of beauty—symmetry and variety—are evident in its structure and finish. Many are the travelers who have admired its graceful art. Leake reported it as “a beautiful specimen of the second (that is, well fitted polygonal) order of Hellenic masonry.”<sup>1</sup> Curtius called it “die bedeutendsten dieser Art in ganz Elis.”<sup>2</sup> To Frazer’s mind Samikon presented “perhaps the finest extant specimen of ancient Greek polygonal

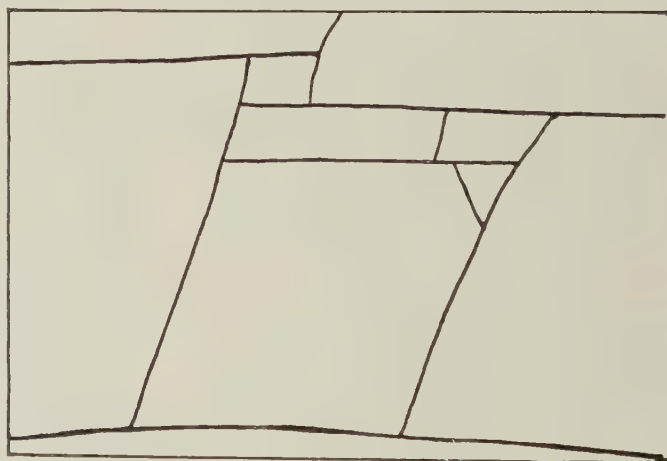


Fig. 14. Insertion of Triangular and Quadrilateral Plugs in Same Gap

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, I, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Peloponnesos*, II, p. 78.



masonry.”<sup>1</sup> Nor is its plan less artistic than its construction: its vulnerable points are well defended by ten preserved towers of varying projection, sixteen preserved angles, and eleven preserved bends. In its combination of tower with angle it resembles the later wall at Oiniadai, whereas at Epion (main wall), Lepreon (upper wall), Ithome (Epaminondean Wall), and New Pleuron towers alone are utilized. Two of the three rather narrow postern gates at Samikon are protected by a tower or angle set on the right (that

is, unshielded) side of the potential assailant. One tower in particular, 2 z, is unique in plan: it is strengthened at the base by a slanting buttress, a feature extremely rare in ancient Greek and Roman fortifications (Fig. 17). Elsewhere this device is employed only in the so-called pyramids of Kenchreai and Ligourio,<sup>2</sup> in the walls of Chaironeia, at Selinous (Sicily), and in a Sullan fortification near Florence (Italy).<sup>3</sup>

The date of this elaborate and beautiful fortification, as of the other walls at Samikon, can be determined only from stylistic grounds; for its erection is nowhere recorded in ancient literature, and decisive archaeological evidence remains to be unearthed. Its closest parallels in Attica are the terrace wall of a sanctuary at Eleusis, dated conjecturally by Wrede at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.,<sup>4</sup> the south wall of the Asklepieion at Athens, dated conjecturally at 420 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> and the supporting walls of two cemetery lots near Vari,<sup>6</sup> which, because of their artistic construction, cannot be anterior to 500 B.C. or posterior to 300 B.C.

In the first and second of these walls are manifest the same hair-fine lines



Fig. 15. Fill of Earlier Wall at Oiniadai

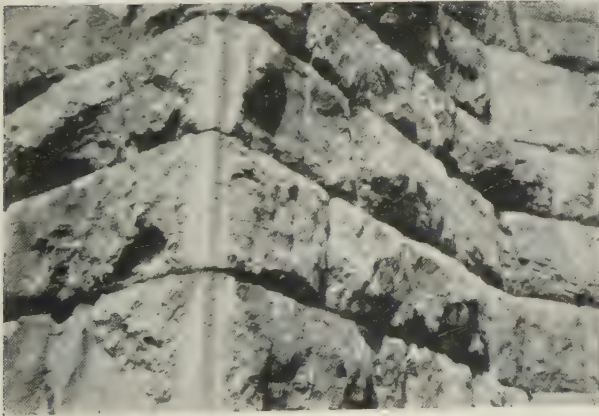


Fig. 16. Drafted Corner of a Tower at New Pleuron

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, III, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 241-246, especially p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> An approach to the slanting buttress is found in the later wall at Oiniadai. There, at one point, the cliff is worked in a slight slant up to the bottom of the first course; but the wall above is absolutely vertical, and there is no conscious joining of blocks in the form of a buttress as at Samikon.

<sup>4</sup> Wrede, *op. cit.*, pls. 24-25 and p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 98-99.

of jointure and, in the first, the same cunningly fitted triangular stop-gaps as at Samikon; but the rustication of both is somewhat less prominent. The supporting walls at Vari, which are of fifth rather than of fourth century construction, exhibit far greater likeness to Samikon: they are similar to Samikon, not only in the sizes and shapes of their blocks and in their carefully bevelled lines of jointure, but likewise in their prominent rustication. More distant cousins of Samikon than these are the walls of the same style constructed in the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Despite their general similarity to Samikon, they are significantly different in their closer approximation to rectangular shaping of their blocks, and in their



Fig. 17. Samikon: Slanting Buttress  
at Tower 2z

flatter, often ornately striated, rustication. Toward the end of the century they begin to show, in addition to these differences, a looseness of construction and an affectedness indicative of degeneration. At Corinth, too, the fourth century fortifications of Acrocorinth,<sup>2</sup> while representative of the same semi-polygonal style as Samikon, betray the technique of a later age in their greater fidelity to thoroughgoing horizontal courses and in their less prominent rustication. In general, they resemble the Epaminondean Wall at Ithome more closely than Samikon.

In Western Greece, the main wall at Epion, the upper wall at Lepreon, the Epaminondean Wall at Ithome, and, north of the Gulf of Patras, the walls of Kalydon, Stratos, Oiniadai (later wall), and New Pleuron closely resemble Samikon. Of these fortifications, Ithome (369 B.C.)<sup>3</sup> and New Pleuron (235 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> display a later art than Samikon: though technically expressive of the same semi-polygonal style, they exhibit a more nearly rectangular shaping of their blocks

and stop-gaps, they are less prominently rusticated, and their facings are bound into the fill by long, peg-like blocks extending almost, and often completely, through the horizontal thickness of the wall.<sup>5</sup> In plan, too, Ithome and New Pleuron are more advanced than Samikon: their use of fully developed, hollow towers alone instead of a combination of solid towers, angles, and bends, and their wider posterns betoken a later origin. Finally,

<sup>1</sup> Wrede, *op. cit.*, pls. 77–103. The walls of Phyle, also, though not rusticated, express in other respects the same style (Wrede, *op. cit.*, pls. 66–67).

<sup>2</sup> Carpenter, *The Classical Fortifications of Acrocorinth*, in *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 1–43, especially pp. 8–16.

<sup>3</sup> Diodoros, xv, 66.

<sup>4</sup> On the date of New Pleuron, see Droysen, *Geschichte der Epigonen*, II, p. 36; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, pp. 124–125.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 530–534.

the occurrence of the slanting buttress<sup>1</sup> at Samikon is, in all likelihood, another sign that it antedates the year 369 B.C. Of the other examples of this device, the date of the walls at Chaironeia is unknown; but the so-called pyramids at Kenchreai and Ligourio are probably prior to 500 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> the east redan-buttress of Selinous is dated at 580 B.C., and the other slanting buttresses found there are rebuildings on earlier lines by Hermokrates in 409 B.C.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Samikon is shown to be later than Epion and Lepreon (both anterior to 600 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> or Kalydon and Stratos (both anterior to 500 B.C.) by its superior finish as expressed in its finely rusticated facings, in its carefully bevelled joint-edges, and in the drafted corners of some of its towers.

Closest resemblance of all to Samikon is shown by the later of the two walls at Oiniadai. In almost every point this beautiful wall matches Samikon; the minor differences between them denote merely that Samikon is of slightly later technique. The style and plan of the wall at Oiniadai indicate that it was added to the earlier fortification of extreme polygonal masonry in the fifth century B.C., perhaps during the First Peloponnesian War (465–445) as an additional safeguard against Athenian aggression. In view of this and the foregoing comparisons, it may be concluded that the main wall at Samikon was probably constructed in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. It may well have been built by the Eleans after their conquest, about 450 B.C., of all central and southern Triphylia except Lepreon.<sup>5</sup> The more ancient Wall 1 had, by that time, doubtless become so dilapidated that a thorough reconstruction

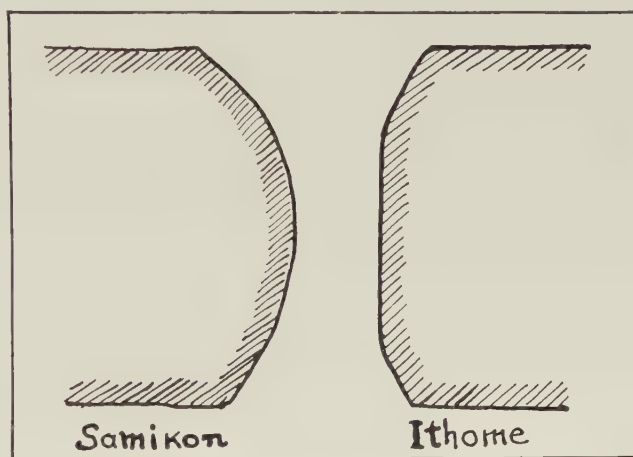


Fig. 18. Facings of Samikon (Wall 2) and Ithome (Epaminondean Wall) compared

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 241–246, would date the so-called pyramid at Kenchreai in or after the first century B.C. The mortar, however, on which primarily he bases his conclusion, may well be a late addition, while the construction favors a far earlier date.

<sup>3</sup> Hulot and Fougères, *Selinonte*, pp. 145–150; pp. 166–190.

<sup>4</sup> If, as is probable, these walls were erected by the Minyan founders of Epion and Lepreon (Herodotos, iv, 148, 4).

<sup>5</sup> Herodotos, iv, 148, 4: *τουτέων δὲ* (namely, Lepreon, Makistos, Phrixai, Pyrgos, Epion, and Noudion) *τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμὲο Ἑλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν*. On the independence of Lepreon during this period and its conflicts with the Eleans, see Thucydides, v, 31, 1–5; 34, 1; 49, 1–50, 4. Northern Triphylia (Makistos, Skillous, Dyspontion) had already been subdued by the Eleans about 580: Strabo, viii, 3, 29 (355), and 32 (357); Pausanias, vi, 25, 5–6.



and replacement were necessary. This the Eleans would be quick to undertake, for a strong position at Samikon was not only essential for the protection of their new southern frontier, but also an ideal eyrie from which to swoop in forays against recalcitrant Lepreon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It has been customary to date the main wall of Samikon in a far earlier period. The use of projecting and reëntrant angles instead of towers prompted Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, I, 53, Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, II, 78-79, and Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Note on Pausanias v, 6, to the belief that the fortress is the product of a remote antiquity. Leake and Frazer seek to explain the towers as late additions to the wall; but they do not explain how it happens that wall and towers are homogeneous in style and material, and are integrally knitted together. The truth is that this archaic use of angles in so many places for towers was at Samikon occasioned simply by strict adherence to the plan of the earlier Wall 1 (overlooked by previous investigators), which, as the survival of Tower 1 f shows, had not been utterly destroyed. Curtius cites two other alleged indications of antiquity: the occasional utilization of the bed-rock as the lowest course, so to speak, of the wall, and the narrowness of the postern gates. Yet the former feature expresses, on the contrary, a rather advanced stage of art, and the latter, while a sign of antiquity, is not limited to pre-classical fortifications. Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 187, laboring under the illusion that only ashlar walls belong to the Classical Period, goes so far as to consider Samikon scarcely posterior to Mycenae! Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 322, rightly protests against this nonsense: "Es mag zum Schlusse hinzugefügt werden, daß die schönen Ringmauern von Samikon, die auf große Strecken hin noch mehrere Meter hoch erhalten sind, alle erst aus klassischer Zeit zu stammen scheinen. Kein Stück der Mauer zeigt den kyklopischen Steinverband mit unbearbeiteten Blöcken. Auch sind bisher innerhalb der Ringmauer von uns nur spätere griechische Vasenscherben und Dachziegel gefunden worden. Wir haben also kein Recht, an der Stelle des hoch gelegenen Samikon selbst eine vorhistorische Ansiedelung anzunehmen . . ." Fougères, *Guide Bleu, Grèce*, p. 366 (1932 edition), swerves to the opposite extreme in regarding the walls of Samikon as Elean constructions of the fourth century B.C., but gives no reasons for this view.

HAROLD L. BISBEE

## THE PREHISTORIC POTTERY ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS, 1937

As a result of the excavations of 1930–1932 on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis so much prehistoric material was uncovered that it seemed worth while this year to continue digging in that area. For one month, from March 15 to April 17, I investigated a small area lying immediately below the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite and continuing in a westward direction beyond the prehistoric area cleared by Mr. Broneer.<sup>1</sup> The purpose was to try to find some prehistoric pottery in a stratified site. It was to be expected that much of the pottery would be mixed since the greater part of that slope has been disturbed at various times.

I began digging a small area two metres long, one metre wide, and when stereo was reached I continued digging in the adjoining space, moving in a westerly direction until the entire area cleared measured 6.80 m. in length, from 2.50 m. to 3.50 m. in width, and a depth of 2.25 m. was reached. It was a rectangular area somewhat irregularly shaped because of several large boulders of Acropolis rock which extended into the area.

In the upper level, to a depth of 1.05 m., the sherds were mixed and included modern, Byzantine, Roman, Classical, much coarse ware that was undatable, a few Geometric and a fair number of Mycenaean sherds. Practically all of this material was so poor and valueless that it was discarded. The next level, 1.05 m. to 1.25 m., I designate as Mycenaean because two thirds of the sherds are from that period. The rest included a few Middle Helladic sherds and many pieces of monochrome ware which could be assigned to any period. At this level in the middle of the area (Section A) some faint traces of a floor were found and one complete Mycenaean vase (Fig. 15). The floor seems to have been of clay and hard beaten earth. Ten centimetres lower, but still in the Mycenaean stratum, a large area of black earth appeared in Section D (to the west of Section A). Near it was a very irregular circle of stones, some of which had been blackened by fire. Several monochrome

<sup>1</sup> See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 330 ff. and especially 356 ff. Hereafter reference to this report will be designated by *O. B.*

I wish here to express my obligation and thanks to Professor Oscar Broneer, director of the excavation, for the privilege of working on the North Slope, and my gratitude to Dr. Hetty Goldman who looked over the more important sherds, and also to Dr. Gabriel Welter who generously devoted much time to studying the material with me.

sherds lying in the immediate vicinity were also blackened by fire. Clearly we have here some meagre remains of a hearth, but unfortunately very badly destroyed. Farther west and close to the modern terrace wall and actually extending up under it we traced a line of four stones belonging to a house wall. All we can conclude is that at this level there were some Mycenaean houses which doubtless belonged to the larger prehistoric settlement which Mr. Broneer found. Unfortunately in the small area which I dug the remains are so meagre that no house plans could be ascertained.

The level from 1.25 m. to 2.05 m. I designate as Middle Helladic because Minyan and matt-painted wares predominate. But in this stratum there were sherds of many other periods—a few Byzantine and classical, many Mycenaean and monochrome, and four Early Helladic sherds. Finally in the lowest level the remaining Early Helladic sherds were found and the pieces of neolithic ware, but even here a few Mycenaean and Middle Helladic sherds occurred, which shows that nowhere did we have an absolutely undisturbed site.

Unfortunately all the material consists of sherds, with the exception of three complete vases (Figs. 6, 7 and 15), and a few partially complete vases (Fig. 11). More than half of the material found was in such bad condition that it was useless and so discarded. The best and most representative sherds will be examined.

### Neolithic Pottery

A small amount of the pottery which was found is definitely of neolithic character. These sherds were at a depth of 2.05 m., where Early Helladic sherds predominated. All of the neolithic sherds, seventeen in number, are of good fabric, with a smooth surface, which in all cases is not polished. The clay is of gray or dull red color, black at the core. Even from such small fragments one shape is discernible, an open bowl. Two sherds (Fig. 1 *c* and *d*) are pieces of rims of open bowls with an inward curved or rolled rim. Both sherds are thick, 0.01 m., of rather coarse clay, which is a deep gray in color. Their outer surface is polished. On one sherd (Fig. 1 *c*) the surface is red and the incisions on the rim are obliquely cut. The other sherd (*d*) is covered with

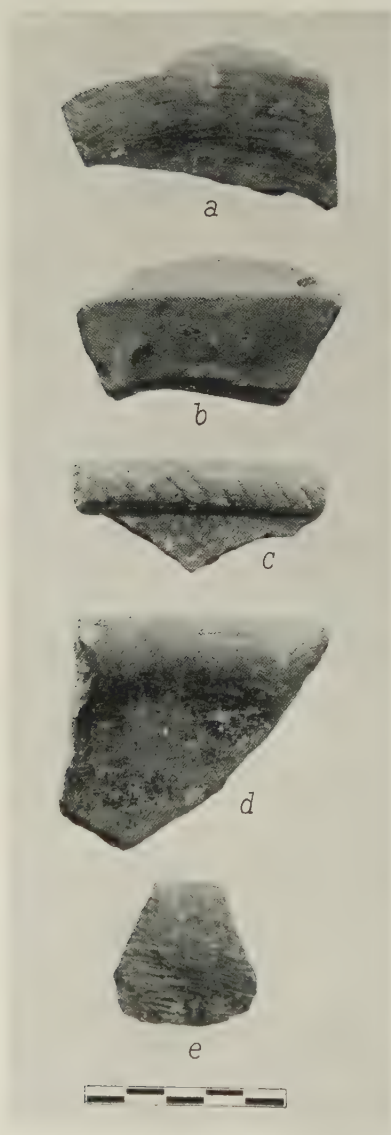


Fig. 1. Sherds of Neolithic Ware



a black slip and is decorated with finely cut lines on the inside of the rim. Some of the sherds are thin, hard, well baked and very smoothly polished (Fig. 1 *a*), while others are unusually thick and heavy (Fig. 1 *b*). One example (Fig. 1 *b*) has string holes for suspending the vase, or possibly, since the holes occur on the shoulder, for tying on a lid. The hole is bored rather carelessly and unevenly, and the aperture on the inside appears at some distance below the rim. Two examples of excellent neolithic ware are seen in



Fig. 2. Sherds of Neolithic Ware

Fig. 1 *a* and *e*. They are parts of bowls and both pieces are thin, fine, and hard, and so highly polished that the marks of the polishing implement are plainly visible. This is especially true of *e* where the polishing implement has left deep marks or grooves.

A common type of neolithic handle is illustrated in figure 2. The large loop handle which is rolled from the rim of the vase continues into the Early Helladic Period where it is fairly common. This particular sherd (Fig. 2 *a*) is of excellent fabric and has a highly polished surface. The clay is mottled red to black, with red predominating. The horizontally pierced lug is commonly met with in this period (Fig. 2 *d*). This sherd is interesting not only for its rolled rim on the inside, but also because its inner surface presents almost a

rippled appearance, due to the marks of the polishing implement. A larger and more pronounced lug handle is seen in figure 2 *b*. This lug measures 0.07 m. in length and is the best example found this season. The thickness and straightness of the sherd suggest a vase of considerable size. This sherd is another good example of a mottled effect, with a dark brown and black on the inside and red to brown and black on the outside. Figure 2 *c* is a small loop handle.

## Early Helladic Pottery

The sherds of the Early Helladic Period include those of polished ware, black and red monochrome, ribbed, plain and incised wares. A fair number of each group was found, chiefly in the lowest level at a depth of two metres and more.

### Polished Ware

These sherds (Fig. 3 *a-d, f*) are extremely well made, hard and thin. The clay is of fine quality and well levigated, and does not contain gritty particles. It is a pale pink or gray in color, darker at the core and lighter on the outer surface. The sherds are well fired and thoroughly baked, and it is their very hardness and thinness which caused them to be so friable. All of the sherds are very small, the largest (Fig. 3 *b*) measuring 0.065 m. in length and 0.04 m. in width. The entire surface both inside and outside was coated with a fine yellow or cream-colored slip. Often a mottled effect was produced by the firing, and the finished surface, as several specimens show, varies from gray to yellow, while a pinkish tinge predominates in a few pieces (Fig. 3 *b*). The finished surface of figure 3 *b* is polished to an extraordinary degree. The marks of the polishing implement, bone or pebble, are plainly visible in fine lines which almost resemble pencil strokes. As Mr. Blegen has pointed out, in these cases the instrument was applied with such pressure that slight grooves have been left.<sup>1</sup>

One shape is indicated by sherd *b*, a sauceboat, which was one of the most characteristic of the Early Helladic shapes and to judge by the material from other sites one of the favorite. Fortunately this small sherd is from the neck where it begins to flare out toward the spout and wide rim.

### Black Monochrome Ware

A few sherds of black monochrome ware were found. They are hard and well fired, varying in thickness from one half to one centimetre. Very few sherds have an entire black surface; most of them present a mottled appearance, the shades varying from gray to

<sup>1</sup> *Zygouries*, p. 77.



Fig. 3. Sherds of Early Helladic Ware: *a-d, f* polished ware, *e* plain ware, *g, h, k, l, m, n* red monochrome ware, *j* black monochrome ware, *i* ribbed ware



yellow and buff. One sherd is a deep brownish black in color. An open bowl is the common shape indicated. A few sherds have very angular profiles. The sherd here illustrated (Fig. 3 *j*) belongs to a bowl with an inward curving rim. This ware is closely akin to red monochrome ware which occurs in this period.

### Red Monochrome Ware

All the sherds of this ware are well made, of excellent fabric, baked thoroughly, and they have a highly polished surface. A red slip was used to cover the entire surface, both inside and outside, and then polished to a very high degree. Usually the marks of the polishing implement are visible. All of the sherds are hard and fairly thin, varying from one half to one centimetre, but none are as thin as the best pieces of Early Helladic polished ware. The color varies from a pale brick to a deep red, and occasionally the surface has a mottled appearance. On these sherds the red color predominates.

The common shape is a flat-bottomed bowl with gently curving sides, or an open bowl with inward curving rim and rather angular shoulder (Fig. 3 *g*). No. *h* in figure 3 is an interesting sherd although its surface is badly worn and the high polish has almost entirely disappeared. It was broken and mended in antiquity and the meagre remains of a leaden rivet are still visible, both on the inside and outside, about midway on the right hand side of the sherd. The almost straight side and the thickness of the wall, about 0.01 m., suggest a fairly large bowl. The outer side is plain, but a distinct rim is marked on the inside. This rim is decorated with scallops at regular intervals, and a string hole is pierced in each scallop. On the top of the rim a single line, deeply cut, extends up to the scallop, but does not include it.

There are a fair number of pieces from bowls which have a pierced lug handle set horizontally below the rim (Fig. 3 *k* and *m*). On the whole these pieces are well made and even and regular in shape. Occasionally there is some slight irregularity in shape due to the inexperience of the potter in making the vase. Frequently, as here, the small lug handles are set on crookedly.

Another example of a lug is seen in figure 3 *l*. It is a flat elliptical shaped handle, set on horizontally, and pierced with double string holes. Double string holes in this type of lug handle are rather rare.

A good example of a mottled sherd of this ware is to be seen in figure 3 *n*. Across the red surface a wide orange streak appears, and with its black border it resembles three-color ware at first glance.

Both the black and red monochrome wares continue into the Middle Helladic Period.

### Ribbed Ware

Several pieces of this ware were found which seem to belong to large vases, possibly storage jars (Fig. 3 *i*). The sherds are thick, heavy and coarse, and the clay is full of gritty material. It is a pale greenish-buff in color, darker at the core. Sometimes the surface

presents a mottled appearance, varying from greenish buff to dark brown. The only decoration is the evenly ribbed surface.

### Plain Ware

Under this category come those sherds which are rather better than the coarse household ware. Of these the most interesting is part of an askos (Fig. 3 *e*), which shows only a bit of the neck and handle. The clay is a dark gray with a very smooth but not polished surface.



Fig. 4. Sherds of Incised Ware, Early Helladic Period

### Incised Ware

In view of the fact that incised ware is rather a rare type of pottery for the Early Helladic Period it seems unusual to find fifteen sherds in this area, especially when the amount of polished ware was no greater and so few other Early Helladic wares were found.

The most interesting sherd is the lid, presumably for a pyxis, decorated with concentric circles (Fig. 4 *d*). Similar sherds have already been found in this area.<sup>1</sup> This fragment is very coarse and gritty and both the inner and outer surfaces are rough. The clay is a pinkish brown, a pale gray-brown at the core and darker at the outer surface. There does

<sup>1</sup> See *O. B.*, p. 357, fig. 27.

not seem to have been any slip. The incisions were filled with a creamy white pigment, of which considerable traces remain. Around the rim is a row of indentations from which the white filling has almost disappeared. This sherd, if not an importation, shows unmistakably Cycladic influence.

The rest of the illustrated sherds are of coarse, gritty material, with rough surfaces. They vary in color from red (Fig. 4*b*), gray (*e*), and a mottled red and black shade (*a*). One shape is indicated, a flat-bottomed open bowl. Simple incisions occur on all the sherds. On one (*a*) the lines are wide and deep; again they are merely parallel vertical slashes (*c* and *f*); and again slightly opposing lines (*b*). On one sherd (*e*), a handle, the vertical incisions are crossed by three horizontal lines.

## Middle Helladic Pottery

The Middle Helladic pottery includes black and red monochrome wares, Minyan, matt-painted and plain wares. Minyan and matt-painted wares predominated, and occurred in about equal amounts.

### Black Monochrome Ware

In fabric this ware closely resembles that of the Early Helladic Period, but the shapes show less similarity. The sherds continue to vary greatly in color, from gray to deepest black, and a few present a mottled appearance. Noteworthy in some specimens is the extraordinarily fine polish (Fig. 5*d*).

The open bowl continues, but now with more pronounced angular profile (Fig. 5*i*). One bowl has an outward splayed rim (*d*), and another (*i*) has small loop handles which rise above the rim. The broader ribbon handle is also to be seen (*j*). One interesting sherd is illustrated in (*e*) which is part of a bowl with inward curving rim. On the shoulder are two parallel incised lines which had a white filling. In its surface finish figure 5*n* closely resembles Minyan ware, although its color shades from gray to buff. Certainly the sharp, angular profiles, flat, thin rims, and flat handles give a decidedly metallic effect and are reminiscent of Minyan ware. This is even more true in the case of the red monochrome ware.

### Red Monochrome Ware

In some respects this ware resembles that of the Early Helladic Period in its fine lustrous finish and its high polish, but when sherds from the two periods are placed side by side the difference in fabric and finish is easily discernible. Frequently the sherds of this period have a sort of crackled appearance and in the poorer examples the red slip has worn badly. None of the sherds present that vivid red color which enables one to compare



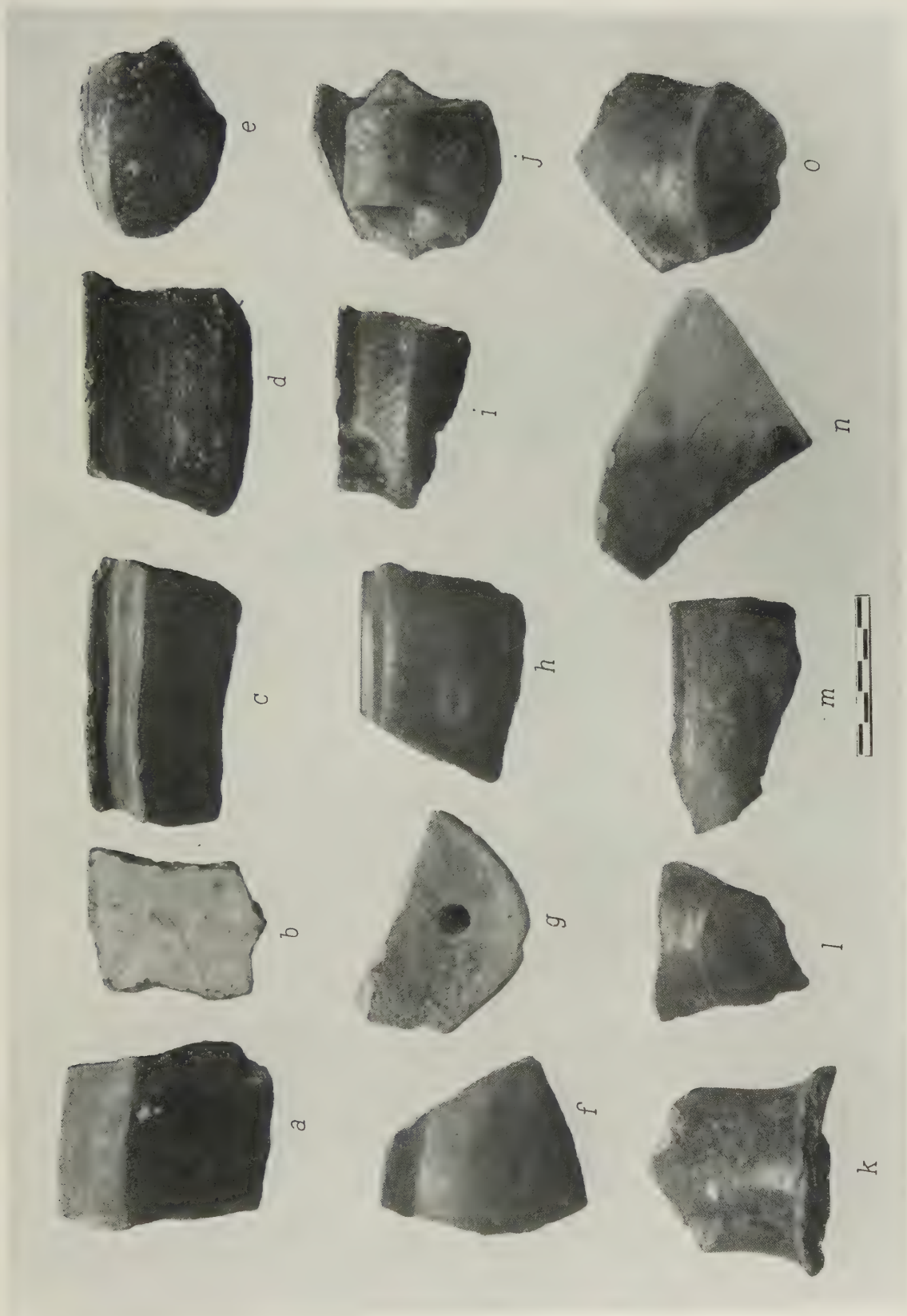


Fig. 5. Sherds of Black and Red Monochrome Wares, Middle Helladic Period

the earlier pieces with the best of Northern Greek red neolithic ware. For this period too many of the sherds have a mottled appearance, but red is always the predominating color.

Besides the familiar shapes—the open bowl with flat bottom and the bowl with inward curving rim—the stemmed vase is found. None of the fragments found this year have ringed stems, but several plain stems occur. One (Fig. 5 *k*) measures 0.05 m. in width at the present top. The extent of its base is uncertain. The high polish is disappearing, but the



Fig. 6. Vase of the Middle Helladic Period

sherd is of excellent fabric. The open bowl with one lug handle is fairly common. The flat elliptical handle, which was set on horizontally, is pierced with one string hole (Fig. 5 *g*). These string holes were bored by a rotating drill, sometimes worked from both sides of the vase, but more often from one side only. When bored from both sides the hole has a bi-conical shape.

An interesting sherd is seen in figure 5 *b*. The outer surface is covered with a deep creamy mattpaint, the inside with a red slip.

Here mention should be made of two good specimens of red monochrome ware. One is a large two-handled jar (Fig. 6). The color is really a deep buff which has been fired un-

evenly and ranges from pinkish tints to black near the base. The surface is beautifully polished but the interior is rough. It stands 0.23 m. high.

In figure 7 we see a low-stemmed Middle Helladic cup or goblet. It is of coarse clay, but the surface is smooth and slightly polished. It stands 0.087 m. high. This red monochrome vase is important in that there are not many specimens of this type from the Middle Helladic Period. The type continues through the Yellow Minyan cup into the Mycenaean Period in an unbroken line.



Fig. 7. Vase of the Middle Helladic Period

### Minyan Ware

A large amount, in proportion to all the prehistoric pottery found this season, was gray Minyan ware and it is wholly in sherds. Very few pieces could be put together and not a single complete vase resulted. On the other hand, in the case of the matt-painted sherds several vases were partially reconstructed. None of the Minyan sherds showed any unusual features. The ware is too well known to be described here in any detail, but a few remarks will suffice.

Some of the sherds are rather thick and the surface rough. They are handmade, but the majority are wheelmade. Most of them are thin and the surface has that smooth, "soapy" feel which characterizes this ware. A few pieces are so thin that the inner side



of the vase must have been pared very carefully. The color of the clay is uniform throughout, but varies from a very light to a deep gray, and in a few instances almost black (Fig. 8 *g*). Pale gray sherds predominate and it is possible that they were in imitation of the light gray color of metal. A few sherds are of light brown color (Fig. 8 *b*).

The common shapes represented are open bowls, smaller bowls or cups with very angular profiles, and goblets with ringed stems. The deep bowl with an outward splayed rim is illustrated in figure 8 *e* and *h*. The former sherd with its dark lustrous surface is one of the best pieces found. Its profile is unusually angular. No. *i* is part of a base of a wide open bowl. The base is low and above it is a single ring.

Both ringed and plain stems occur in the goblets (Fig. 8 *k-n*). There is great variation in the rings. Some are narrow and placed close together as in no. *k*; others are flatter and spaced farther apart (no. *l*); others are less regularly arranged as in no. *n*. Some of these stems recall the North Central Greek and the Thessalian variety with their numerous rings. The stems are hollow.

There is a variety of handles—strap handles, forming loops on the rim (Fig. 8 *a, b*, and *d*); round bow handles set vertically on the rim (*c*); and the flat ribbon handle seen in no. *j*.

On several sherds the ribbing is so faint and fine as almost to resemble rippled ware.

No examples of Argive Minyan were found this year, although Mr. Broneer reported some examples from the previous excavation.

### Matt-painted Ware

Although a large amount of matt-painted ware was found it offers little that is new. The bulk of it is in sherds but enough pieces were fitted together partially to reconstruct three vases (Fig. 11). This ware falls into the two groups of coarse and fine ware. No sherds of polychrome decoration were found this year, but some sherds have been reported for the previous campaign. Both the dark matt-paint on a light ground, and the white matt on a dark ground occur.

### Coarse Ware

Most of the sherds found belong to this category. The clay varies in color from pale to dark buff, light reddish buff and a yellow green. The fabric is coarse and full of gritty particles and sand. Sometimes it is burned unevenly at the core, and varies in color from pink tints at the edge to palest cream in the centre. The sherds vary greatly in thickness, the widest measuring 0.015 m. A few sherds have a slip, but in many of the fragments there is none and the surface is rough, especially on the inside of the vase. Carelessness of finish is apparent in nearly all the heavier sherds. Several of the sherds have a ribbed surface (Fig. 10 *e* and *f*). The ridges are one or one and a half centimetres apart. This

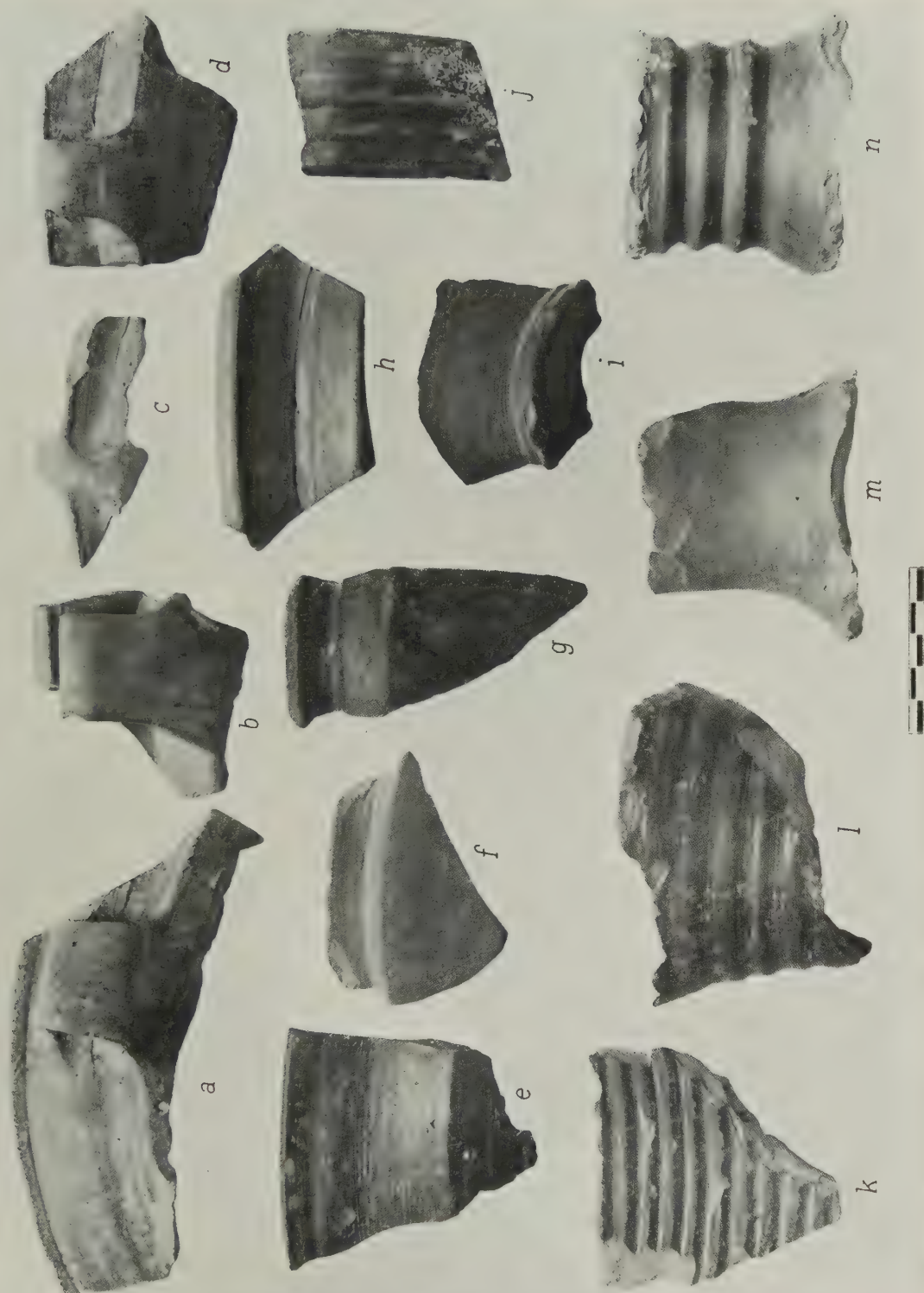


Fig. 8. Sherds of Gray Minyan Ware, Middle Helladic Period

ribbing may be in imitation of Minyan ware, but the ribbing is done in wide sweeps, and the ridges are narrow and flat on the edge. Not all of the surface of the vase was ribbed, as some fragments show. Possibly the ribbing occurs in definite zones as on the shoulder or around the lower part of the body of the vase.

The mattpaint ranges from a deep black to purple, brownish black, and brownish red, but it is always a true matt. On the thicker, coarser pieces the mattpaint occurs in broad lines a little over 0.01 m. wide. The paint is thick and frequently it has been put on unevenly. On the pieces of finer ware the lines are thin and remarkably fine.

Most of the patterns are simple geometric designs; a few are curvilinear, with loops and circles in conjunction with straight lines. There is a fondness for decoration in zones or panels, especially in the larger vases. The simplest patterns consist of single lines, thin or wide, straight or curving, extending across the surface of the vase (Fig. 9). One of the commonest motives is the grouping of parallel lines of unequal width, e.g. a broad band bordered by a narrower one, on either or both sides, and intersected by lines at oblique angles (Fig. 9 *a*, *d* and *f*). Note no. *o* with its eleven thin parallel lines extending downward from a broad band. A checkerboard pattern between unusually thick lines occurs (Fig. 9 *b*) and is reminiscent of the patterns of neolithic red on white ware of Thessaly and Chaeronea. Intersecting lines occur commonly and often in combination with circles (Fig. 9 *h* and *p*). In the ribbed sherds the pattern consists merely of parallel vertical lines between the ridges.

One interesting sherd is seen in Fig. 9 *k* which shows the influence of the Palace style of Crete. The clay is a pale red, covered with a white slip on which appears a simple pattern. Unfortunately the sherd is in a bad condition.

With but two exceptions all of the sherds are too fragmentary to indicate shapes. An open bowl with high ribbon handles is seen in figure 10 *h*; while Fig. 9 *a* is part of the rim and shoulder of a storage jar. The characteristic shape of the small storage jar of this period is a low-bellied jar, with a small, flat base, broad, flat rim, and two large horizontal handles. String holes, usually four in number, are set in the rim and serve for fastening on the lid. The decoration usually covers the upper part of the vase, and falls into vertical panels, separated from one another by vertical lines. The panels are not always symmetrically arranged. We found many pieces of rims of these storage jars, marked by string holes, and decorated by one or two heavy broad bands of black mattpaint around the neck.

Another variety of mattpainted ware consists of rather coarse red clay which is covered on the outside with a thick light colored (white or creamy white) slip. The slip serves as a background for the decoration which is put on in dark mattpaint. This slip is really a wash which rubs off easily. The two storage jars illustrated in figure 11 *b* and *c* are of this type. As Mr. Broneer suggested, it is possible that this ware was treated in this manner so that it would resemble the more common mattpainted variety of pottery.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *O. B.*, p. 361.



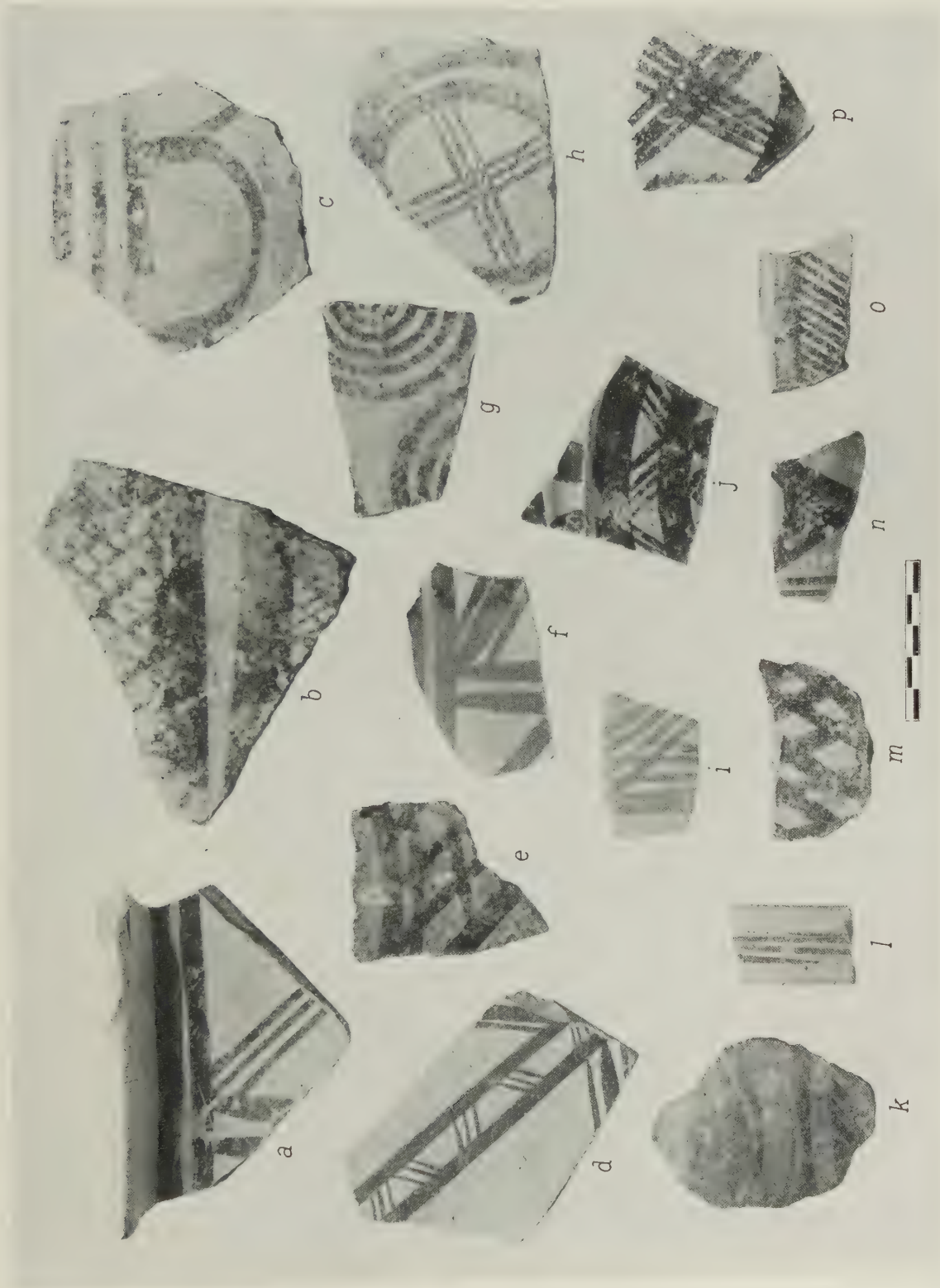


Fig. 9. Sherds of Mattpainted Ware, Middle Helladic Period

Another variety, and a rather rare one, is mattpainted ware with the decoration in white matt on a dark ground. The sherds of this group are from large vases of coarse material. The clay is gritty, fired red on the edges and dark gray to black at the core. The surface varies from red to black; the mattpaint is a creamy white, which is put on thinly. The best example we have is the high-necked jar illustrated in figure 11 *a*. The pattern consists of single lines which sweep across the body of the vase in curves and long triangular figures. A series of short horizontal lines are on the handle. The mattpaint is fast disappearing.

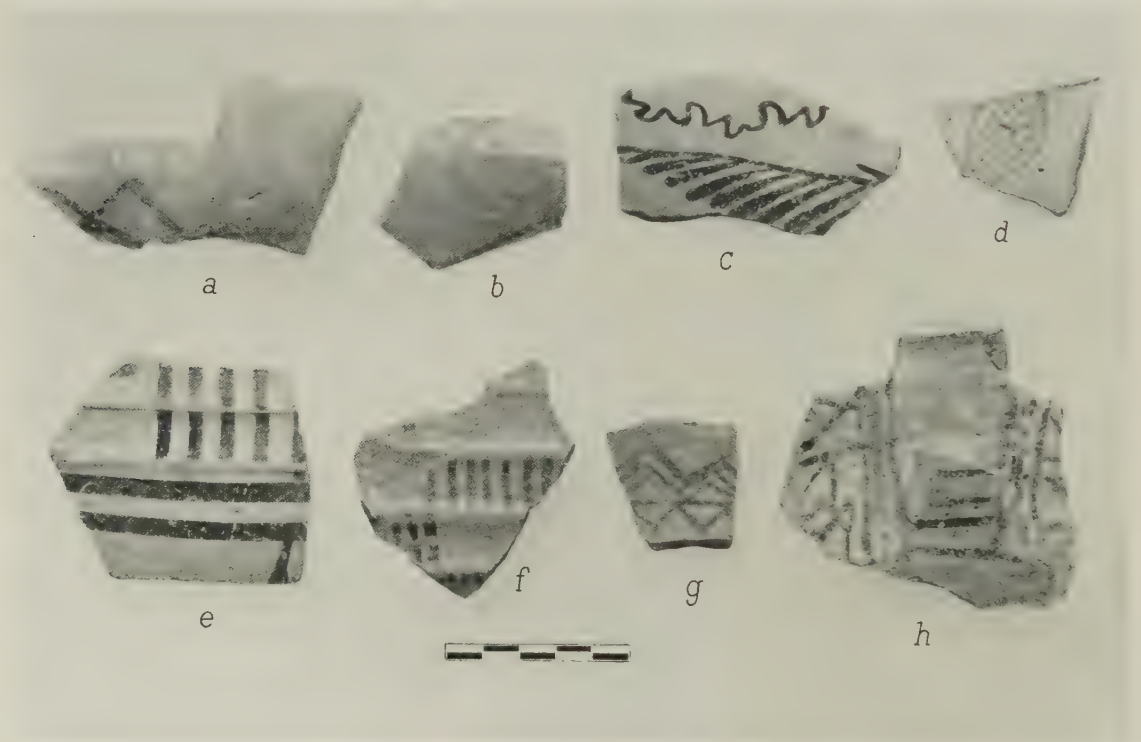


Fig. 10. Sherds of Mattpainted Ware, Middle Helladic Period

#### Fine Ware

Most of the sherds of this group are wheelmade, usually small, and much finer both in fabric and decoration than the other mattpainted sherds. The clay has been carefully sifted. It is usually buff or greenish yellow in color. The slip is the same color as the clay and it may be hard and polished or soft and powdery and rubs off easily. The paint is a black matt or dark reddish brown, which has been put on carefully and evenly. The patterns are curvilinear, including spirals, concentric circles, running quirks, wavy lines, etc. The great variety of floral designs and the strong Minoan influence which appear on sherds of

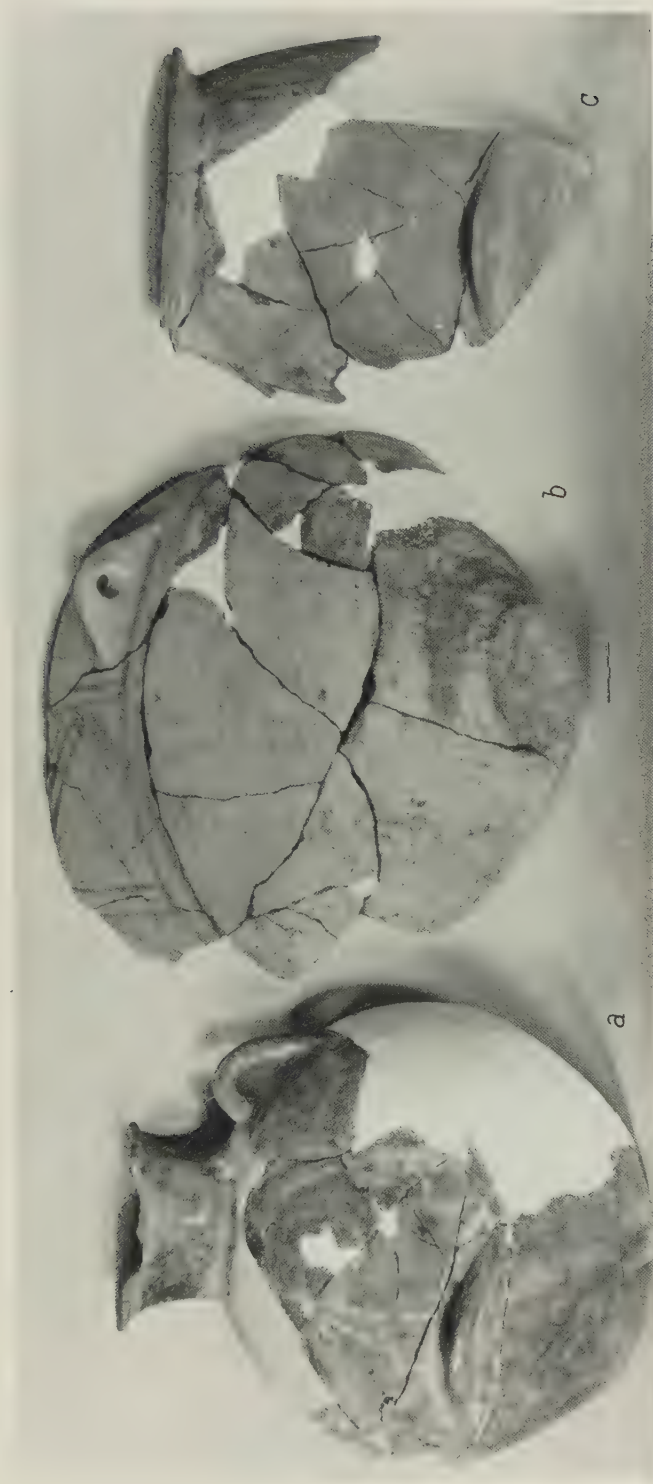


Fig. 11. Vases of Matpainted Ware, Middle Helladic Period



this group at other sites are not apparent here. We have two sherds which show Melian influence (Fig. 10 *c* and *d*). Two others are fragments of a shallow basin (Fig. 10 *a* and *b*). The vase has a flat base, the sides spread widely outward to the shoulder which is very



Fig. 12. Sherds of Plain Ware, Middle Helladic Period

angular. Between the shoulder and the rim the decoration appears, a series of crosses and at intervals four parallel vertical lines. One fragment (*a*) has a high handle which rises above the rim.

### Plain Ware

In the same level with the Minyan and mattpainted wares a number of sherds were found which are rather better than those usually designated as household ware. The latter is always a very coarse ware and will be discussed later. Much of this plain ware has a rough texture and thick walls, but always a smooth and in a few cases a polished surface. The clay is not well sifted and contains sand and gritty particles, chiefly mica. However, the vases are nicely executed for household pieces. Two sherds (Fig. 12 *f* and *g*) are thin and hard; the rest vary greatly in thickness. The vases are fairly well baked. The color varies from brown to red and black in different shades, but the clay is frequently of lighter color at the core and burned darker at the outer edges. Many of the pieces show traces of burning in the black patches on the outer surface. Some of the sherds have a slip; none are painted.

A bowl seems to be the common shape indicated by several examples (Fig. 12 *a*). Some of them have an outward splayed rim. A spouted vase is indicated by figure 12 *d* and *e*, while two other sherds are parts of a strainer (*f* and *g*).

### Late Helladic Pottery

The number of Late Helladic sherds which was found this year was relatively small in comparison to the great amount of Minyan and mattpainted wares. By far the largest amount of pottery for this period is Yellow Minyan.

#### Yellow Minyan Ware

The sherds of this group illustrate every grade of quality and workmanship. The clay is fine and well levigated, the surface polished. The color varies in shade from yellow to brown, but the great bulk of it is pinkish buff and so markedly that color that to designate it as Yellow Minyan seems inadequate. The sherds vary in thickness; most of them are thin and hard.

The most common shape is a goblet on a low stem. Nearly a hundred examples, none complete, were found. The handle is usually a small loop handle. In figure 13, *l* represents the common type of goblet, while no. *k* shows a heavier type with a thicker, shorter stem.

Another fairly common shape is the flat-bottomed bowl (Fig. 13 *d* and *h*). The sides splay outward widely. There is a variety of handles including the flat ribbon type (Fig. 13 *i*), the small loop handle (*f*), and the wider ribbon type which is set on vertically at the rim (*j* and *m*). Sometimes well marked vertical grooves occur on the handle.

#### Late Helladic I Painted Ware

These sherds are wheelmade and of excellent fabric. The clay is finely sifted. It is buff in color but usually with a pinkish tinge and frequently a deeper pink at the core.

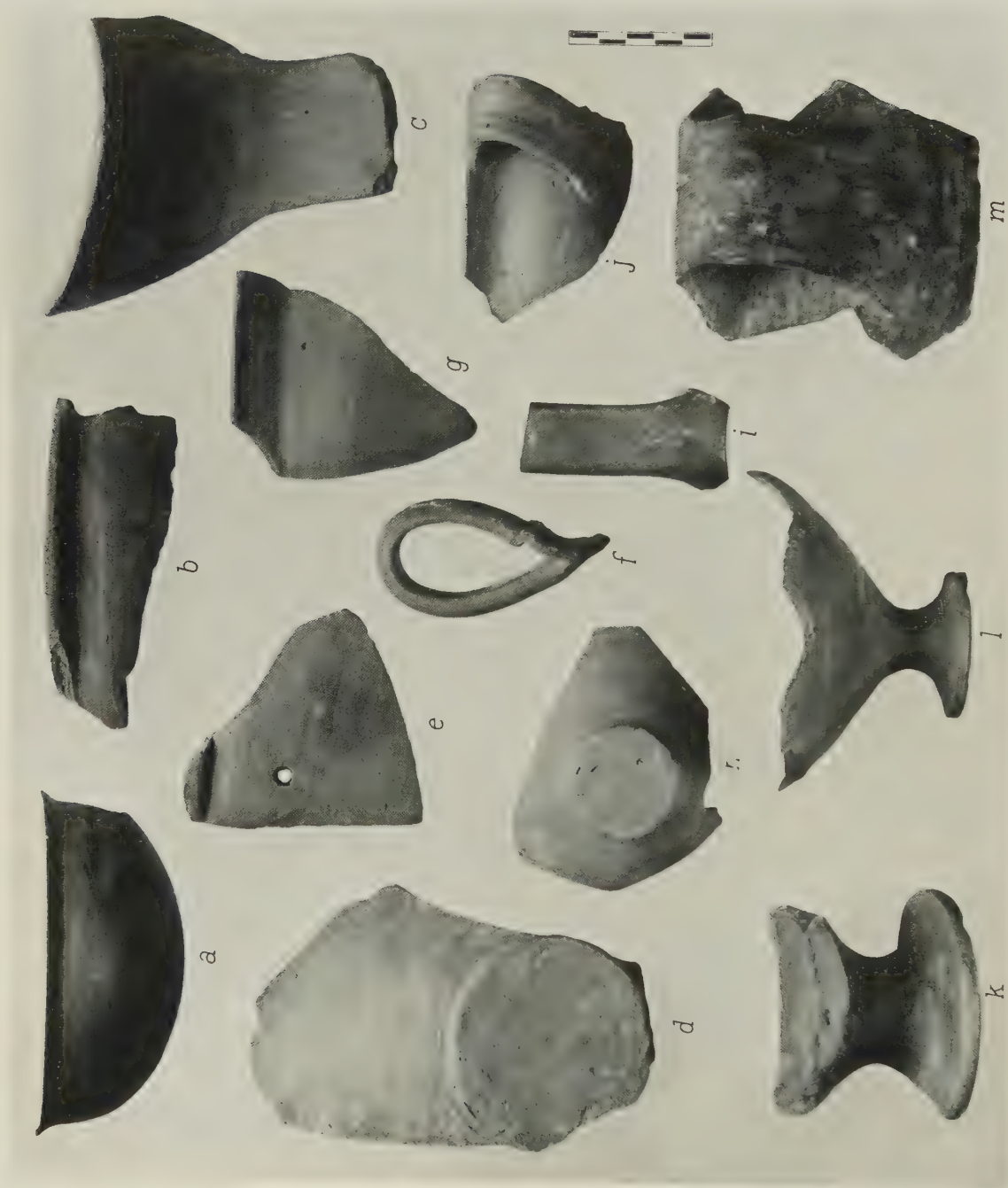


Fig. 13. Sherds of Yellow Minyan Ware, Late Helladic Period



The sherds are well baked, thin and hard, the surface finely smoothed. It is covered with a slip, usually of the same color as the clay. The paint has flaked off on some of the sherds; in others it is lustrous and of good quality. The color of the paint varies from red to dark brown and black.

The patterns present a great variety, but none are new. Since this is the great period of the spiral it is not surprising to find many sherds showing this decorative motive. The spiral usually starts with a central eye and continues in well drawn lines of four or five revolutions before it ends (Fig. 14 *c*, *d* and *i*). Occasionally the central eye is lacking (no. *h*). The spirals are arranged in a row, or in a belt or zone, and may be connected by a wavy line (Fig. 14 *g*). The festoon is another decorative motive, bordered by several parallel lines (Fig. 14 *j* and *k*). Such a network often covers the upper part of the vase.

### Late Helladic II Painted Ware

The sherds of this group continue to show the same good quality as those of Late Helladic I. The spiral continues to appear but it is not so well made as in the preceding period. The central eye often is lacking, the coils are heavy and not so carefully executed. Not only is the line broader but the number of revolutions are fewer, and the general effect produced is not so successful (Fig. 14 *m*, *n*, *t* and *u*). On the other hand the spirals may be combined into an elaborate pattern (Fig. 14 *n*). Divisions into belts or zones continue and horizontal bands are frequent, not merely to mark divisions, but also to form part of the pattern itself (Fig. 14 *b* and *r*). This motive continues into the Mycenaean Period where the bands become a most common decorative device (Fig. 15). Festoons continue to appear, and a variation of the running quirk pattern (Fig. 14 *r* and *l*). Naturalistic floral designs and marine patterns are very common. Here we have the conventional leaf and ivy patterns (Fig. 14 *p* and *q*). A field of dots or a single row of them serves as a background (Fig. 14 *o* and *r*). In the so-called "thrush's egg" pattern the whole surface of the vase is stippled in reddish brown color and a speckled effect is produced (Fig. 14 *s*).

Deep cups (Fig. 14 *a* and *b*), bowls (*i*, *l*, *s*, *t*, and *u*) and squat jugs (*q*) are the shapes indicated.

### Mycenaean Ware

In his report Mr. Broneer has mentioned and illustrated all the complete Mycenaean vases found and there is no need to repeat. In this year's work only one whole Mycenaean vase (Fig. 15) was found on the meagre traces of a floor level (p. 539). The vase is of buff clay, standing 0.23 m. high. It has a smooth, polished surface. It is decorated on the body with two horizontal bands of red which have almost disappeared, one band on the base, three on the shoulder and one on the neck.

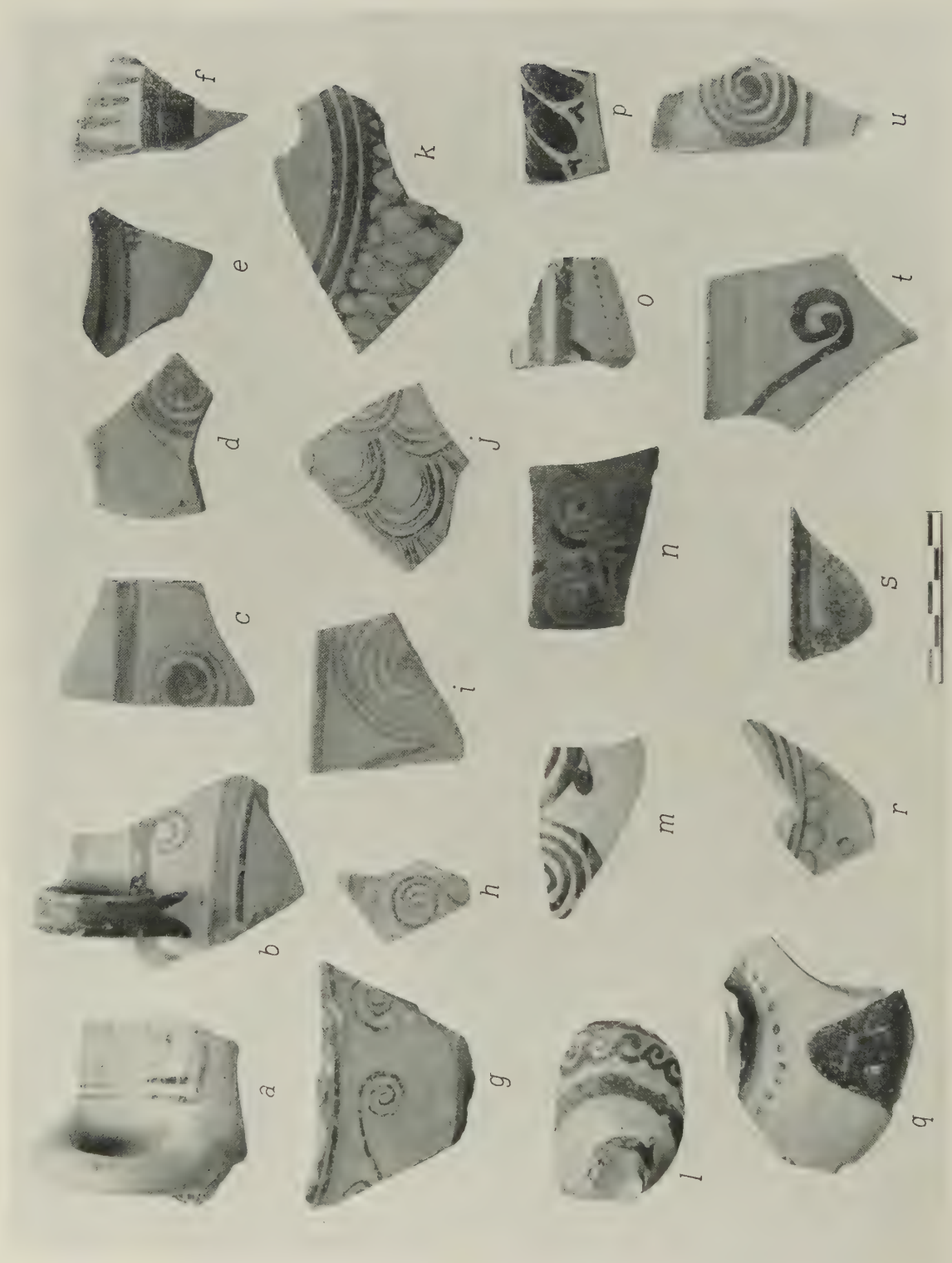


Fig. 14. Sherds of Late Helladic I and II Periods

A few comments on the sherds will suffice. They are fairly abundant, but no division into an early and later group can be made such as Mr. Broneer made for the material found in the floor levels at the top and bottom of the Mycenaean stairway. Since the Mycenaean



Fig. 15. Mycenaean Vase, Late Helladic III Period

sherds were scattered through all the levels any division made would have to be based on differences in fabric, technique and decoration.

Most of the sherds are thin and wellmade. They are covered with a slip of the same color as the clay. The surface is smooth and polished. A few pieces which were intended for domestic use are thick and coarse.



The patterns were put on in a good red or black (frequently dark brown) paint, which was applied thinly and evenly. The well known decorative motives appear, in panels or zones, set off by a group of vertical lines. The spiral in many variations, wavy lines sweeping over the surface of the vase, and bands of horizontal lines are common (Fig. 16).

### Household Ware

The pottery of this class consists of vases of coarse material intended for domestic use. In fact, many of the sherds show traces of fire. In all they are the largest group of pottery found this year and they represent about one fifth of all the sherds found. They range in size from tiny sherds to almost complete vases, but unfortunately no whole vase was found or could be reconstructed. Several shapes, however, are indicated.

Most of this ware is heavy and thick. The clay is not sifted and usually it is not thoroughly baked. The uneven firing often shows in the variegated coloring of the sherd, ranging from different shades of red, reddish brown, dark brown to black. All the vases are handmade and roughly executed, with none showing a perfectly regular shape. Sometimes they were distorted in the baking, and some specimens are so badly baked that they crumble easily. All the vessels were intended for household use and consequently no attempt was made to produce good pieces. Many of the sherds are without paint or slip, but in a few cases the fabric is rather good for such ware.

The most common shape is an open shallow bowl of varying size and exhibiting a great variety of workmanship. Some bowls have a smooth surface and are rather evenly shaped with thin walls; others are of very coarse material and irregular with thick walls. A flat base and fairly perpendicular sides go with this shape (Fig. 17 *b* and *c*). Other bowls are so carelessly made that they stand unevenly (Fig. 17 *e*). The inward curving rim still persists.

A great many legs of cooking pots were found. In every case they are broken off so far below the vase that no idea of the size or shape can be obtained. Most of them are flat and rectangular (Fig. 17 *f* and *h*); others are round or taper downwards (Fig. 17 *g*, *i* and *j*). All the pieces are of very coarse fabric, undecorated, with rough surface. They vary greatly in size, the largest measuring 0.17 m. in length, 0.05 m. in width, and 0.03 m. in thickness (Fig. 17 *f*). There are also a number of legs of miniature size, averaging 0.04 m. in length, 0.025 m. in width (Fig. 17 *j* and *k*). These tiny vases could not have served any useful purpose and in all probability were children's toys.

Many lids were found, some with a hole in the centre, others pierced with string holes near the rim. Two were covered with a creamy white mattpaint and must have been intended for the storage jars of the Middle Helladic Period. Another has a handle extending across it (Fig. 17 *a*).

No complete storage jars of the well known types were found but a great many sherds, of which the greater number are bases. These bases are very small, but the pithoi doubt-

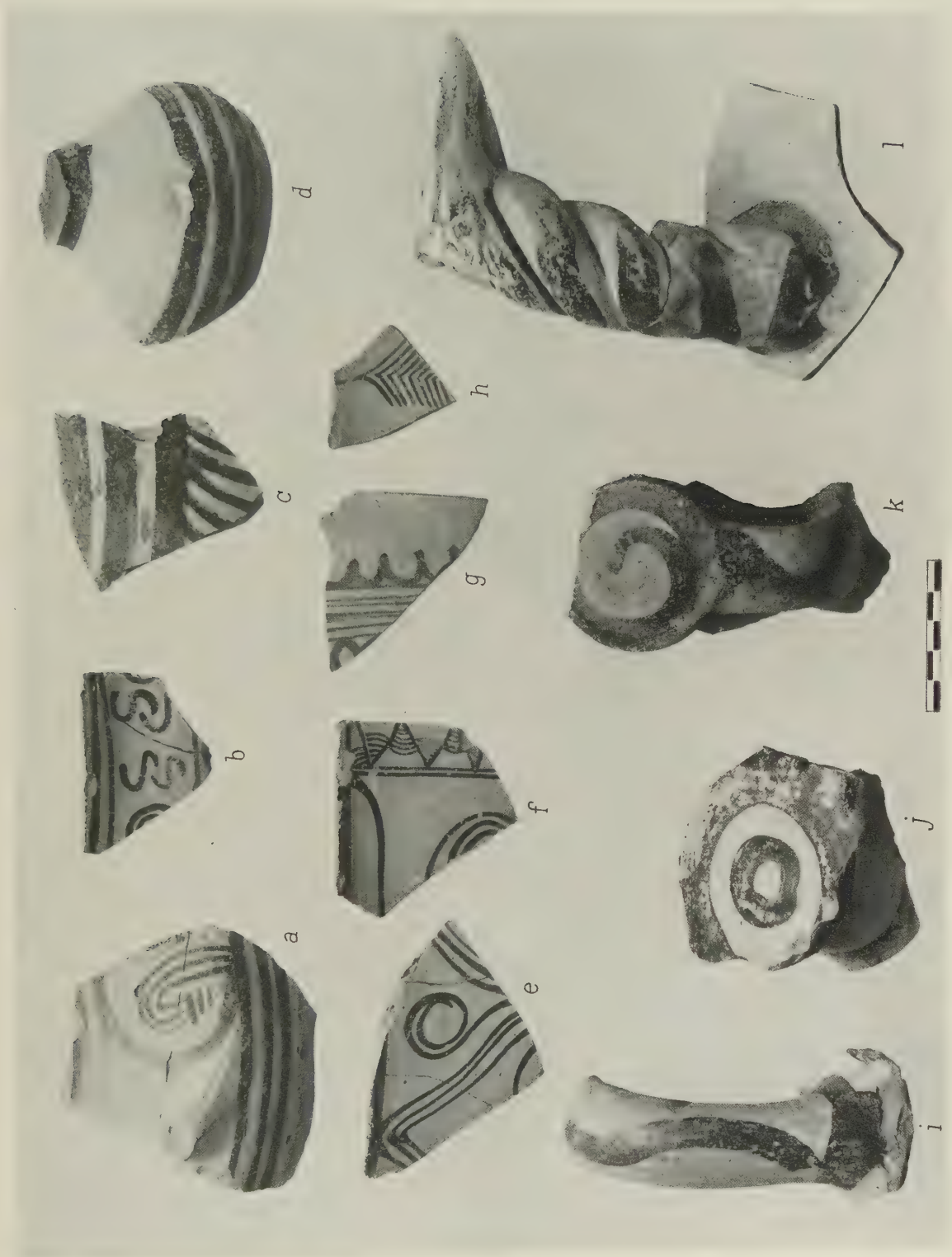


Fig. 16. Sherds of Mycenaean Ware, Late Helladic III Period



Fig. 17. Household Ware



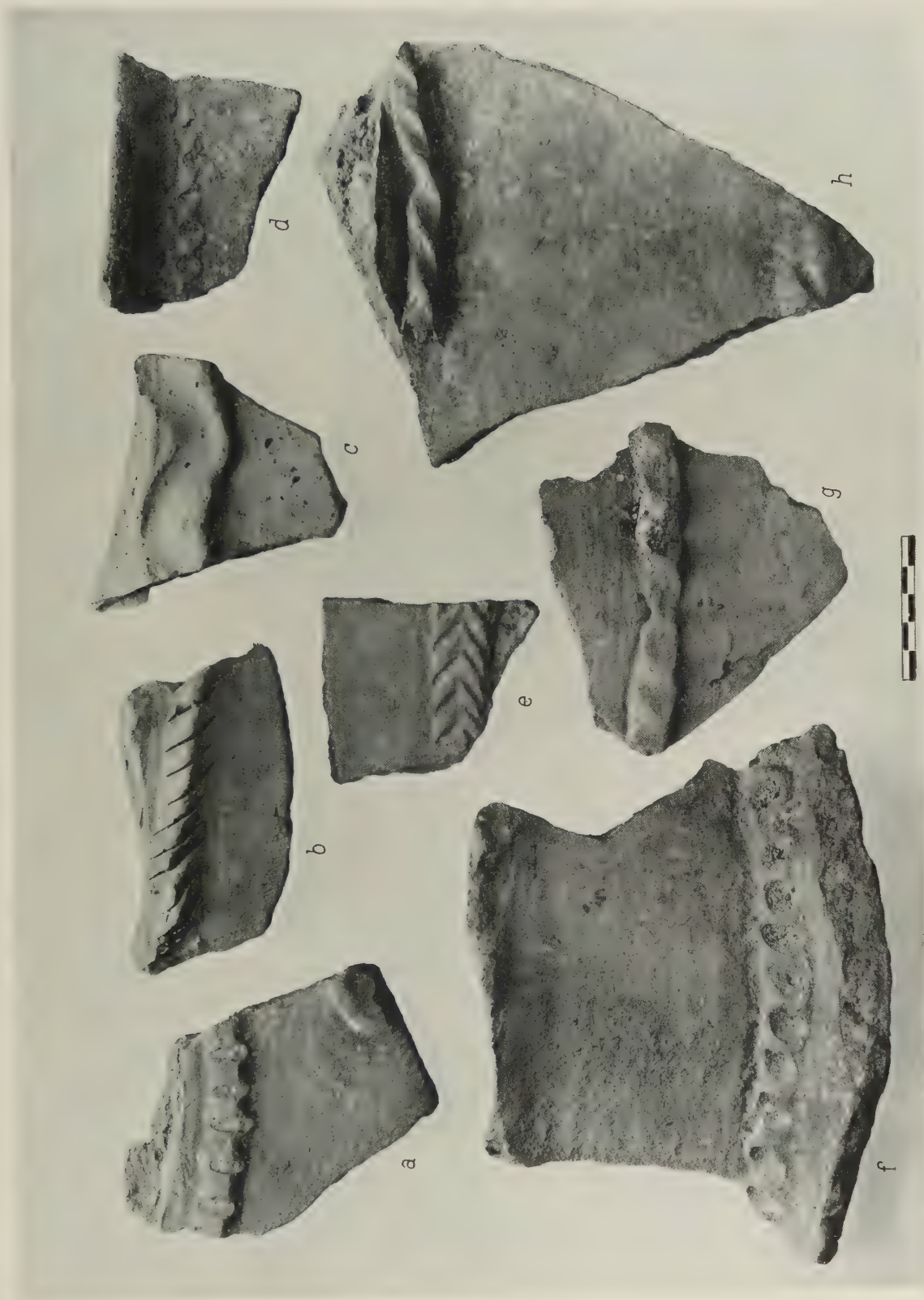


Fig. 18. Sherds of Storage Jars

less were fitted into hollows dug into the floor or they could have been supported with stones piled up around them. In any case they stood firmly and it did not matter if the base was too small to support so large a vase.

Many of the pieces of the pithoi are decorated with simple stamped and incised patterns. The commonest are variations of the rope pattern, made with a plastic horizontal band which has slanting impressions of a finger (thumb) or of some blunt instrument (Fig. 18 *d*, *f*, *g*, and *h*). Sometimes the effect produced is that of the twisted strands of the rope (Fig. 18 *h*). Other pieces show the plastic band cut slantwise with broad thrusts (Fig. 18 *a*), or again with strokes finely cut by a sharp instrument (Fig. 18 *b*). Again a plastic wavy line is the only decorative device (Fig. 18 *c*). The patterns are not elaborate, although one represents a leaf pattern (Fig. 18 *e*).

An amazing number of lugs were found at all levels. They occur on the coarse pottery and their size and shape vary considerably. Many are large enough to serve as handles. This is especially true in the neolithic sherds (Fig. 2). The long horizontal lug, which is pierced, is fairly common (Fig. 19 *d* and *g*). Some lugs are simply small, round knobs, slightly pulled out from the body of the vase (Fig. 19 *c*). Such small protuberances resemble the knobs at the base of the Minyan handle, which in itself is suggestive of a metal rivet. Large flat round lugs occur (Fig. 19 *a* and *b*), in one case being decorated with incised lines. This type of lug is known in the Early Helladic Period. On the larger vases of thicker, coarser ware the lugs are rather carelessly made, and occur singly or in pairs (Fig. 19 *e*, *h* and *i*). Such a lug as shown in figure 19 *j* actually served as a handle.

Twenty-one pieces of spit supports were found (Fig. 20 *c* and *g*). The larger pieces have a wide base and thick walls which grow thinner toward the top. The surface is very rough and in most cases there are traces of burning from the fire. Some of these fragments are so small and the holes for the beams so low that it is difficult to imagine that they could have served any practical use.

We have nine pieces of perforated clay fragments whose purpose is unknown (Fig. 20 *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*). Two of the pieces were found last year, the others this year at different levels. One small piece was in the top fill of the area, three pieces were in the Mycenaean level, and the remaining fragments with the Middle Helladic deposit. In the largest piece (Fig. 20 *a*) the perforations go all the way through the clay, but this is not true of any of the other pieces. The largest piece might have served for a strainer, although its wall is straight and very thick (0.025 m.). One part is slightly depressed. In all the other fragments the holes extend only part way through and this precludes the possibility of the pieces belonging to strainers or sifters of any sort. In one fragment (*b*) the holes are but very slight depressions and are badly worn. In another (*d*) they are carefully punched or stamped. In another (*f*) they are unusually small. Fragment *f* shows that these holes are on the bottom of the object, which has a flat base and rather straight walls.

Mention might be made of a few other objects which were found with the pottery. They include one piece of a very shallow stone vase. It is a flat-bottomed basin with walls



Fig. 19. Lugs



measuring 0.035 m. in thickness. Both the inner and outer surface is weather worn and the rim badly chipped. It was found in the Middle Helladic level. One almost complete millstone and parts of four others are numbered among the household implements. It is the usual saddle-quern, with a roughly elliptical end. The top is curved and slightly hollowed out longitudinally. The edge is badly broken and the surface worn smooth from use, but the material itself is hard and coarse-grained, somewhat resembling conglomerate. Five pounders and grinders were found, but in a very fragmentary condition, and pieces of four celts, one of which was bored.

From this brief survey of the prehistoric pottery it is easily seen how important this area is, and the present investigation has shown, if nothing more, how wide is the range of material available on the North Slope. Until the entire area is cleared no final study can be made, but each year's investigation helps to widen and to clarify the picture of prehistoric Athens and of Attica. At present we know very little about the early periods of habitation in this region. Our earliest picture of prehistoric Athens comprised only a Mycenaean settlement until the Italian excavation on the South Slope of the Acropolis revealed neolithic material.<sup>1</sup> In these more recent years pottery both from the Early and Middle Helladic Periods has been found on the North Slope and in the examination of the site this year more (late) neolithic material was brought to light. Thus little by little the picture grows and becomes clearer but it also becomes increasingly apparent that the final word is yet to be written. Moreover, not only Athens but other Attic sites ought to be investigated and studied in their relation to Athens and to the Aegean region as a whole. This is indeed a very great need now that the Athenian area is becoming better known.

Although no new wares were found this year the pottery revealed some interesting features. Certain local wares were far more prominent than had hitherto been thought. The abundance of black and red monochrome ware is worthy of note, and the existence of both varieties in the Early Helladic as well as the Middle Helladic Period. Mr. Broneer had reported this monochrome ware only for the Middle Helladic Period and makes no mention of the black monochrome ware; but some of those red monochrome sherds are now known to be Early Helladic. The important feature is that sherds of both varieties were represented in both periods. Another interesting point to be noted is the great amount of Minyan and matt-painted wares, indicating a fairly long Middle Helladic Period, and possibly one of some degree of prosperity. Most of these wares were locally made and the Minyan sherds are a paler gray than usually occurs at other sites. Finally, the curious pinkish buff color of the Yellow Minyan sherds doubtless points to local production.

Much of the North Slope pottery shows influence from other sites. The presence of the red and black monochrome ware of both the Early and Middle Helladic Periods in Aegina

<sup>1</sup> See A. Della Seta, *Annuario*, IV—V, 1921—1922, p. 490; *Bollettino d'Arte*, IV, 1924—1925, pp. 88 f.



Fig. 20. Sherds of Household Ware

must not be overlooked.<sup>1</sup> This material is very abundant on the island and there are many complete vases, which aided us in the restoration of our material. For example, our sherds included rims of bowls and horizontal pierced lugs (Figs. 3 and 5), but until the Aegina pottery had been seen we did not know whether the bowl should be restored with one or two lug handles. All the examples in Aegina show a single lug handle. Mr. Blegen had already reported two Middle Helladic vases of this ware from Korakou.<sup>2</sup> In the excavation of the Agora this season similar material was found.<sup>3</sup>

Athens was not without its influence from the Aegean isles. Cycladic influence has already been noted in the sherd of an Early Helladic pyxis.<sup>4</sup> In the Middle Helladic Period Melian influence is seen in the interesting sherds illustrated in figure 10 *c* and *d*, and there is one sherd (Fig. 9 *k*) which suggests Cretan influence. These same spheres of influence exerted themselves on the material in Aegina with even greater prominence. In any survey of the prehistoric material of Athens, and of Attica, the close connection between Athens and Aegina must not be forgotten. The wares of the two places are largely identical, but on the island there was greater prosperity, as the abundance and excellence of the pottery testifies. Thus far Athens seems to have been but a poor community, possibly importing a few wares, while those of local production, with a few exceptions, show only mediocre quality. Nevertheless, it is a community well deserving of further study.

<sup>1</sup> I have the kind permission of Dr. G. Welter to mention this material from Aegina, which is not yet published.

<sup>2</sup> *Korakou*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *The Illustrated London News*, September 11, 1937, pp. 430 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 546.

HAZEL D. HANSEN



# HESPERIA

## JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI: NUMBER 1

1937



### THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA ELEVENTH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1937

Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00, with the exception of Vol. V, No. 4, which may be had unbound for \$2.00) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Secretary of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

### PUBLICATIONS

- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix + 78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.

# HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI: NUMBER 2

1937



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1937



Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00, with the exception of Vol. V, No. 4, which may be had unbound for \$2.00) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Librarian of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

---

## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

---

### PUBLICATIONS

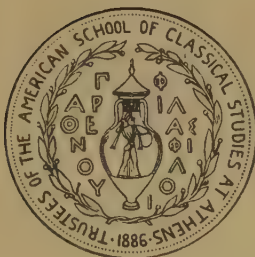
- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix + 78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.
- PRYTANEIS: A STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS HONORING THE ATHENIAN COUNCILORS. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages. Quarto. Paper. Illustrated. 1937. \$3.00.
- GREEK MOULDINGS. By LUCY T. SHOE. xvi + 188 pages, 3 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 85 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1937. \$10.00.

# HESPERIA

## JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI: NUMBER 3

1937



### THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA TWELFTH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1937

Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00, with the exception of Vol. V, No. 4, which may be had unbound for \$2.00) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Librarian of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

### PUBLICATIONS

- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix+389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv+139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi+674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21×14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii+230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii+120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii+568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix+78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.
- PRYTANEIS: A STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS HONORING THE ATHENIAN COUNCIL-LORS. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages. Quarto. Paper. Illustrated. 1937. \$3.00.
- GREEK MOULDINGS. By LUCY T. SHOE. xvi+188 pages, 3 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 85 plates 21×14 inches. 1937. \$10.00.

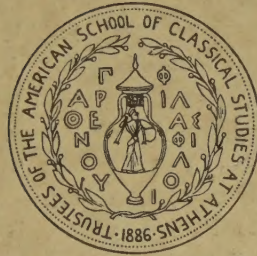


# HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI: NUMBER 4

1937



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1937



Subscriptions of three dollars per annual volume (single numbers \$1.00, with the exception of Vol. V, No. 4, which may be had unbound for \$2.00) may be sent either to Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., or to the Librarian of the School at Athens. All cheques should be made payable to the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

## American School of Classical Studies at Athens

### PUBLICATIONS

- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi+231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.
- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1929. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1930. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LOUKAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix + 78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.
- PRYTANEIS: A STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS HONORING THE ATHENIAN COUNCILORS. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages. Quarto. Paper. Illustrated. 1937. \$3.00.
- GREEK MOULDINGS. By LUCY T. SHOE. xvi + 188 pages, 3 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 85 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1937. \$10.00.







# American School of Classical Studies at Athens

## PUBLICATIONS

*(Continued from Second Page of Cover)*

### CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SCHOOL

- Volume I: INTRODUCTION, TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE. By HAROLD NORTH FOWLER and RICHARD STILLWELL, with contributions by CARL W. BLEGEN, BENJAMIN POWELL, Jr., and CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, Jr. xviii + 240 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece; 154 figures in the text, 21 folio plates in a portfolio. 1932. \$7.50.
- Volume III, Part I: ACROCORINTH: EXCAVATIONS IN 1926. By CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, RICHARD STILLWELL, OSCAR BRONEER, and ALFRED RAYMOND BELLINGER. vi + 68 pages. Folio. Cloth. 60 illustrations, 8 plans. 1930. \$3.00.
- Volume III, Part II: THE DEFENSES OF ACROCORINTH AND THE LOWER TOWN. By RHYS CARPENTER and ANTOINE BON, with contributions by A. W. PARSONS. xvi + 315 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 242 illustrations, 10 plates, 1 map. 1936. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part I: DECORATED ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS. By IDA THALLON-HILL and LIDA SHAW KING. xii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 48 illustrations, 5 colored plates. 1929. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part II: TERRACOTTA LAMPS. By OSCAR BRONEER. xx + 339 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 210 illustrations in the text, 33 plates. 1930. \$5.00.
- Volume V: THE ROMAN VILLA. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. 26 pages. Large folio. 7 illustrations, 11 plates. 1932. \$10.00.
- Volume VI: THE COINS. By KATHARINE M. EDWARDS. xii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 10 plates. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part I: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 180 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 331 illustrations in the text. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part II: LATIN INSCRIPTIONS. By ALLEN BROWN WEST. xiv + 171 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 177 illustrations in the text. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume IX: SCULPTURE, 1896-1923. By FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON. xiii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 332 illustrations. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume X: THE ODEUM. By OSCAR BRONEER. xiv + 154 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 138 illustrations, 16 plates. 1932. \$5.00.